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THE MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW

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BY

J. G. ROBERTSON

G. C. MOORE SMITH

AND

EDMUND G. GARDNER

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THE CRITICAL ORIGINS OF SPENSER'S DICTION.

FROM Sidney, Webbe, Puttenham and Jonson down to the present day, the peculiarity of Spenser's diction has engaged the attention of the critics. The language of his poems, and especially of his greatest work, *The Faerie Queene*, and of *The Shepheards Calendar*, in which he declared himself, is an artificial speech, constructed for his own purposes out of many and various elements drawn from many different sources, and it has been the object of analysis, notably by Professor C. H. Herford, whose Introduction to *The Shepheards Calendar* is the basis of these as of all subsequent remarks on the question. The problem of language is one that faces the poet at all times; it was particularly insistent in the time of Spenser. For poetical purposes the English of the mid-sixteenth century was practically untried. In his Induction to *A Mirror for Magistrates* Sackville had moulded speech into dignified form, bringing into verse that inherent virtue of the English language which was already apparent in prose, its value for the rhythmical utterance of serious meditation, but the Induction stood alone, in fifty years the only artistic success in English verse. Apart from this there had been no attempt to use the language in high or sustained flights of poetry, that is, in such poetry as Spenser proposed to himself as his life-work, and within this one example there was no variety. Thought and experiment were forced on Spenser. The speech of every day did not suffice for his needs, and he felt no compulsion to confine himself to it. His inspiration was divine; he sought the approbation of the skilful and hoped for fame in the future. He mounted up in ecstasy, or escaped to an ideal world, and he required a language that would bear him up in these elevations of spirit, that would not be a discordant echo of actuality in his land of dreams. His speech, then, is ancient, for the land of dreams lay in the past, or it is a rustic speech suited to the quiet of the country and the simplicity of shepherd life; it is new and brave, for it had to attempt new heights; it is cultured, since from the masters of the elder world and from the French and Italian artists in [illegible]ught something of their utterance. Thus it may be said [illegible]tion is a natural growth—not natural to English, but [illegible]r—that it took its colour from his temperament and [illegible] if we are to accept this as a complete explanation we

must allow that in this most challenging particular, in this alone of all his poetic activity, Spenser made a daring departure without guidance and unsupported by precedent. It was on a foundation of critical theory and practical example that he built the new poetry in England; that he should construct a new poetic diction except on a similar basis cannot be admitted without examination.

Such a basis is not to be found in England. The deficiencies of English were recognised by all, and the duty of its improvement accepted, but the problems involved had never been attacked on any scale or on sufficiently inclusive lines. Certain elements of Spenser's diction appear in the work of the translators, and in the experiments of Sir Thomas Elyot: to some extent the latter performed for prose the office that Spenser did for poetry, but their field was limited, their problems less weighty and less complicated, and their consciences less tender. What is more striking, Spenser's choice, or rather creation, of language was the negation of all that was authoritative in extant English criticism. The body of that criticism was small, but it was greatly concerned with this particular subject, and the views held were very definite and very forcibly pronounced. Cheke, Ascham, and Wilson, the leaders and mouthpieces of the Cambridge humanists, were extreme purists in the matter of language, condemning equally the foreign phrase of the translators and the obfuscate curiosity so illecebrous to Elyot. They had seen the purism of the humanist carried into the criticism of the vernacular by the great Bembo himself, and the example would strengthen the natural tendency of their training to measure all things by the standard of their Ciceronianism, to demand in English the same purity that they strove after in their Latin. If Wilson was forced to admit a certain foreign element into the language, he did it with a bad grace and under plea of strict necessity. The doctrine of the humanists broke down on its linguistic even more obviously than on its literary side, and for the same reason, that it postulated a standard. For them purity [illegible] authoritative precedent could be adduced for every word [illegible] had models for Latin in Cicero and Virgil; Bembo [illegible] and Boccaccio as the norm of Tuscan: in England [illegible] contemporary speech was in existence.

Spenser could find little help and much opposition, [illegible] precedent for him in the experience of France. The [illegible] language which confronted Spenser had been attacked [illegible] had forced a solution, and had placed that solution [illegible] arms. The Pléiade took very seriously the calling of

poetry; they viewed with equal seriousness the language in which that poetry should be written. A high and serious poetry demanded a noble utterance; but the language of a great people was not to be discarded as barbarous: French, therefore, should be cultivated to supply the needs of the new poetry, should be made worthy of its thought. This is the key-note of *La Deffence et Illustration*: reverence for the great masters of Greece and Rome, but a decided independence of the pedantry which would impose a dead language upon a living spirit; a proper jealousy of Italian, the one vernacular that had achieved literature fit to rank near the classics; and a determination to raise for their own land, in their own tongue, a trophy of verse that should equal, if not surpass, the proudest of the ancient or of the modern world. The parallel with the position of Spenser has been noted, as by Courthope: 'Besides giving a picturesque utterance to the commonplaces of contemporary thought, Spenser had another, and purely artistic purpose: he was making experiments, like Ronsard...in poetical diction[1].' That linguistic purpose is avowed by E. K. in his Introduction to *The Shepheards Calendar*, with a claim for the good service done to English by 'this Authour.'

The most immediately perceptible quality of Spenser's diction is that one which, though some precedent existed, aroused most hostile comment, its archaism. On this point he was in direct conflict with the ideas of the Cambridge critics; for though Ascham in his insistence on pure English was inclined himself to an old fashion of speech, and though he explains that Cheke's objection to old words in Sallust was mainly that they were not used by Cicero, yet he quotes that censure on Sallust with some emphasis, and from the preface to *The Shepheards Calendar* it is clear that E. K., and therefore in all probability Spenser himself, took Ascham's remark as an objection to archaism in general[2]. On the other hand, Wilson, the only member of the Cambridge group who provides formal instruction for writers in English, in his *Arte of Rhetorique* (which was probably among Spenser's text-books) relates with characteristic gusto how 'Phauorinus the Philosopher...did hit a yong man ouer the Thumbes very handsomely, for vsing of ouer olde, and ouer strange wordes[3],' and scorns 'the fine courtier (who) will speake nothing

[1] *History of English Poetry*, Vol. I, p. 244.

[2] 'For albe, amongst many other faultes, it be specially objected of Valla against Liuie, and of other against Sallust, that with ouer much studie they affect antiquitye...yet I am of opinion, and eke the best learned are of the lyke, that these ancient solemn words are a great ornament.' See Ascham, in Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, Vol. I, pp. 39–44. The oral tradition of these critics must also be kept in mind, as exemplified here.

[3] Ed. G. H. Mair, p. 3.

but *Chaucer*[1].' This last remark suggests a court fashion by which Spenser might have been influenced and to which he might appeal, and the *Mirror for Magistrates* and the practice of the courtly poets of Tottel's *Miscellany* partly bear out the suggestion; but those were works of an earlier generation, and the first objection to Spenser's archaic speech came from the leader and mirror of court poetry in Spenser's own day, from Sir Philip Sidney himself, to whom Spenser looked up with admiration, to whom his first book was dedicated.

The new antiquarianism of Parker and Camden aroused the sympathy of Spenser—*The Ruines of Time* is a sufficient testimony—but the affectation of antiquity is a very different thing from an affection for the antique. Though in a forward-reaching age Spenser earned the just reproaches of Gabriel Harvey by looking back with longing to an idealised past[2], his archaistic tendency in the choice of language was not a form of antiquarianism, nor was it based on mere sentiment: it was essentially an artistic procedure, part of a design for the improvement of English for literary purposes. To this feature of archaism in his author's diction the scholiast almost entirely confines himself, and he makes the purpose clear. 'And first of the wordes to speake, I graunt they be something hard, and of most men unvsed, yet both English, and also vsed of most excellent authors and most famous Poetes[3].' 'If any will rashly blame such his purpose in choyse of old and vnwonted words, him may I more iustly blame and condemne...for in my opinion it is one special prayse of many, which are dew to this Poete, that he hath laboured to restore, as to theyr rightful heritage, such good and naturall English words, as haue ben long time out of vse, and almost clean disherited. Which is the only cause, that our Mother tonge, which truely for it self is both ful enough for prose, and stately enough for verse, hath long time ben counted most bare and barrein of both[4].' After an attack on indiscriminate borrowing, he returns to the cavillers at old words, who 'of their owne country and natural speach...haue so base regard and bastard iudgement, that they will not onely themselves not labor to garnish and beautifie it, but also repine that of other it shold be embellished[5].' This view of archaism, that it serves for the improvement of the language by recovery of forgotten phrases, however misliked in England, was a familiar argument of the Pléiade. For them the first step in the 'illustration' of French was to make full use of its

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[2] *Letter-Book*, pp. 82–86.
[3] In Gregory Smith, Vol. I, p. 128.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 129.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 130.

available resources, and of these the first to be exploited was the language as it existed in the literary monuments of the past. 'Vse de motz purement Francoys,' counsels du Bellay, 'non toutesfois trop communs, non point aussi trop inusitez, si tu ne voulois quelquefois vsurper, et quasi comme enchasser ainsi qu'vne Pierre precieuse, et rare, quelques motz antiques en ton Poëme, à l'exemple de Virgile....Pour ce faire, te faudroit voir tous ces vieux Romans, et Poëtes Francoys, ou tu trouueras vn *aiourner*, pour *faire iour*...et mil' autres bons motz, que nous auons perduz par notre negligence. Ne doute point que le moderé vsaige de telz vocables ne donne grande maiesté tant au Vers comme à la Prose: ainsi que font les Reliques des Saincts aux Croix, et autres sacrez Ioyaux dediez aux Temples[1].' On the same lines he justifies his own usage of old words in his translation of the Fourth Book of the *Æneid*: 'J'ay vsé de *gallées*, pour *galleres*...*isnel* pour *leger*...et autres, dont l'antiquité (suyuant l'exemple de mon aucteur Vergile) me semble donner quelque maiesté au vers[2].' The same precept and the same practice are to be found in the work of Ronsard, though he does not insist on the authority: 'Tu ne rejetteras point les vieux mots de nos romans, ains les choisiras auecques meure et prudent election[3].' 'Tu ne desdaigneras les vieux mots françois, d'autant que je les estime tousjours en vigueur, quoy qu'on die, iusques à ce qu'ils ayent fait renaistre en leur place, comme vne vieille souche, vn rejetton; et lors tu te seruiras du rejetton et non de la souche, laquelle fait aller toute sa substance à son petit enfant, pour le faire croistre et finablement l'establir en son lieu[4].' He returns to the point in the characteristic marginal note appended to an example in *La Franciade*: 'Mehaigne, perclus.... Nos critiques se moqueront de ce vieil mot françois; mais il les faut laisser caqueter. Au contraire, je suis d'opinion que nous deuons retenir les vieux vocables significatifs iusques à tant que l'usage en aura forgé d'autres nouueaux en leur place[5].' Archaism is not a predominant characteristic of Ronsard's poetic style, as it is of Spenser's: the French poet observed the discretion he continually recommended. His motive was almost entirely linguistic, for only occasionally, as in *La Franciade*, was it affected by considerations of decorum, by the desire to suggest remoteness and age which was constant with Spenser in *The Faerie Queene*. Yet the principle is reinforced, not superseded, by such con-

[1] *Deffence et Illustration*, p. 129 (ed. Person).
[2] 'Epistre' before the translation, *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 275 (ed. Blanchemain).
[3] *Art Poetique*, p. 321, Vol. VII.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 335.
[5] *La Franciade*, Vol. III, p. 150. See also the second preface, p. 32.

[illegible] that the proper style of a poem should make it a fit medium for the revival of 'antiques vocables' is but the greater merit[1].

Closely allied to the question of archaism is that of dialect. Early in his career Ronsard had defended his own use of dialect words on the analogy of Theocritus and the Greeks generally: 'Si j'auoi parlé le naif dialecte de Vandomois' his native province—'ie ne m'estimerai bani pour cela de l'eloquence des Muses[2].' Spenser had not even Ronsard's reason for his taste for dialect. A Londoner born and bred, and educated at Cambridge would require more than a holiday visit to 'the North country' and a vague sentiment of ancestry to produce the strange admixture found in his work, still more to generate the courage to publish it. In any case, though Northern forms predominate, his dialectal words and forms are not all Northern. The reasons for their use were [illegible] not sentimental, still less habitual. The example of [illegible] may have been of some weight, for Spenser, more learned in [illegible] Nature's theory of the language of the Idylls; [illegible] dialect and the adoption of dialect [illegible] distinct processes, and Spenser, no [illegible]

vsed of country folke.' Sidney described the speech of *The Shepheards Calendar* as 'an old rustic language'; Puttenham, who, though fairly learned in criticism and deriving his theories from many sources, including *La Deffence et Illustration*, must be regarded, in this matter of language, as a later representative of the Cambridge purists. Puttenham observed the connection of dialect with archaism, and condemned it in comprehensive terms: 'Neither shall he take the terms of Northern-men, such as they vse in dayly talke...nor in effect any speech vsed beyond the riuer of Trent, though no man can deny that theirs is the purer English Saxon at this day, yet it is not so Courtly nor so currant as our Southerne English is; no more is the far Westerne mans speach[1].' The value of dialect, however, both for its expressiveness and as a repository of ancient speech, is frequently pressed by du Bellay and Ronsard. 'Tu sçauras dextrement choisir et approprier à ton œuure les mots plus significatifs des dialectes de nostre France, quand mesmement tu n'en auras point de si bons ny de si propres en ta nation; et ne se faut soucier si les vocables sont *Gascons, Poicteuins, Normans, Manceaux, Lionnois*, ou d'autres païs pourueu qu'ils soient bons et que proprement ils signifient ce que tu veux dire[2].' 'Tu ne reietteras point les vieux verbes Picards, comme voudroye pour voudroy, aimeroye, diroye, feroye[3].' 'Outre ie t'aduerti de ne faire conscience de remettre en vsage les antiques vocables, et principalement ceux du langage wallon et picard, lequel nous reste par tant de siecles l'exemple naif de la langue françoise...et choisir les mots les plus pregnants et significatifs non seulement du dit langage, mais de toutes les prouinces de France, pour seruir à la poësie que tu en auras besoin[4].' The archaic character of dialect is recognised, as by Puttenham; the conclusion drawn is precisely the contrary of his: it is the moral of E. K.'s preface and of Spenser's method. The mixed origin of Spenser's dialect forms also finds a parallel. Here again, as in the former case, Spenser went beyond the French poets; partly, no doubt, on the plea of decorum, partly from the lack of restraint characteristic of inexperience, *The Shepheards Calendar* is promiscuously strewn with dialect: its presence in *The Faerie Queene* is due in great measure to its value for the suggestion of antiquity, but it appears in almost all his work, and certainly in his longer poems[5].

A third source of vocabulary revealed by the Pléiade was the great mass of language in daily use in the arts, professions and trades, but

[1] *Arte of English Poesie*, in Gregory Smith, Vol. II, p. 150.
[2] *Art Poetique*, p. 321. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 333.
[4] Second preface to *La Franciade*, p. 32; see also p. 34.
[5] See Herford and Gough, *ut sup.*

neglected by writers. These poets, intent on the enrichment of poetry by picturesque metaphor, realised that the force and precision of metaphor and simile were increased in proportion to the accuracy of the terms employed, and proposed to legitimise technical terms in poetical speech for the sake of their vividness. It is improbable that this would have commended itself to Wilson, who complained of the crabbed speech of lawyers and auditors and of 'dark language' in general. Puttenham certainly did not approve: 'We finde in our English writers many wordes and speaches amendable...and many dark wordes and not vsuall nor well sounding, though they be dayly spoken in Court[1].' Du Bellay and Ronsard had no doubts in the matter. 'Encores te veux-ie aduertir, de hanter quelquesfois non seulement les Scauans, mais aussi toutes sortes d'Ouuriers et gens Mecaniques, comme Mariniers, Fondeurs, Peintres, Engrauueurs, et autres, sçauoir leurs inuentions, les noms des matieres, des outils, et les termes vsitez en leurs Ars, et Metiers, pour tyrer de la ces belles comparaisons, et viues descriptions de toutes choses[2].' 'Tu practiqueras bien souuent les artisans de tous mestiers, comme de *Maçons*, *Veneries*, *Pinconnerie*, et principalement les artisans du feu, *Orfeures*, *Fondeurs*, *Mareschaux*, *Minerailliers*; et de là tireras mainteses belles et viues comparaisons auecques les noms propres des mestiers pour enrichir ton oeuure et le rendre plus agreable et parfait[3].' 'Tu n'oubliera les noms propres des outils de tous mestiers, et principalement de la chasse.' Spenser understood as well as ever did Ronsard the importance of the 'viue comparison,' and understood too the value of the proper term 'et principalement de la chasse.' Thus among many hunting and hawking terms we find

[illegible]

There is no need to exemplify further Spenser's use of terms of venerie; the above are typical of very many; but his exploitation of technicalities is not confined to these. He displays some acquaintance with the terms of seamanship:

> His flaggy wings when forth he did display,
> Were like two sayles, in which the hollow wynd
> Is gathered full, and worketh speedy way:
> And eke the pennes, that did his pineons bind,
> Were like mayné-yards, with flying canuas lynd.
> (*F. Q.* I, xi, 10.)

> Vere the maine sheete, and beare vp with the land.
> (*F. Q.* I, xii, 1.)

> Said then the Boteman, Palmer stere aright,
> And keepe an euen course... (*F. Q.* II, xii, 3.)

> Like as a ship with dreadfull storme long tost,
> Hauing spent all her mastes and her ground-hold...
> (*F. Q.* VI, iv, 1.)

Terms of art are not infrequent, though by no means so common as those of hunting and falconry. The description of the castle of Alma, imitated from one who carried to its greatest length the linguistic doctrine of Ronsard, is naturally full of artistic and philosophical terms, and they may be found elsewhere:

> It was a bridge ybuilt in goodly wize,
> With curious Corbes and pendants grauen faire,
> And arched all with porches, did arize
> On stately pillours, fram'd after the Doricke guize.
> (*F. Q.* IV, x, 6.)

The blacksmith's 'sledge' (V, v, 7) may be accounted non-technical, but armoury supplies several 'noms propres': it is no breach of decorum for the poet of knighthood to speak of 'Curiets and bases fit for fight' (V, v, 20), and an archer's phrase may pass:

> Euen at the markewhite of his hart she roued.
> (*F. Q.* V, v, 35.)

Still more in keeping are terms of the laws of chivalry and of Courts of Honour:

> First he his beard did shaue, and fowly shent:
> Then from him reft his shield, and it renuerst,
> And blotted out his armes with falshood blent,
> And himselfe baffuld, and his armes vnherst...
> (*F. Q.* V, iii, 37.)

Spenser's legal employment supplied him with not a few phrases, sometimes employed in describing legal measures, sometimes used with scarcely even a metaphorical reference:

> From euery worke he chalenged essoyne. (*F. Q.* I, iv, 20.)

> ...happie victorie
> Gainst him, that had them long opprest with tort.
> (*F. Q.* I, xii, 4.)

> Ne ought he car'd, whom he endamaged
> By tortious wrong... (*F. Q.* II, ii, 18.)
>
> The damzell was attacht, and shortly brought
> Vnto the barre, whereas she was arrayned:
> But she nould plead... (*F. Q.* VI, vii, 36.)

These last, unlike the technicalities of the chase, of the sea, of the arts, and of philosophy, would be difficult to parallel in Ronsard, but they may easily enough be admitted under his rubric of 'mots propres.'

Before the vernacular could be considered as exhausted, a further expedient remained for trial: the increase of vocabulary by actual construction of new forms from already existing words, ancient and modern: the expedient to which the Pléiade gave the happily contrived title of 'provignement'—engrafting. The process is best described in their own words: 'De tous vocables quel qu'ils soient, en vsage ou hors d'vsage, s'il reste encores quelque partie d'eux, soit en nom verbe, aduerbe, ou participe, tu le pourras par bonne et certaine analogie faire croistre et multiplier, d'autant que nostre langue est encores pauure, et qu'il faut mettre peine, quoy que murmure le peuple, auec toute modestie, de l'enrichir et cultiuer. Exemple des vieux mots: puisque le nom de *verue* nous reste, tu pourras faire sur le nom le verbe *veruer*, et l'aduerbe *veruement*; sur le nom d'*essoine, essoiner, essoinement*, et mille autres tels; et quand il n'auroit que l'aduerbe, tu pourras faire le verbe et le participe librement et hardiment; au pis aller tu le cotteras en la marge de ton liure, pour donner à entendre sa signification; et sur les vocables receues en vsage comme *pays, eau, feu,* tu feras *payser, euer, fouer, euement, fouement*; et mille autres tels vocables qui ne voyent encores la lumiere, faute d'vn hardy et bienheureux entrepreneur[1].' The authority for the proceeding is quoted in the margin of *La Franciade*: 'Foudrier, qui porte la foudre: comme harquebusier, qui porte la harquebuse, archer, qui porte l'arc. Sur tels mots desia vsitez et receus, j'ay forgé foudrier, suyuant Horace:

> Licuit, semperque licebit
> Signatum praesente nota producere nomen[2].

Cela est permis aux langages vifs, dont les peuples vsent auiour d'huy, non aux langues mortes, comme la grecque et romaine, lesquelles ne peuuent rien innouer, comme celles qui ont fait leur temps, enseuelies et du tout esteintes[3].' This form of innovation was frequently resorted to by the Pléiade, and it is of equally common occurrence in Spenser, whose 'dreriment,' 'embrave,' 'joyaunce,' 'et mille autres de telle façon,'

[1] *Art Poetique*, p. 335.
[2] *Ars Poetica*, ll. 58–59.
[3] *La Franciade*, p. 53; see also second preface, p. 33.

are among the distinguishing marks of his style. The compound epithet is in the same category. This last commended itself to Sidney, who found a new praise of the English language in its adaptability to compounds: 'It...is particulerly happy in compositions of two or three words together, neere the Greeke, far beyond the Latine: which is one of the greatest beauties can be in a language[1].' It is unnecessary to ascribe Spenser's adoption of the device to the influence of Sidney, which was of so little effect on the greater poet's diction: the source was known to Hall:

> ...that new elegance
> Which sweet *Philisides* fetch't of late from France
> In Epithets to ioyne two words in one[2]...

It was from Ronsard, du Bellay and du Bartas, as well as from his friend Henri Estienne, that Sidney learned that new elegance. His term 'composition' echoes the French: 'mots composez comme *pié-sonnant, porte-lois, porte-ciel*[3].'

This cultivation of the native tongue, however, was insufficient, and the new poets had recourse to the adoption of foreign words, classical and modern. This was the most bitterly contested ground of all: to illustrate fully the complaints of sixteenth-century critics against devisers of 'ink-horn terms and far-fetched phrases' would entail quotation from practically every writer on literature from Ascham to E. K. and so into the Jonsonian era. Yet all had to admit that English was a mixed language and that the process would have to continue, since English was not copious enough for the new uses to which it was being turned. Spenser might have claimed the authority of Sir John Cheke for his experiments in 'provignement,' but his borrowing was condemned in advance. 'I am of this opinion that our own tung shold be written cleane and pure, vnmixt and vnmangled with borowing of other tungs.... For then doth our tung naturallie and praisablie vtter her meaning, when she bouroweth no counterfeitness of other tunges to attire herself withall, but vseth plainlie her own with such shift, as nature, craft, experiens, and folowing of other excellent doth lead her vnto, and if she want at ani tijm (as being vnperfight she must) yet let her borow with suche bashfulnes, that it mai appeer, that if either the mould of our own tung could serue vs to fascion a woord of our own, or if the old denisoned wordes could content and ease this neede, we wold not boldly

[1] *Apology*, in Gregory Smith, Vol. I, p. 204.
[2] *Satires*, Book VI, 255; quoted by Gregory Smith, Vol. I, p. 402.
[3] Du Bellay, *Epistre* before Translation of Virgil, p. 275. On the compound epithet see Sir Sidney Lee, *French Renaissance in England*, pp. 245 ff.

venture of vnknowen wordes[1].' On the other side were Sir Thomas Elyot, who desired to enrich the language with high and rhetorical terms and to make it a philosophical medium by borrowing from the learned tongues, the translators, who suffered daily from the difficulty of rendering from highly developed languages into one less developed, and a less vocal but probably numerous company who took up the common-sense position that borrowing was inevitable. Spenser himself incurred a share in the denunciation of E. K., of those who, 'borrowing here of the French, there of the Italian, euery where of the Latine...haue made our English tongue a gallimaufray or hodgepodge of al other speches[2],' but his borrowing was moderate, and bulks comparatively small beside his archaism, 'provignement,' and other innovations. He was by no means averse to the use of learned terms, to which the sanction of decorum, which covered so helpfully his dialectal and antique phrases, was not so readily applicable; and that not only for the expression of strange ideas, such as the 'trinal triplicities' of the *Hymne of Heavenly Love*, but for the pleasure of sound and association. French and Italian contributed to his vocabulary, but he was not an indiscriminating borrower, and for the most part his speech is English. That this is the case is vouched for by the little attention his borrowings received from contemporary critics, in comparison with that excited by his other innovations.

The same controversy, made the more bitter by the existence of the 'rhétoriqueur' school of poets (to whose vicious pedantry there is no parallel in English, unless Skelton in some of his moods), was carried on in France, the same conditions producing the same arguments and the same experiments. The position of the Pleiade is somewhat obscured by their habit of emphatic statement, but the sum of their recommendations is, that the poet may borrow to suit his needs, though always with discretion. 'Ie veux auertir celuy, qui entreprendra vn grand œuure, qu'il ne craigne point d'inuenter, adopter, et composer à l'immitation des Grecs quelques Motz Francoys[3].' 'Nul...ne doute point... aux choses nouuelles estre necessaire imposer nouueaux mots, principalement ès ars, dont l'vsaige n'est point encores commun et vulgaire, ce que peut arriuer souuent à nostre Poëte, au quel sera necessaire emprunter beaucoup de choses non encor traitées en nostre Langue[4].' 'Ce n'est point chose vicieuse, mais grandement louable, emprunter d'vne

[1] Letter to Hoby: in Arber's Introduction to Ascham's *Schole-Master*.
[2] In Gregory Smith, Vol. I, p. 130.
[3] *Deffence et Illustration*, p. 125.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 126.

Langue etrangere les Sentences et les motz, et les approprier à la sienne[1].' 'Quand au reste, vse de motz purement Francoys[2].' The same moral of discretion may be drawn from the apparent contradiction of Ronsard: 'Je te veux encore aduertir de n'ecorcher point le Latin, comme nos deuanciers qui ont trop sottement tiré des Romains vne infinité de vocables estrangers, veu qu'il y en auoit d'aussi bons en nostre propre langage. Toutesfois tu ne le desdaigneras s'ils sont desia receues et vsitez d'vn chacun; tu composeras hardiment des mots à l'imitation des Grecs et Latins...et n'auras soucy de ce que le vulgaire dira de toi[3].'

The Pléiade view of language was more than a counsel of ease or a series of hints to beginners. Behind 'ce petit Abbregé, lequel en faueur de toy a esté en trois heures commencé et acheué,' behind these scattered and disorganised maxims, there was a sound and hopeful belief. Ronsard and du Bellay drew a strong contrast between dead and living speech, and by force of that contrast ruled out of court much of the criticism of the humanists as it was applied to the vernacular. 'C'est autre chose d'escrire en vne langue florissante qui est pour le present receue du peuple, villes, bourgades et citez, comme viue et naturelle, approuuée des rois, des princes, des senateurs, marchands et trafiqueurs, et de composer en vne langue morte, muette et enseuelie sous le silence de tant d'espaces d'ans, laquelle ne s'apprend plus qu'à l'eschole par le fouët et par la lecture des liures....En telles langues passées et defunctes...il ne faut rien innouer, comme enseuelies, ayant resigné leur droict aux viuantes[4].' In the living tongues the initiative rests with the poet: 'Les poëtes, comme les plus hardis, ont les premiers forgé et composé les mots, lesquels pour estre beaux et significatifs ont passé par la bouche des orateurs et du vulgaire, puis finablement ont esté receues, louez, et admirez d'vn chacun[5].' Since, then, the poet is the leader in the noble work of cultivating the mother tongue, he must be free to experiment, without restriction by pedantry or conservatism. 'Vouloir oter la liberté à vn scauant Homme, qui voudra enrichir sa Langue, d'vsurper quelquesfois des Vocables non vulgaires, ce seroit retraindre notre Langaige, non encor' assez riche, soubz vne trop plus rigoreuse Loy, que celle, que les Grecz, et Romains se sont donnée[6],' in the days, that is, when Greek and Latin were themselves living tongues. The trained ear and developed judgement are the only arbiters, and the opinion of the laity is of no weight. The poet is born with certain

[1] *Deffence et Illustration*, p. 72.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 129.
[3] *Art Poetique*, pp. 334–335.
[4] Second preface to *La Franciade*, p. 33.
[5] *Art Poetique*, p. 335.
[6] *Deffence et Illustration*, p. 127.

faculties and has undergone a rigorous training, and he is prepared t spend himself in labour: he is therefore competent, master of his craft 'Ie renuoye tout au iugement de ton oreille[1],'—'n'ayant...reigle plu parfaite que ton aureille, laquelle ne te trompera iamais, si tu veu prendre son conseil auec certain iugement et raison[2]'—'ton aureille lequel est certain iuge de la structure des vers[3].' Of this liberty th poet is to avail himself to the full, 'car plus nous aurons de mots e nostre langue, plus elle sera parfaicte[4],' and 'il est fort difficile d'escrir bien en nostre langue, si elle n'est enrichie, autrement qu'elle n'est pou le present, de mots et de diuerses manieres de parler. Ceux qui escriuen iournellement en elle sçauent bien à quoy leur en tenir: car c'est vn extreme geine de se seruir tousiours d'vn mot[5].'

This assertion of the freedom of the poet in dealing with language would justify another characteristic of the new poetry, the alteration o words for the convenience of rhyme and metre. Puttenham devoted a complete chapter to the destruction of this heresy: 'Now there can no be in a maker a fowler fault then to falsifie his accent to serue hi cadence, or by vntrue orthographie to wrench his words to helpe hi rime[6],' but Gascoigne had permitted it, though with a suspicion of satir in his phrase: 'This poeticall license is a shrewd fellow, and couereth many faults in a verse; it maketh wordes longer, shorter, of mo sillables of fewer, newer, older, truer, falser...[7].' Herein he followed his original Ronsard's *Abregé de l'Art Poetique François*: 'Quand tu trouueras de mots qui difficilement recoiuent ryme, comme *or*, *char*, et mille autres ryme-les hardiment contre *fort*, *ort*, *accort*...ostant par license la derniere lettre[8].' 'Tu diras, selon la contrainte de ton vers, *or*, *ore*, *ores*...et mill autres que sans crainte tu trancheras et allongeras ainsi qu'il te plaira[9]. Ronsard had already announced his position in the preface to the *Odes* o 1550: 'Tu ne trouueras fascheux si j'ai quelques fois changé la lettr E en A, et A en E bien souuent, otant vne lettre d'vn mot, ou la lu adioutant, pour faire ma rime plus sonoreuse ou parfait: certes tell license a tousiours eté concedée aux poëmes de longue alaine....' In the *Epistre* prefixed to his translation of the Fourth Book of the *Æneid* du Bellay expresses himself less confidently: 'Si quelqu'ung se fasch que i'aye le plus souuent retranché l's...quand j'entendray telle obseruation desplaire aux lecteurs, je prendray raison en payement, et ne seray

[1] *Deffence et Illustration*, p. 129.
[2] *Art Poetique*, p. 328.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 333.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Second preface to *La Franciade*, p. 32.
[6] In Gregory Smith, Vol. II, p. 84.
[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 54.
[8] *Art Poetique*, p. 328; the whole passage is important.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 333.

point heretique en mes opinions': but his practice is none the less bold. And boldest of all was Spenser.

Language, then, was in the eyes of the Pléiade a living thing, capable of development, and requiring cultivation; their metaphors are always organic, of plants or the animal body. The progress of living speech was not to be restricted by the practice of past ages, nor was it fortuitous: it was a positive operation, a positive duty. Language did not occur; it had to be made, and its making was in the hands of the poet. The presentation of this essay, it may be objected, gives a false impression by hardening a loose group of maxims into a code, and still more by presupposing that Spenser had a code also. To this it may be answered, that these maxims were not rules, but suggestions, and that the same expedients suggested themselves, or were suggested, to Spenser. In neither case was the new poetic diction the result of accident: there was thought behind each, and more than a single thought. The main contention of the Pléiade, the most important intrinsically and in its results was their assertion of the freedom of the poet as artist, and it is obvious from all his work that Spenser claimed this freedom and recognised the duty it involved. He had learned much that was valuable from the formal teaching of Cambridge, but he departed entirely from the theory of language held by the great Cambridge scholars, or rather, perhaps, he disregarded it as inapplicable to poetry, a theory of orators and Latinists. He was a student of criticism, but he stood apart from the common position of his contemporaries. He was influenced by courtly friends, but their criticism did not turn him aside from his own path.

We may now complete the dictum of Courthope already quoted: 'Spenser...was making experiments, like Ronsard, *though on very different principles*, in poetical diction.' Courthope appears to have accepted the traditional view of Ronsard, the view expressed by Boileau:

> ...Sa muse, en François parlant Grec et Latin,
> Vit dans l'âge suivant, par un retour grotesque,
> Tomber de ses grands mots le faste pédantesque[1].

It is sufficiently evident from the extracts quoted above that this view is untenable, for the principles of the French and of the English experiment were in reality the same. Spenser worked on precisely the same lines as were laid down by du Bellay and Ronsard: the ancient native literature to be studied with a linguistic purpose; dialects, and particularly such as retained some archaic character, to be brought into the main stream of literary speech; technical terms to be put to poetical

[1] *L'Art Poetique*, Chant Premier, vv. 126–128.

use; new forms to be created from existing roots; and lastly, words to be borrowed from ancient and modern foreign languages: the language to be plastic, not rigid, and the poet to be the final judge of fitness. The parallel is slightly obscured by questions of decorum, and by purely personal and circumstantial considerations.—Ronsard, as a court poet, was bound by his very success where Spenser's disappointment left him free—but the main argument is unaffected. The question was one of decorum not in its narrower but in its wider sense; that certain words were fitting or improper, not in any particular poem, but in poetry in general. For Ronsard a poetical dictionary would not be based, like those of the Académie and the Accademia della Crusca, on a principle of exclusion, and it would never be complete. The answer of both Spenser and the Pléiade was very positive: they not only accepted the language of their time and country, but they sought out beautiful and significant terms wherever they were to be found, 'car chacun iardin a sa particuliere fleur[1]': and they sought in the same directions. To the work of Spenser might be applied without modification the testimony of Binet to that of Ronsard: 'Voyant que nostre langue estoit pauure, il tascha de la défricher et enrichir, inuentant mots nouueaux, rappelant et prouignant les vieux, adoptant les estrangers et la renestant de propres epithetes et de motz heureusement composez à la façon des Grecs. Bref, il traça le chemin pour aller chercher des trésors en plus d'vn lieu et suppléer a sa necessité[2].'

W. L. Renwick.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

[1] Second preface to *La Franciade*, p. 34.
[2] *Vie de Ronsard*, p. 374 (in Cimber et d'Anjou, *Archives Curieuses*, Ire Série, tome 10).

RICHARDSON, WARBURTON AND FRENCH FICTION.

WRITING in the *Modern Language Review* for October 1913[1] on the subject of Richardson's indebtedness to French fiction, the late Mr G. C. Macaulay brought forward a hitherto unnoticed Preface to the fourth volume of the first edition of *Clarissa* (1748) as evidence that in writing *Pamela* Richardson believed that he had been following the lead of the early eighteenth-century school of French realists. This Preface, which, according to Richardson's own statement, had been furnished him at his request by an unnamed 'very learned and eminent Hand[2],' was omitted from the second edition of *Clarissa* (1749), and did not reappear in any subsequent issue of the work. It opened with a brief sketch of the development of modern fiction, beginning with medieval romance and ending with the French novel of manners of the eighteenth century, the distinguishing characteristics of which it defined as follows:

> At length, this great People (to whom, it must be owned, all Science has been infinitely indebted) hit upon the true Secret, by which alone a deviation from strict fact, in the commerce of Man, could be really entertaining to an improved mind, or useful to promote that Improvement. And this was by a faithful and chaste copy of real *Life and Manners*: In which some of their late Writers have greatly excelled.

The remainder of the Preface consisted of a summary of the purpose and method of *Clarissa*, introduced by the following sentence of transition:

> It was on this Sensible Plan [that of the French writers just described], that the Author of the following Sheets attempted to please, in an Essay, which had the good fortune to meet with success: That encouragement engaged him in the present Design....

'It is clear,' Macaulay concluded[3], 'that Richardson acknowledges obligation to the way of writing in which some of the late French writers had greatly excelled, and that he ascribes not to himself but to the French the discovery of the true secret of fiction.'

That this conclusion is open to serious question was the contention of an article published in *Modern Philology* for January 1919[4], in which I presented evidence showing that in all probability the Preface was the work of William Warburton, and, for that reason, could not safely be used as proof of Richardson's conception of his artistic origins. I now wish to add to the reasons which I there adduced for this belief a striking fact,

[1] VIII, 464–67.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 466–67.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 467.
[4] XVI, 495–99.

[illegible] beyond doubt Warburton's Preface and its concluding intrinsic worthiness [illegible] in an interesting light on [illegible]

[illegible] edition of Pope. To *Epistle to Augustus* [illegible] at the Restoration. [illegible] Romance [illegible] Pope himself had appended [illegible] as an allusion to the Romance of [illegible] *Feast of Crecy*, and most of the French romances [illegible] *Persons of Quality*. Not satisfied with this explanation, [illegible] long comment of his own in which he repro- [illegible] curious change, the Preface to *Clarissa*[1]. [illegible] paragraphs of the Preface he reprinted almost in their [illegible] obliged to alter the introduction to fit the passage [illegible] but from the second sentence through the phrase [illegible] a faithful and chaste copy of real *Life and Manners*,' [illegible] with no more important changes than appear [illegible] parallel.

[illegible]	EDITION OF POPE.
[illegible] nonsense, happens, that [illegible] the moral [illegible] our satisfactions, the procurers to our pleasures [illegible] happened here. [illegible] simple [illegible]	But as it commonly happens, that in all indulgent refinements on our satisfactions, the Procurers to our pleasures run into excess; so it happened here. Strict matters of fact, however delicately dressed up, soon grew too simple and in- [illegible] taste stimulated by the luxury [illegible] wanted something of more [illegible] and enforce a jaded [illegible] Latter ages those [illegible] the more [illegible] MANNERS. A [illegible] enhancement [illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible] Science [illegible]

The rest of the Preface, including everything that had to do with Richardson, Warburton completely excised. In its place, however, he introduced a short paragraph in which, after particularising the vague allusion to certain 'late Writers' of fiction in France, he proceeded to substitute a new name for Richardson's as the chief representative of their style of writing in England:

> In this species of writing, Mr De Marivaux in France, and Mr FIELDING in England stand the foremost. And by enriching it with the best part of the *Comic* art, may be said to have brought it to its perfection[1].

A few words will suffice to indicate the bearing of these facts on the points discussed in my earlier article. Not only can there no longer be the slightest doubt concerning the identity of the 'very learned and eminent Hand,' who furnished Richardson with the Preface to *Clarissa*, but the probability that in composing it Warburton was writing on his own responsibility and not as a mouthpiece of Richardson now becomes almost a certainty. In the first place, the inspiration of the historical part of the Preface, including the allusion to the 'late Writers' in France, is established as Warburton's own not merely by the fact, pointed out in my former article[2], that he had exhibited a similar interest in the development of fiction as early as 1742, when he contributed an essay on medieval romance to Jarvis's *Don Quixote*, but also by the circumstance that he valued what he had written for Richardson sufficiently to reprint it with only the slightest changes in a later work of his own. In the second place, the connexion made in the Preface between Richardson and the 'late Writers' of fiction in France—the statement on which Macaulay's whole argument rested—is seen to have been merely external and accidental—a compliment to Richardson that implied at most only a general resemblance between his work and that of the French novelists in question; for only a short time afterwards we find Warburton drawing precisely the same parallel between the French 'Writers' (now particularised as Marivaux) and Fielding!

[1] In the edition of 1757 (IV, 166–67) Warburton added to the note as analysed above the following sentence: 'But the ridiculous rage of appetite in the Public for these amusements, and the monstrous things that now serve for their entertainment, put us in mind of a story, which Plutarch tells of Caesar: who observing certain Barbarians, at Rome, caressing young puppy dogs and apes, asked if the women bred no children amongst those strangers, that they were so fond of these grotesque resemblances.' In the edition of 1770 (IV, 166–67) he enlarged the passage still further: 'Yet amidst all this nonsense, when things were at the worst, we have been lately entertained with what I will venture to call, a Master-piece, in the *Fable*; and of a new species likewise. The piece I mean, is, THE CASTLE OF OTRANTO. The scene is laid in *Gothic Chivalry*. Where a beautiful imagination, supported by strength of judgment, has enabled the Author to go beyond his subject, and effect the full purpose of the *ancient Tragedy*, that is, to *purge the passions by pity and terror*, in colouring as great and harmonious as in any of the best Dramatic Writers.'

[2] P. 497.

The interest of the note on the *Epistle to Augustus* does not, however, end here. In an article supplementary to mine, published in *Modern Philology* for May 1919[1], Miss Helen Sard Hughes undertook to account for the omission of Warburton's Preface from the second and subsequent editions of *Clarissa*. She found at least a partial explanation of this omission in the strained relations which developed between Warburton and Richardson as a consequence of the latter's attitude in the Warburton-Edwards controversy of 1747–8 and later:

> Richardson's sympathy with Edwards' critical antagonism, both before and after Warburton's retaliatory utterances [in the edition of Pope], is apparent in the letters that passed between Richardson and Edwards from January 9, 1750, to February 4, 1755. Such partisanship may well have been apparent to Warburton or suspected by him; and it may explain the omission from the edition of 1749 of Warburton's preface published in 1748 and solicited presumably in 1747 or earlier. In any case the correspondence reveals one more of those literary enmities with which Warburton surrounded himself[2].

Two things are to be noted in this summary of conclusions: first, the intimation that the initiative in the dropping of the Preface was taken by Warburton; and second, the fact that none of the incidents of the quarrel between him and Richardson which Miss Hughes sets forth, chiefly from the latter's published correspondence[3], antedate January 1750, although the moving cause of the quarrel existed as early as the end of 1747. Indeed, as appears from a later page of her article, the earliest clear indication which she has found of a coolness on Warburton's part toward the novelist, in distinction from the latter's expressions of sympathy for Edwards, occurs as late as April 1753[4].

What light, now, is thrown upon these conclusions by Warburton's use of the Preface to *Clarissa*, with the substitution of Fielding for Richardson, in his edition of Pope? Before we can answer this question, we must fix, if we can, the date of the revision. Fortunately it is possible to do this with a fair degree of certainty. The nine volumes of *The Works of Alexander Pope* appeared in June 1751[5]. There is reasonably
evidence, however, that the notes to the *Epistle to Augustus*
into final shape nearly two years before. In a letter of
Warburton promised Hurd to send him his notes on this
could get them 'in a condition to be read[6].' He had

have had access to the unpublished correspondence of Richardson
Museum, where, as she notes, there are probably letters 'which
upon the Warburton feud.'

view, July 1751, v, 97.
Prelate to One of His Friends, London, 1809, p. 5.

evidently completed this task early in August, for on the 6th of that month he wrote again:

> You are so obliging on the subject of the Epistle to Augustus that the least I could do was to send you the copy I have prepared for the press, to convince you there is the same necessity for your pen, as if I had never wrote a word on the Imitation....You need not send the MS back till I acquaint you with my want of it, or that you have an opportunity of sending it to Mr Knapton, bookseller, in Ludgate Street[1].

On October 28 he gave further directions concerning the disposition of the manuscript: 'I have now put that volume of which the Epistle to Augustus is part, to the press; so should be obliged to you to send it, by your letter-carrier, direct to Mr Knapton, bookseller, in Ludgate-Street[2].' On December 14 he informed Hurd that the packet was in Knapton's hands[3]. In view of the silence of Warburton's letters concerning any further work on the notes to this poem and in view of the fact that grounds for displeasure with Richardson already existed, it is surely safe to conclude that the revision of the Preface took place before the autumn of 1749.

We are now in a position to consider the points discussed by Miss Hughes. In the first place, there is nothing in the known facts clearly inconsistent with her theory that Warburton's annoyance at Richardson for his championship of Edwards was responsible for the omission of the Preface from the second edition of *Clarissa*. This edition was published on the 15th June 1749[4], and Warburton, as we have just seen, was working on the notes to the *Epistle to Augustus* from some time before the 13th June until shortly after the first of August. It is entirely possible that, offended by Richardson's partisanship for Edwards, he had demanded that the Preface be omitted from the new edition of the novel, and then, not willing to discard it altogether[5], had revised it in harmony with his new attitude to Richardson for use in the edition of Pope. But if the facts may be made to accord with this possibility, they equally permit of the opposite hypothesis that the initiative in the matter was taken by Richardson, whether with or without reference to the changed relations between him and Warburton. Considerable warrant, indeed, if not conclusive proof, is furnished for this latter explanation by Richardson's own remarks on the Preface in a note prefixed to the third edition of *Clarissa*—a text not considered by Miss Hughes:

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 7–8. Knapton was to be the principal publisher of the edition. See above, p. 18, n. 1. [2] *Ibid.* p. 16. [3] *Ibid.* p. 24.

[4] It was advertised as 'This Day was published' in the *St James's Evening Post* for June 13-15, 1749.

[5] He seems to have had a habit of adapting old work to new occasions. See *Mod. Phil.* XVI, 497, n. 4.

The work having been originally published at three different times; and a greater distance than was intended having passed between the first publication and the second; a Preface was thought proper to be affixed to the third and fourth Volumes; being the second publication. A very learned and eminent Hand was so kind as to favour the Editor, at his request, with one. But the occasion of inserting it being *temporary*, and the Editor having been left at liberty to do with it as he pleased, it was omitted in the Second Edition, when the whole work came to be printed together[1].

If we cannot accept this statement as a thoroughly satisfactory explanation of the omission of the Preface, we must at least conclude that the incident was not necessarily connected with the feud between Warburton and Richardson, however much this feud may have influenced Warburton in his subsequent use of the Preface. Fortunately the question is not of the first importance.

A somewhat greater interest attaches to the history of the quarrel between the two men. On this point the facts and dates established above add materially to our knowledge. It may well have been, of course, that Warburton's substitution of Fielding's name for Richardson's in his revision of the Preface had other motives besides animosity to Richardson. We know that he was under special obligations to Fielding for compliments paid him not only in the *Miscellanies* of 1743 but, more recently, in *Tom Jones* (published in February 1749)[2]. All due allowances made, however, for this possibility, the elimination of Richardson in favour of the 'lewd and ungenerous' Fielding in a text originally written at the request of the former could hardly have been other than a studied insult. As such, it has a twofold value for our investigation. In the first place, better than any document printed by Miss Hughes it reveals the strength of Warburton's resentment towards Richardson; and, in the second place, it fixes the explosion of this resentment at a date earlier by over three years than that of the earliest episode of the kind which she has discovered[3].

Finally, whatever may have been the personal motives involved in the revision of the Preface to *Clarissa*, the successive appearance in the same text and in the same relation to the earlier development of realistic fiction, of the names of Richardson and Fielding, illuminates in an unexpected way the conception of these two novelists prevalent in their lifetime. A recent French study has questioned the legitimacy of attributing to the reading public of the mid-eighteenth century a perception of those

[1] Quoted by Macaulay, pp. 466–67.

[2] See W. L. Cross, *The History of Henry Fielding*, New Haven, 1918, I, 400, II, 127.

[3] That contained in the letter from Richardson to Edwards of April 21, 1753 (see Miss Hughes's article, pp. 48–49). The excuse mentioned in this letter for Warburton's enmity —the fact that in the fourth edition of *Clarissa* Richardson had reflected upon Pope—does not of course preclude earlier and more fundamental grounds for displeasure.

sharp antitheses between the authors of *Clarissa* and of *Tom Jones* which have been so dear to later critics[1]. For contemporary readers like Sarah Fielding, Lady Bradshaigh, or Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, the two men were rivals indeed, but rivals 'sur le même terrain.' 'A n'en point douter, les admirateurs de Richardson et ceux de Fielding ne formaient point deux camps séparés et adverses[2].' The case of Warburton brings fresh support to this hypothesis. He had reasons of his own, it is true, for transferring his allegiance from Richardson to Fielding. But it is surely significant that he effected the transfer without any sense of incongruity and with but a minimum revision of the views he had expressed in the days of his earlier loyalty.

RONALD S. CRANE.

EVANSTON, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

[1] Aurélien Digeon, 'Autour de Fielding,' *Revue germanique*, XI (1920), 209–14.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 213, 214.

TRISTRAM AND THE HOUSE OF ANJOU.

PROFESSOR G. L. HAMILTON in a recent number of this *Review* (vol. XV, p. 425) has written a characteristically learned and illuminating study of early heraldry and its relations to romantic literature. He there challenges my suggestion, stated in an earlier number of the *Review* (vol. XIV, p. 38), that Thomas, the author of *Tristan*, attributed to his hero the device of a golden lion on a red field, and my inference that Thomas wrote under the patronage of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine or of Richard I. No one is more grateful than I for the fulness of Professor Hamilton's discussion, partly because the subject is one in which I am, though ignorant enough, interested; and partly because I find among the works to which he refers much that confirms my own rather than his view. The point for which I am contending might seem hardly worth prolonged discussion, were it not that it is an important part of the evidence which I here propose to assemble, showing the special interest which various scions of the royal House of Anjou manifested in the romantic history of Tristram.

In trying to establish the heraldic charge assigned by Thomas to Tristram, I had pointed out that whereas M. Bédier could cite but one derivative of Thomas, Gottfried von Strassburg, in favour of the boar, there were three derivatives of Thomas which agreed on a lion.

Professor Hamilton believes that Gottfried's evidence is to be rated very highly on this point because, he asserts, the boar is a cognizance so utterly unknown in German heraldry before the end of the thirteenth century that Gottfried would never have adopted it unless he had had the precedent of Thomas. 'Down to the end of the twelfth century, at least, the boar does not appear as armorial bearings, nor is it mentioned as such in French epics and German courtly poetry of the next two centuries[1].' This statement will not bear examination. Seyler, to whom Professor Hamilton refers, shows that in the twelfth century already the boar was familiar in Germany, if not as a heraldic blazon, at least as a personal badge. The *Kaiserchronik* (ca. 1140) says of Titus: 'Er vuort ainen gruonen van; Mit golde was geworht dar an Ain eber wilde' (ll. 5263–65). Again the *Rolandslied* of Pfaffe Konrad (ca. 1150) says,

[1] *M.L.R.* xv, p. 427.

of the Saracen king, Estorgant: 'Ein vanen fuorter ane there hant; Thar ane stuont ein eversvin, Alrot guldin' (ll. 4878–80). Seyler also figures the seal of Count Rudolph von Ramsberg, attached to a document of the year 1163, on which a boar appears[1]. Though the heraldic character of these instances may be questioned, no such doubt attaches to the boar which appears on the shield, housings, helmet, and pennon of the Margrave Diobold von Vohburg as represented in the Berne manuscript of Petrus de Ebulo's *De Rebus Siculis* (ca. 1196)[2]. When, moreover, we discover that in Konrad von Würzburg's *Trojanerkrieg* (ante 1269) the same beast is, next to the lion and the eagle, the most common charge[3], Professor Schoepperle's citations from *Partonopier* and *Meleranz* prove to be by no means the irrelevancies that Professor Hamilton implies[4]. For they clinch the evidence that the boar was not a rare device in the thirteenth century, but was from the start familiar in German heraldry. There is therefore no reason for believing that Gottfried must have found the boar specified in his source; there is no reason for attaching special weight to his witness.

What of the three witnesses which I have adduced in favour of the lion? The Norse Saga's mention of the housings of Tristram's destrier as embroidered with gold lions on a red ground Professor Hamilton sets aside on what seem, at first glance, to be the most solid of reasons. In fact, I may confess to having been very gravely impressed when I read them. For Professor Hamilton maintains that the device cannot be derived from Thomas, who wrote before the Angevins had adopted the golden lions on a red field. But it is easily explicable as originating with Brother Robert, for we know that about this time his patron, King Hákon Hákonarson, adopted as the royal arms of Norway a rampant lion or on a field gules. The matter seems settled.

But does not Professor Hamilton contradict himself in this sentence: 'There is not the slightest evidence that Henry II did adopt such armorial bearings even if two, and three, lions are found on the seals of his successors to the throne, Richard I and John[5]'? For, if this evidence is not direct, it is at least evidence: and it becomes fairly strong when coupled with the fact that Henry's father, Geoffrey, apparently displayed

[1] G. A. Seyler, *Geschichte der Heraldik*, p. 70.

[2] Ed. E. Rota, pl. 36, 39. See also P. Ganz, *Geschichte der heraldischen Kunst in der Schweiz*, pp. 24 f.

[3] P. Ganz, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

[4] *Romanic Review*, III, pp. 433 f. Professor Hamilton is hardly correct in assigning to 'the late thirteenth century' the *Partonopier*, which preceded the *Trojanerkrieg*, which in turn was finished before 1269. The use of the boar in French heraldry is shown by *Guleran*, S.A.T.F., l. 5931.

[5] *M.L.R.* XV, p. 426.

the golden lions on a blue field very lavishly on his clothing and accoutrements. In fact, this combination of inferential evidence seems to me distinctly stronger than Professor Hamilton's argument *ex silentio.* But it is not necessary for me to prove this disputed point, though I consider it fairly secure. As I pointed out in my article, Bédier's dating of Thomas's poem before 1170 has been questioned. It was possibly written as late as 1189. It was certainly written when fully developed heraldic cognizances were in fashion, as is shown by the description of the shield of Tristan le Nain[1]. It is inconceivable that at a time when the fashion was fully established, the king of England, whoever he was, should not have had his armorial charge. If this king was Henry II, we have a right to infer that his charge consisted of gold lions on a blue or a red field. If this king was Richard, we are practically certain that his charge consisted of two gold lions on a red field. There is, then, at least a possibility that the description of the housings in Brother Robert reflects a feature in his source, deliberately introduced as a compliment to an Angevin king[2].

This possibility becomes a very strong probability when we examine the passage in the Norse Saga. If it was Brother Robert's intent to flatter King Hákon, he would have introduced an elaborate description of his hero's arms and armour, and have mentioned scrupulously the blazoning of his shield, his pennon, and his horse-trappings. But this is precisely what we do not have. The shield, the kernel of heraldic decoration, is unblazoned. Only the casual mention of the embroidered housings permits us to infer the charge on the shield. Since Brother Robert later became an abbot[3], he probably possessed diplomatic ability: but is this the calculated flattery of a man 'to been an abbot able'? On the contrary, it seems clear that this heraldic detail possessed little significance for Brother Robert. The whole passage, indeed, seems explicable only in the light of M. Bédier's conclusion that the Norse translator is here condensing from his original[4]. A piece of studied flattery it cannot be: it must be a mutilated version of the French. The Saga, then, definitely witnesses to the presence of the heraldic lion in Thomas.

It may possibly be objected that heraldic housings do not appear

[1] Thomas, *Tristan*, ed. Bédier, I, ll. 2182–84: 'Escu ot d'or a vair freté, De meime le teint et la lance, Le penun e la conisance.'

[2] That this is by no means an isolated instance of heraldic flattery may be determined by consulting H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, I, p. 364, and D'Ancona and Monaci, *Una Leggenda Araldica.*

[3] H. G. Leach, *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia*, p. 179.

[4] Thomas, *Tristan*, ed. Bédier, I, p. 61, note 1.

until more than forty years after Thomas wrote[1]. On the contrary, as early as Wace's *Roman de Rou* (1160–1174) we read of a destrier 'tot covert de fer[2].' In a mosaic of the year 1178, which formerly existed at Brindisi, Bishop Turpin was represented on a horse, whose housings bore the device of the crozier in three places[3]. If, as there is reason to believe, the *Tristan* was composed some time after 1170, further references are in order. The *Lanzelet* (ca. 1195) describes an 'isern kovertiure' covered with green samite worked with golden lions (ll. 4414–19). The manuscript of Petrus de Ebulo, already cited, which is of about the same date, depicts many blazoned housings. They are of the same type as that shown on the seal of William Longespee, Earl of Salisbury (1198)[4].

The witness of the Saga as to Thomas's account of his hero's heraldic charge is corroborated by two other direct derivatives from Thomas, the Middle English *Sir Tristrem* and the Chertsey Tiles. The value of their testimony Professor Hamilton questions. He says: 'The reference to a "Lyoun" on the shield of Tristram in the English version is only a rhyme-tag to go with "dragoun" of a following line[5].' Now if it were difficult to find rhymes for the word 'boar,' which, according to Professor Hamilton, was Tristram's cognizance in Thomas, there might be reason to believe that 'lyoun' is here a substitution. But since there are plenty of such rhymes, we may perhaps persist in the belief that it was not rhyme but reason which led the author to assign the lion to Tristram: and that reason was that he found it in his source, Thomas.

Finally the evidence of the Chertsey Tiles, which twice represent on Tristram's shield a single rampant lion, comes under fire. Professor Hamilton argues that we need not look to Thomas as the source of this beast, for 'it is quite natural to find the arms of the royal family of England introduced with intention in a work of English art of the end of the thirteenth century[6].' Now I scarcely need to inform Professor Hamilton that the royal arms were then not a single rampant lion, but three lions passant (otherwise described as leopards). This the designer of the tiles, as we see from his picture of Richard the Lion Heart, knew perfectly, and he could never have supposed that in the single rampant

[1] G. Demay, *Costume d'après les Sceaux*, affords no example of housings before the 'housse de maille' of Robert de Montaut, on a seal of 1214, and no heraldically adorned housings before 1217. See pp. 179, 181.

[2] Wace, *Roman de Rou*, ed. H. Andresen, l. 7512.

[3] E. Bertaux, *L'Art dans l'Italie méridionale*, I, p. 493.

[4] W. L. Bowles and J. G. Nichols, *Annals and Antiquities of Lacock Abbey*, pl. I, opposite p. 147.

[5] *M.L.R.* xv, p. 427, note.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 428.

lion of Tristram there was any reference to a contemporary sovereign. Indeed Professor Hamilton seems to feel the weakness of his explanation, for he goes on to say that even at that late date blazonings were variable. But the only support he gives for this statement is Konrad von Würzburg's confusion of tinctures in attributing three *red lions* on a *gold field* to the King of England. Now Galle has demonstrated that Konrad's heraldry is full of blunders[1], and this error of his, far from proving that the arms of England were indeterminate quantities, merely illustrates Konrad's unreliability. The single rampant lion was not the device of the Angevins in the thirteenth century. It may have been, as we have seen, the device of an Angevin king eighty or a hundred years before. The lion on the Chertsey Tiles may well go back through Thomas to this early Angevin device.

Three direct derivatives from Thomas, therefore, concur in ascribing to Tristram the device of the lion. Many remoter derivatives confirm the point. Besides the *Tavola Ritonda* and the list attached to *Gyron le Courtois*, which I have already cited in a previous publication[2], an English manuscript of the thirteenth century (Bibliothèque Nationale, Français 94) displays on the first page a red lion and above the word 'Tristany[3].' An illumination in a fifteenth century manuscript of the prose romance shows a number of banners, some depending from trumpets, one floating from Tristram's ship, all blazoned red with a golden lion[4]. That this beast should be so persistently and widely assigned to Tristram cannot be reconciled with Professor Hamilton's hypothesis. For it is highly unlikely that Brother Robert's Saga was ever read south of Denmark. But once grant that this feature is due to Thomas, and the matter is clear.

My contention also dovetails into another set of evidences. I am convinced that the House of Anjou and its immediate connections took a special interest in the romance of Tristram. By whom and for whom were all the Tristram poems of the twelfth century, whose origin we can trace, written? The Lay of *Chievrefoil* was written by Marie de France, who dedicated her work to a king, universally admitted to be King Henry II. The theory has been advanced with a high degree of plausi-

[1] A. Galle, *Wappenwesen und Heraldik bei Konrad von Würzburg*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, LIII.

[2] R. S. Loomis, *Illustrations of Medieval Romance on Tiles from Chertsey Abbey*, p. 51.

[3] E. Hucher, *Sur les Représentations de Tristan et d'Yseult dans les Monuments du Moyen Age*, p. 12, in *Bulletin de la Société d'Agriculture, Science, et Arts de la Sarthe*, 1871. P. Paris, *Manuscrits français*, I, p. 118.

[4] Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature française*, I, p. 272.

bility that Marie was no other than Henry's half-sister[1]. Crestien de Troyes, who wrote of King Mark and Isolt la Blonde, enjoyed the patronage of Marie de Champagne, daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine. Another daughter, Matilda of Saxony, after a visit at the Angevin court, caused the 'estoire' of Tristram to be turned into German by Eilhart von Oberg. It would then be in perfect accord with all the *a priori* evidence that Thomas also, a courtly poet, an Anglo-Norman, a panegyrist of London town, should have written for a patron or patroness of the Angevin House.

Another link connecting Thomas with the dynasty has been generously brought to my notice by Professor W. R. Lethaby. One of the Patent Rolls for 1207 shows King John acknowledging the receipt of his regalia, and in the itemized list we find 'duos enses scilicet ensem Tristrami et alium ensem de eodem regali[2].' Romantic though the theory appears, there can be little doubt that this sword of Tristram is still represented among the present regalia of England. According to the romance, the hero left a splinter of his sword in the skull of Morhaut. After King John's time we hear no more of Tristram's sword among the regalia, but instead there appears 'Curtana,' the short (French *court*) or blunt sword. Its identity with Tristram's sword, though forgotten in England, was known in France, for the author of the prose *Tristan* (ca. 1250) says that his hero's sword passed into the hands of Ogier the Dane, and, being shortened, was called 'cortaine[3].' When at the Restoration a new Curtana was made to replace the original, lost during the Commonwealth, it possessed a splintered edge as if the point had been broken off[4]. At some time since, this jagged edge has been smoothed off, and an interesting vestige of the hold of romance upon the sovereigns of the Anjou dynasty has been obliterated.

We may now recur to the Norse translation of Thomas made in 1226 at the instance of King Hákon. Dr Henry G. Leach has brought together a remarkable array of facts demonstrating that the King of Norway not only was in constant friendly communication with Henry III, but also patterned his own court in many significant ways upon the English[5]. His palace at Bergen was modelled after that of Westminster, and, as we have seen, he adopted armorial bearings similar in device and identical

[1] *English Historical Review*, 1910, p. 303.
[2] T. D. Hardy, *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, 77 b.
[3] E. Löseth, *Roman en Prose de Tristan*, p. 302.
[4] Sir Edward Walker, *Circumstantial Account of the Preparations for the Coronation of Charles II*. Fig. unnumbered plate, 'Curtana.'
[5] H. G. Leach, *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia*, pp. 50–55, 110 f.

in tincture with those of Henry. Nothing was more natural, accordingly, than that on the occasion of his marriage he should order to be translated into Norse the favourite romance of the English court.

The Chertsey Tiles, again, are an indication of Angevin interest in Thomas's poem. I have already published the grounds given by Professor Lethaby for connecting this magnificent pavement with Henry III[1]. Executed about 1270, probably at the king's instance, it may have been destined for some royal palace and left on the abbey's hands at the king's death. At least, to modern notions, the incongruity of this passionate romance with the hallowed precincts suggests some such explanation. Nevertheless, when the nearly contemporary romance, *L'Escoufle* (ll. 579 ff.), shows us the Count of Montivilliers offering at the high altar of the Holy Sepulchre itself a golden hanap enamelled with scenes from the loves of Tristram and Ysolt (perhaps not unlike that preserved at the Poldi Pezzoli Museum, Milan)[2] as a receptacle for the Eucharist, who will say that Henry would have considered it inappropriate to bestow on the abbey this amorous imagery to pave their church and to furnish matter for the contemplation of the monks?

Finally, one more straw which shows the wind blowing from the same quarter. Though in most cases the information which the prose romances give about their authors and their origin is properly suspect, the version of the prose *Tristan* which attributes itself to Rusticien de Pise has not, so far as I am aware, been challenged. It purports to have been translated 'du livre monseigneur Edouart, le roi d'Engleterre, en cellui temps que il passa oultre la mer ou service nostre seigneur Dame Dieu pour conquester le saint sepulcre[3].' This particular bit of literary history furnished by Rusticien, which has so far obtained acceptance, accords so well with the other facts adduced in this article that it may almost be regarded as proved. And Edward I may be added to those descendants of Geoffrey of Anjou who displayed an interest in Tristram.

ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS.

NEW YORK.

[1] R. S. Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
[2] Figured in F. Malaguzza-Valeri, *Corte di Lodovico il Moro*, I, p. 557.
[3] E. Löseth, *op. cit.*, pp. 423 f.

GIOVAN BATTISTA ANDREINI AS A THEATRICAL INNOVATOR.

GIOVAN BATTISTA ANDREINI is slightly known to English students because a few eighteenth-century critics, beginning with Voltaire, decided that his mystery play, *L'Adamo,* must have been the inspiring origin of Milton's *Paradise Lost*[1]. That theory is now regarded as an interesting supposition merely, and Andreini is ignored far more than he should be by theatrical historians. The importance of this once famous Capocomico and writer of tragedies, comedies, histories, pastorals, lies not so much in his creative power as a writer, for that was not remarkable, but in his unwearied efforts to improve stage production, efforts that influenced the French theatre of the seventeenth century quite as much as the Italian and that left a tradition carried over into England in 1660. Many of the devices which Pepys remarks in the plays he saw, the echo song, the machines, the changes of background, all new and wonderful in the London theatre of his day, were a direct inheritance from the court spectacles that Andreini and his troupe, the Fedeli, invented and elaborated for their patrons, the ducal houses of Mantua and Modena and the royal house of France.

Early in the seventeenth century when Andreini began his independent work for the theatre, after a rigorous training under his parents, the notable actors, Francesco and Isabella Andreini, there was the greatest irregularity in the manner of producing plays, although, contradictorily enough, there was much narrowness of critical dogma as to the way they should be produced. It was believed that scenic magnificence was only appropriate to pastoral dramas or to *intermedj*; tragedies and comedies were given in a less spectacular fashion and usually with a fixed stage arrangement which included painted scenery but not changes of scene. Andreini, working with a group of talented actors and under rich and enlightened patrons, brought into the regular drama much of the magnificence inherited from the *Sacre Rappresentazioni* and the *intermedj*, published his plays with full stage directions which allowed their performance by companies other than his own, recognized and encouraged the *melodrama,* paid close attention to costume and

[1] Cf. E. Allodoli's edition of *L'Adamo*, Lanciano, Carrabba, 1913, for a summary of the history of this question and for a modern judgment of it.

properties in their relation to the plays he gave, in short contributed in every way toward what his age and the next regarded as realism and beauty in the drama.

He had of course a rich background to work from. Since 1491, when Leonardo da Vinci invented the apparatus for plays given before the Sforza in Milan[1], and 1519 when Raphael painted the setting for Ariosto's *Suppositi* given before Leo X in Rome[2], great artists and princes had devoted their serious attention to the stage. The principle of realism had been partly recognized; Raphael, in the performance of the *Suppositi* just alluded to, made his background to represent Ferrara, the scene of the comedy, and other artists followed his example, reproducing well-known aspects of certain Italian cities such as were required by the plays they set[3]. Such realism was however confined to comedies, with their 'imitation' of the everyday life of men. Tragedies, often closely following classical originals, had a more general and symbolic setting, as magnificent as the producer could afford, with palaces and towers built up on the stage sometimes to the number of ten, and with particular attention to the lighting, which was early recognized to have a definite relation to the mood of the spectator and to reflect the feeling of the tragedy[4]. For pastorals much license of fancy was allowed, with machinery moved about against an immovable background and with lights, representing the heavenly bodies, turning in the ceiling.

In 1598 at Ferrara Angelo Ingegneri published his interesting little essay on dramatic poetry, *Della poesia rappresentativa*, and summed up toward the end of it his theories as to how plays should be presented in order to make them as true to life as possible. The pages on 'l'apparato' (pp. 62 ff.) contain such statements as:

> The stage ought to resemble as closely as may be the place in which the story of the play is laid. For example if the tragedy takes place in Rome, the Campidoglio should be shown with the chief palace, and the principal temples and other buildings. If the play is a comedy, the Pantheon should appear with the column of Antony or of Trajan, and the Tiber and some other points that would cause the city to be recognized.... But if a pastoral is to be played, since the whole thing is rustic, any setting will serve...so that it contain woods, mountains, valleys, rivers, fountains, temples, huts and, especially, distant backgrounds....

[1] W. E. Flechsig, *Die Dekorationen der modernen Bühnen in Italien*, Dresden, 1894, p. 33, and Luzio-Renier, *Delle relazioni di Isabella d'Este Gonzaga con Ludovico e Beatrice Sforza*, in *Archivio storico lombardo*, 1890, p. 941.

[2] A. Ademollo, *Alessandro VI, Giulio II e Leone X nel Carnevale di Roma*, Firenze, 1886, pp. 88–93. Also Flechsig, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 ff.

[3] For one example among several that might be given, cf. the description of the 'bellissima scenetta, la qual era finta Venezia,' in Solerti-Lanza, *Il teatro ferrarese nella seconda metà del secolo XVI*, in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 1891, p. 172, n. 1.

[4] Cf. quotation from L. de' Sommi, the actor-manager at the Mantuan Court, 1567 ff., in A. D'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*, Torino, 1891, II, pp. 417 ff., and F. Neri, *La tragedia italiana nel cinquecento*, Firenze, 1904, p. 172.

Ingegneri agrees in the main with de' Sommi in his emphasis on magnificence in the presentation of plays and still more on the importance of natural costumes and manners in actors. He insists again and again that the aim of dramatic art is the imitation of life, suggesting that the time has come to eliminate the ghost from tragedy, 'for I have never seen a ghost on the stage that was not ridiculous,' remarking that the chorus often led the way to absurdities, as when it was brought in revering a king who had just been driven from his throne and who ought therefore to be shown as without a follower (p. 23), and discussing ways of producing naturalness of effect, such as the accounting logically for exits and entrances and the making occasions for choral odes and other music in the introduction of festivals, weddings, dances and other diversions (p. 17). Above all he urges in true classic spirit that tone should be preserved in dramatic art, as one way of bringing the spectator into touch with the story presented.

This essay by Ingegneri Andreini must surely have known, since he was in 1598 an eager young student of drama and an actor in his parents' troupe, the Gelosi, a company frequently engaged to play at Ferrara for the Don Cesare d'Este to whom the little book was dedicated. His own work reflects many of Ingegneri's ideas, though he never mentions this particular authority in any of his numerous acknowledgments of indebtedness to his predecessors in the prefaces to his published works, where he tells how he learned from them and how he ventured to improve upon their practices. His first play, a tragedy, *La Florinda*, printed in Milan, 1606, and written for his wife, whose stage name was Florinda, is illustrated with a frontispiece showing how its author arranged his stage to represent the 'forest of Scotland,' where he set his play. In the midst is a large castle, not unlike the central structure on the Elizabethan stage, with a tower over it, a balcony and numerous windows as well as two doors for its two stories. At one side of the rather large stage is a small pseudo-classical circular temple, with pillars around it, on the other is a rustic hut with a waterfall behind it and a sunburst in the sky overhead; two paths bordered with trees lead to the temple and the hut and in the centre, before the castle, stands a group of four hunters, with a horse, a dog and three long lances. Obviously this set is of the composite kind used in the tragedies of the Cinquecento, demanding no change of scene, since all the three principal places mentioned in the text are on the stage at the same time. It is the point of departure for Andreini's theatrical experiments and shows how conventionally he began his career as actor-manager.

His next plays, *L'Adamo*, Milan, 1614, and *La Maddalena*, Venice,

1616, are almost as traditional in some respects as the tedious tragedy of *La Florinda*, though these two derive from the *Sacre Rappresentazioni* rather than from the classical imitations of learned playwrights in the sixteenth century. Yet both these plays show advance in knowledge of the stage and a great deal of daring in the use of scenic magnificence. All that their author had learned in years of experience with courtly spectacles he uses here, adding to his knowledge his own inventions. He says in the preface to *La Ferinda*, the comedy he printed in Paris, 1622, 'for my happy fortune I saw in Florence and in Mantua many dramatic and musical works; I saw *Orfeo, Arianna, Silla, Dafne, Cerere* and *Psiche*, wonderful things, all of them,' and goes on to speak enthusiastically of the 'angelic' music which helped to give them charm. Accordingly he brought into his mystery plays as much music as he could arrange for, giving to *L'Adamo* a chorus of Cherubim and Serafim and an answering chorus of 'spiriti igni, aerei, acquatici ed infernali,' with a ballet of the Seven Deadly Sins and other allegorical characters, and to *La Maddalena* a chorus of many angels, revealed when the 'Gloria' opens 'to the sound of many trumpets[1].'

Perhaps Andreini was conscious that it would take a good deal of spectacular appeal to cover the tedium of his long poetic dialogues and the amount of moralizing that he managed to insert in the speeches of his principal characters; certainly it is hard for a modern reader to imagine these two long religious plays even as operas, unless he visualizes rather vividly the full stage directions the author supplies. The *Maddalena* is undoubtedly the more beautiful of the two; it opens with a description of the 'apparato,' which 'must be all sea and rocks; and in the distance on the sea a small bark, before the Prologue appears, with some fish frisking about; but after this the fish must never appear except when the symphony plays, and even then rarely. The sky should be all starry and in the midst of it the Moon, full; the Divine Grace (*Favor*) will appear as Prologue, on a car exceedingly bright, all adorned with stars and supported with clouds of both gold and silver, and the clouds shall be borne by two angels'; at the disappearance of the Prologue, 'little by little the stars shall vanish and from the sea shall rise the dawn and after the dawn the sun, and as the Prologue has ended to the sound of melodious music, the setting, which was all maritime, shall represent in part lofty palaces, in the midst of them the residence of Maddalena, the proudest possible.'

[1] Andreini followed Ingegneri's advice in the use of much music in his plays; he also made occasions for his songs and choruses, just as Ingegneri suggested, and varied the style of them, introducing the echo refrain, for instance, in his pastorals, as his father had done in his pastoral, *L'Alterezza di Narciso*, Venezia, 1611.

It is hardly an exaggeration to call *La Maddalena*, as does Luigi Rasi, 'il più bel pasticcio comico-drammatico-tragico-melodrammatico-mimo-danzante che sia mai stato visto sulla scena[1],' though perhaps it is hard to agree with him that it is 'rich in original beauties.' The text provides every opportunity for musicians, as Monteverdi and Salomone De Rossi discovered when they set it to music in 1618, and it is equally appealing to the stage carpenter and costumer. The thirty speaking characters outside the chorus are dressed with an eye to their parts in the fable, from the Magdalene herself, with her changes from worldly splendour to a penitential garb of hair shirt, rope girdle and sandals, 'with a skull in her hand,' to the Divine Grace in glory and the Archangel Michael in full shining armour.

L'Adamo is less free in its treatment of its theme than is *La Maddalena*. It contains some pageant-like features evidently imitated from the allegorical *intermedj* of Andreini's youth, such as the traditional procession of Pride (*Vanagloria*) drawn on her chariot by a giant, and the beautiful Serpent with the head, breast and arms of a man; mixed with these characters from religious history are several of classical inspiration, equally picturesque on the stage, such as Vulcan with his forge, constructing Hell, and infernal scenes that owe as much to Virgil as to the Biblical source of the story.

In the preface to *L'Adamo* (first edition, Milan, 1613)—a letter 'to the benign Reader'—the poet gives expression to the artistic conscience which was constantly alive in him and which drove him on from one experiment to another. Here he tells his difficulties with dramatic diction.

> The dispute of Eve with the Serpent before she ate the apple was difficult.... Equally difficult was the debate of Eve with Adam, persuading him to eat (though she had then the gift of all knowledge). And this language was most difficult for my little strength, because the composition of it had to be naked of all the poetic ornaments so dear to the Muses and deprived of all reference to the things created in the years since then, for in the time of the first man there was nothing made. For instance I had to omit mentioning, when Adam spoke or when anyone talked with him, bows, arrows, pennants, urns, knives, swords, lances, trumpets, drums, trophies, ensigns, harangues, hammers, torches, bellows, funeral pyres, theatres, treasuries and similar things...all introduced on account of original sin.... Moreover it was difficult to know in what way to make Adam speak, because so far as his knowledge was concerned he merited long, grand, full, sustained verses, but considering him as a shepherd and an inhabitant of the forest, he ought to be simple and sweet in his language; so I did the best I could with full verses, some broken and some completed. I have reason to think that the kindness of God, regarding my good intentions rather than my defects,...moving my hand, helped me to finish my work.

This nervous care for diction Andreini reveals again and again in the confidences to his patrons or to his 'benign readers' which preface

[1] L. Rasi, *I comici italiani*, Firenze, 1897, I, p. 122.

his various plays. He was among the first playwrights to meditate the Horatian laws for character decorum and to interpret them more liberally than the French academicians later in the century. He believed in the use of dialect as a method of characterization as well as for humorous appeal; in the description of 'l'apparato' prefixed to *Lelio bandito*, Milano, 1620, he says he hopes no one will object to the use of various languages and dialects in this play, for he has followed the rule of making each person speak 'as he would do in real life.' In *La Ferinda*, Paris, 1622, it is perhaps hardly realistic to bring on to the stage at once Frenchmen, Germans, Italians speaking the Venetian, Lombard, Genovese and Neapolitan dialects, a pedant using bad Latin, and a stutterer—here Giovan Battista was following the practice of the actors of the improvised plays who used dialect for comic effect—but he preserves the characteristics of each kind of speech with rather more care than would some of his contemporaries; that is, for all the personages except the German, in whose language no amount of good will can find much likeness to the speech of the Teutons[1].

Costume, like speech, Andreini regarded as a means of characterization. He criticizes, in the preface to *La Centaura*, Paris, 1622, the practice of some of his contemporaries who write plays about twins, 'a notable and improbable error,' namely the dressing of these twins differently. 'They should be dressed alike,' says Andreini, since in life no two faces are alike, and their being twins must be emphasized in such a way that the audience will understand their relationship, but 'an invention must account for this likeness of costume: such as that used by my father and me in *I due Leli* (a play on which Giovan Battista and his father, Francesco, collaborated); our twins had both heard of their father's death and so came on the stage dressed alike in black of the fashion of that city where the scene was laid.' In *La Centaura* he gives detailed directions for costumes, taking particular care that the two mad characters shall be dressed as wildly and as ridiculously as possible, that the nymphs shall present a 'bizarre' appearance and that the family of four Centaurs, parents and two children, who give their names to the play, shall impress the eye with their strangeness. His symbolic characters in the same play, and in others where such figures appear, are given the usual conventional properties, such as a bellows and rope for Adulation, a bouquet of flowers with a serpent in the middle of it for Deceit, an enveloping black and white mantle for Falsehood, etc. The medieval influence is strong here, as will be seen

[1] 'A real Babel,' says Bevilacqua of this comedy; cf. E. Bevilacqua, *Giambattista Andreini e la compagnia dei Fedeli*, in *Gior. stor. della lett. ital.*, 1895, p. 114.

from the description of Divine Justice in the same play, *La Centaura*: 'A Woman of singular beauty, dressed in gold, with a crown of gold on her head, above it a dove in a halo of light, her hair spread on her shoulders, in her right hand a naked sword, in her left the scales.'

Realism, the confessed aim of Andreini's art, it will be seen is here quite subordinated to scenic appeal and that is aided wherever possible by the use of elaborate symbolic figures. In fact he admits in his most important prefatory letter, that to *La Centaura,* that he could easily have done without allegorical figures such as Deceit, Adulation and their sisters, because the fable 'is knit and unravelled without disguises or miracles,' but that for the adorning of the stage, 'to which one must pay great attention,' and for 'tragic pomp,' which is equally important, he introduced such ornaments as well as his unusual and splendid stage machinery.

It is to be feared that his wish to strike the eye of his spectators led the poet to forget himself in the stage carpenter at times. Certainly he devotes a great deal of careful attention to the magnificent bed on which his sick king is carried in (*La Centaura*) and justifies the use of it on the grounds of royal magnificence and of the improbability that an invalid monarch would stagger into the street to die. In *La Turca,* Venice, 1622, he uses 'warlike maritime accidents,' to great effect; in *Lelio bandito,* Milan, 1620, he describes an 'apparato' which represents 'cavernous and woody mountains; at the right a castle, situated high and distant, from which one can descend into the middle of the stage; at the left a cottage on a hill, from which...one can descend by a stairway which is made to look like living rock.' In the middle is a spacious cavern under which is a chest, covered with 'a most beautiful carpet,' the bed of Lelio, the bandit. The scene was supposed to be the Abruzzi mountains, but there are no directions for peasant costumes.

The scene for *La Turca* was of a different sort and included a 'painted background' (*prospettiva*) with a sea in the distance and around it 'many high mountains, with huts of painted cardboard on them together with certain castles, showing that one could walk in these mountains and descend to the stage from them'; and in the last of the houses 'there must be a window large enough to permit a woman to flee from it; and there must be two towers...one on the one side of three houses and the other on the other side of the other three.'

Such painted scenery, it will be seen, Andreini used in his comedies, combining with the traditional houses of the Italian comic stage, a landscape or seascape background to give some of the beauty and variety which similar sets contributed to the pastoral drama of his day.

[illegible] upon the [illegible] in the preface to *La Turca* [illegible] 1727 he realized, he says, 'how [illegible] and [illegible] on the stage, lacking the [illegible] in which [illegible] mentioned in the gorgeous allegorical and pastoral [illegible] to which they were attached; 'it lost much in the way [illegible] into a comedy no god comes nor is there any [illegible] and rapid changes.' Accordingly he set his story in [illegible] that picturesque city, half land, half water, and tried to bring [illegible] some of the charm of those other spectacular pieces, [illegible] an allegorical prologue recited by Thalia standing on a shell [illegible] by introducing a ballet of fishermen and by giving [illegible] Venetian scene through the use of gondolas and [illegible] In *La Turca* he repeated the Venetian theme, but [illegible] by adding to his maritime scenery Turkish [illegible] an enslaved brother and sister, and by [illegible] a chariot, ornamented with [illegible] with various lights painted on them.'

[illegible] Andrevini calls *La Turca*, in [illegible] his mixing the genres of [illegible] such criticism being [illegible] the Spenserian and [illegible] a sinner for it [illegible]

followed by other mechanicians who helped actors with similar devices, as Inigo Jones helped Ben Jonson with his Masques. Sometimes it was the lights only which were made to revolve[1], sometimes the whole aspect of the stage changed, as in one of Andreini's most ambitious 'opere reali,' *L'Ismenia*, Bologna, 1639; here the first stage direction reads: 'Here appear many Cupids carrying a Temple, all gilded, putting it down at the right side of the stage, then, singing the following madrigal, they go.' In the same play a Hypogriff 'with a pleasant hiss,' dances a ballet to the tune of his hissing (Act iii), and in Act iv another monster, not particularized, makes off with one of the maidens. The chief sensation comes in the fifth act where 'thunder is heard, the stage shakes, the lights disappear, and, the theatre being darkened for a moment, the lights come on again, showing that the iron Rock of Death has vanished and there remain only the two prostrate persons.'

A still more ingenious device, not, however, involving a change of scene, was used for *La Rosa*, Andreini's reworking into pastoral romance of the Tancred and Gismunda story. He obligingly gives a detailed description of his management of the chief incident in his plot, so that other actors can easily produce the play if they wish. As for the device of Lelio's head in a basin, says the author, it may be well arranged as follows, so that the audience will be quite deceived: 'A basin of brass or of silvered wood' must be filled with flowers, and it must have 'an opening in the bottom like that in a lantern'; when it is brought in to Florinda by Cavaletta, he [the servant] must take care to keep his hands over it as he puts it on the floor; while it is there, 'Lelio from a trap door underneath must put his head up through the bottom of the basin, so that, when Florinda moves the flowers a little, she will at once see the head of Lelio. He withdraws instantly as she drops the flowers in horror and takes up the basin.' Thus the company is saved the expense of having a stucco head made to resemble the hero of the play, and that hero himself, acted by the author of the tragicomedy, keeps in his own power the delicate management of his climax.

For the end of *La Maddalena* Andreini invented a machine similar to that used in modern representations of Berlioz' *Damnation of Faust*, if one can judge from the directions for the tableau of the Magdalene's salvation. 'Suddenly Maddalena shall be raised somewhat from the earth by a subterranean device (*ingegno sotterraneo*) and at the same instant angels shall sustain her on either side, and at the same time the theatre shall be made to look like the most barren desert.' After the

[1] As in a contract for the construction of a 'teatro di legname,' Jan., 1575, quoted by Neri, *op. cit.*, p. 170, n. 3.

heroine looks 'languidly' at the desert and laments her sins for awhile, 'the cavern opens, where an immensity of light shall be seen'; she recognizes the sepulchre of Christ, since 'if it is desired a beautiful Crucifix, not too large may appear there'; she kneels and prays, then 'to the sound of a gentle Miserere,' goes away, the Gloria with its chorus of chanting angels finally replacing all the desert and receiving the penitent to eternal happiness.

I forbear to quote others of Andreini's painstaking stage directions, which have a close likeness to those already given. His taste, it will be evident, was as much toward theatrical magnificence as it was toward emotional and burlesque acting. He of course wrote most of his plays for the use of the Fedeli, in which for many years his wife, the beautiful singer and actress, Virginia, 'called Florinda,' took the prima donna's rôles and he himself played the first lover. It is amusing to trace the way he 'featured' his own and his wife's accomplishments, and prepared here and there little opportunities for 'hits' of different sorts. The tears and laments and fainting fits of Florinda in Andreini's first tragedy must have cost some pains in the performance of them, yet undoubtedly, as contemporaries witness, the fair-haired Virginia carried them off successfully and made the audience forget the interminable length of her speeches. Lelio, as Andreini invariably called himself on the stage, preferred comic effects to tragic, and rarely missed a chance for burlesquing his rôle or for introducing some of those dubious allusions or jests which most of his critics have found it so hard to reconcile with his bigoted piety.

As an actor Andreini was probably less original than as a stage manager. He was surrounded by excellent actors, and had a good deal of trouble at times to keep himself and Virginia from being eclipsed by some of them. Yet no one in the course of his career seems to have challenged his supremacy in putting on plays, either his own or those of his contemporaries. He was in constant demand at the courts of France and Mantua and elsewhere during the fifty years of his active life. Moreover he took a lively part in the controversial literature of his day, defending with unusual intelligence and persistence both his profession and his own innovations in the theatre. He pointed out in true Horatian fashion that the stage was a great prophet of righteousness, teaching the useful through the beautiful, and that he himself never set aside morality for mere amusement. 'If there be here or there some little licentious word,' he observes in the preface to *Lo Schiavetto*, 'put into the mouth of a low character, it is only there like a thorn among roses,' and can but call attention to the contrasting truths and beauties.

More important than these conventional declarations of intent are Andreini's actual practices and the use of his really formidable learning in the bringing the theatre of his time to a sensible and intelligent recognition of its opportunities and its limitations. He never ceased to protest against the tactlessness of beginning plays with long uninteresting speeches which left the audience cold[1], or, a proof that his thought had surpassed his teachers, against the academic rigidity which forbade the mixing of tears and laughter and of scenes 'proper' to comedy with those associated with the melodrama or the pastoral. He never forgot that spectators like variety and brilliance, wit and movement and an image of their times. He sums up his own theory in a few words, and these might have been used by Ingegneri or any other classicist: 'La forza della Poesia, o sia Epica o sia Drammatica, si riduce sotto questo termine ristretto di facere aut fingere verisimilia' (preface to *La Centaura*).

It was undoubtedly in large part his influence exercised on and through his company, the Fedeli, that helped actors and dramatists to adopt such aids towards realism as strict localization of action and definition of time, as it was his restless search for novelty that introduced and fixed stage improvements so that at the end of the century Perrucci could say, 'We do not know whether the ancients had as many changes of scene as the moderns, or of such a variety that thought cannot search for more, seeing that in a moment the stage is transformed from a palace into a city, from a hall into a wood, from a gallery into a garden, from a meadow into a heaven, from a heaven into a hell; into so many forms and with such swiftness and art that it seems rather an enchantment of the eyes than the work of machines[2].' Such magic was universal on the continental stage through the seventeenth century and, passing from Italy to France, from thence to London, transformed the English theatre in the Restoration period and called out the naive raptures of the astonished Pepys and his friends, who found 'the machines' used for the witches of *Macbeth* and the spirits of the *Tempest*, 'beyond description.'

WINIFRED SMITH.

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

[1] Cf. in the preface to *La Centaura*, the sensible comments on the folly of a messenger's beginning his news with 'Deh, perchè non son nato cieco? Deh, perchè non bevei latte avvelenato?' etc., for the poet says such speeches will sooner move an audience to laughter than to pity, for they will not fail to think the messenger out of his mind instead of broken-hearted.

[2] A. Perrucci, *Dell' arte rappresentativa premeditata ed all' improvvisa*, Napoli, 1699, p. 26.

HEINE, HAZLITT AND MRS JAMESON.

HEINE not only does not hide his contempt for English commentators of Shakespeare, but, more especially where it is a question of Dr Johnson, he very openly flaunts it. The two English writers on Shakespeare in whom he professes to see some good are Hazlitt and Mrs Jameson. It may, accordingly, seem a little strange that his relationship to these writers has not been more fully investigated. Gertrud von Rüdiger has examined the quotations and arrived at the conclusion that many of those which Elster takes to be Heine's own translation were, in point of fact, taken by the poet from existent German versions of Shakespeare[1]. As indicating a borrowing propensity in Heine, this should be borne in mind. A dissertation by Ernst August Schalles, entitled *Heines Verhältnis zu Shakespeare* (Berlin, 1904), gives an account of the genesis and growth of Heine's *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen*, as also of Heine's attitude towards his work. In the middle part of this dissertation (pp. 32–34) there will be found some remarks on the connection between Heine and Hazlitt, and between Heine and Mrs Jameson. Schalles observes: 'Heines eigene Charakteristiken enthalten einige Anklänge an Hazlitt.' He goes on to give three instances to which attention will afterwards be drawn; one other is noted later, incidentally (p. 49 and note). As regards Mrs Jameson, Schalles writes: 'Dagegen rühmt Heine Mrs Jameson, deren liebevoll geschriebenes Buch: "Shakespeare's female characters" eben sein Thema, nur ausführlicher und sachlicher behandelt. Heine lobt den Geist der Verfasserin, die übrigens von Geburt Irin ist, nicht Schottin, wie Heine vermutet. Er citiert aus ihrem Werke wörtlich eine ansprechende Charakteristik von Portia und Shylock' (pp. 33–34). Despite the fact that he thus borrows two entire and not short paragraphs from Mrs Jameson, Heine does not actually go back on his previous judgment: 'Der einzige Kommentator Shakespeares, den ich als Ausnahme bezeichnet, und der auch in jeder Hinsicht einzig zu nennen ist, war der selige Hazlitt, ein Geist ebenso glänzend wie tief, eine Mischung von Diderot und Börne, flammende Begeisterung für die Revolution neben dem glühendsten Kunstsinn, immer sprudelnd von Verve und Esprit[2].'

[1] *Die Zitate in 'Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen' von Heine*, in *Euphorion*, xix, pp. 290 ff.

[2] From the introduction to *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen*, Heines *Sämtliche Werke*, Hesse, Bd. iv, p. 85.

There are two considerations which render the examination of the connection between Heine and the English writers more difficult than it otherwise would be. He takes opportunities of introducing general remarks, having no direct bearing on the female characters, more especially where he can achieve a political colouring[1], or where the Jewish question arises[2]. Also, chiefly when he has no particular conception of the character he should be treating, he has recourse to general witticisms[3]. As Heine had no say in the list of characters of which he was to treat, no estimate of the extent of his dependence on either of the English writers can be formed by comparing the individual lists of characters. Neither is it in any way necessary to suppose that Heine would not have scoffed at Samuel Johnson's criticism of Shakespeare, if Hazlitt had not himself condemned it. The very temperament of the German poet would have rendered this gibing inevitable.

We may begin our survey of the tragedies with *Henry VIII*, as it is chiefly in the comments on the characters from this play that Schalles noticed a connection between Heine and Hazlitt. Thus Hazlitt writes: 'As it is, he has represented such persons to the life—his plays are in this respect the glass of history—he has done them the same justice as if he had been a privy counsellor all his life, and in each successive reign[4].' Heine reproduces this idea in his remarks on Lady Grey, *Henry VI, Part III*: 'Seine Königscharaktere sind immer so wahr gezeichnet, dass man, wie ein englischer Schriftsteller bemerkt, manchmal meinen sollte, er sei während seines ganzen Lebens der Kanzler des Königs gewesen, den er in irgend einem Drama agieren lässt' (pp. 121–122). Schalles also finds Heine's judgment on the character of Henry VIII himself reminiscent of Hazlitt, but he offers no illustrations. The actual correspondence seems to lie in the following sentences: 'There is also another circumstance in his favour, which is his patronage of Hans Holbein' (p. 184): 'Das Beste an Heinrich war sein Sinn für plastische Kunst' (p. 125). 'The character of Henry VIII is drawn with great truth and spirit' (p. 183): 'Hat aber Shakespeare wirklich den Charakter Heinrichs VIII, des Vaters seiner Königin, ganz geschichtstreu geschildert? Ja, obgleich er die Wahrheit nicht in so grellen Lauten wie in seinen übrigen Dramen verkündete, so hat er sich jedenfalls ausgesprochen, und der leisere Ton macht jeden Vorwurf desto eindringlicher'

[1] Cf. what he says on Virgilia, Queen Margaret, Lady Grey, Portia.
[2] Cf. what he says on Jessica and Portia, *Merchant of Venice*.
[3] Cf. especially the conversation of the mice in the passage purporting to refer to Constance.
[4] *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays* (Everyman Edition), p. 184.

(p. 127). 'He is of all the monarchs in our history the most disgusting.... Other kings before him (such as Richard III) were tyrants and murderers out of ambition or necessity...they destroyed their enemies or those who barred their access to the throne or made its tenure insecure. But Henry VIII's power is most fatal to those whom he loves: he is cruel and remorseless to pamper his luxurious appetites: bloody and voluptuous; an amorous murderer; an uxorious debauchee' (pp. 183–184): 'Dieser Heinrich VIII war der schlimmste aller Könige, denn während alle andere böse Fürsten nur gegen ihre Feinde wüteten, raste jener gegen seine Freunde, und seine Liebe war immer weit gefährlicher als sein Hass. Die Ehestandsgeschichten dieses königlichen Blaubarts sind entsetzlich' (p. 127). There remain two other points to which Schalles makes no reference. Hazlitt writes: 'Among other images of great individual beauty might be mentioned the description of the effect of Ann Boleyn's presenting herself to the crowd at the coronation' (p. 183). And Heine: 'Von der Schönheit der Anna Boleyn giebt uns der Dichter auch in der folgenden Scene einen Begriff, wo er den Enthusiasmus schildert, den ihr Anblick bei der Krönung hervorbrachte' (p. 126). Again Hazlitt here particularly recalls his inability to agree with Dr Johnson, a circumstance which may be reasonably held to account for Heine's remembrance of his aversion to that critic[1]. Indeed, it furnishes no matter for surprise that Schalles, noticing the connection between Heine and Hazlitt in a superficial manner only, should have been struck by Heine's use of the English writer's thought in his examination of *Henry VIII*.

Schalles refers in the third place to 'eine Äusserung über die Hexen in *Macbeth*.' The actual connection may be seen from the following: '...the cold, abstracted, gratuitous, servile malignity of the Witches, who are equally instrumental in urging Macbeth to his fate for the mere love of mischief, and from a disinterested delight in deformity and cruelty. They are hags of mischief, obscure pandars to iniquity, malicious from their impotence of enjoyment, enamoured of destruction, because they are themselves unreal, abortive, half-existences' (p. 16). 'Shakespeare verwandelte sie (die Walküren) in unheilstiftende Hexen, entkleidete sie aller furchtbaren Grazie des nordischen Zaubertums, er machte sie zu zwitterhaften Missweibern, die ungeheuerlichen Spuk zu treiben wissen, und Verderben brauen aus hämischer Schadenfreude[2] oder auf Geheiss der Hölle; sie sind die Dienerinnen des Bösen, und wer sich von ihren Sprüchen bethören lässt, geht mit Leib und Seele

[1] Cf. the opening remarks on the character of Queen Katherine (pp. 124–125).
[2] Hazlitt later also speaks of the Witches' 'malignant delight' (p. 20).

zu Grunde' (p. 128). To a very obvious borrowing in the same play Schalles makes no reference. Heine writes: 'Interessant ist es, wenn man die Shakespeareschen Hexen mit den Hexen anderer englischen Dichter vergleicht' (p. 128). The only other English poet actually mentioned by him is Middleton. Now Hazlitt closes his comment on *Macbeth* with a passage taken from Lamb, in which the latter compares Shakespeare's and Middleton's conception of witches. Heine's comparison is as follows: 'Man bemerkt, dass Shakespeare sich dennoch von der altheidnischen Anschauungsweise nicht ganz losreissen konnte, und seine Zauberschwestern sind daher auffallend grandioser und respektabler als die Hexen von Middleton, die weit mehr eine böse Vettelnatur bekunden, auch weit kleinlichere Tücken ausüben, nur den Leib beschädigen, über den Geist wenig vermögen, und höchstens mit Eifersucht, Missgunst, Lüsternheit, und ähnlichem Gefühlsaussatz unsere Herzen zu überkrusten wissen' (p. 128). Lamb writes: 'These (Middleton's Witches) to whom man or woman plotting some dire mischief might resort for occasional consultation....These Witches can hurt the body....Except Hecate, they (Shakespeare's Weird Sisters) have no names, which heightens their mysteriousness. The names, and some of the properties which Middleton has given to his hags, excite smiles. The Weird Sisters are serious things. Their presence cannot co-exist with mirth. But, in a lesser degree, the Witches of Middleton are fine creations. Their power, too, is in some measure over the mind. They raise jars, jealousies, strifes, *like a thick scurf o'er life*' (pp. 23–24).

Schalles' incidental and final allusion to the indebtedness of Heine to Hazlitt is in connection with the character of Cordelia. Hazlitt speaks of the 'indiscreet simplicity of her love (which, to be sure, has something of her father's obstinacy in it)' (p. 119). Heine writes: 'Ja, sie ist ein reiner Geist, wie es der König erst im Wahnsinn einsieht. Ganz rein? Ich glaube, sie ist ein bisschen eigensinnig, und dieses Fleckchen ist ein Vatermal' (p. 133).

In his observations on *Hamlet* Hazlitt writes: 'We have been so used to this tragedy that we hardly know how to criticise it any more than we should know how to describe our own faces' (p. 80). At the close of his remarks on Ophelia Heine characteristically expands this into: 'Wir kennen diesen Hamlet, wie wir unser eigenes Gesicht kennen, das wir so oft im Spiegel erblicken, und das uns dennoch weniger bekannt ist, als man glauben sollte; denn begegnete uns jemand auf der Strasse, der ganz so aussähe wie wir selber, so würden wir das befremdlich wohlbekannte Antlitz nur instinktmässig und mit geheimem

Schreck anglotzen, ohne jedoch zu merken, dass es unsere eigenen Gesichtszüge sind, die wir eben erblickten' (p. 131).

Heine writes of Juliet: 'Sie hat weder aus weltlichen noch aus geistlichen Büchern gelernt, was Liebe ist....Der Charakter ihrer Liebe ist Wahrheit und Gesundheit' (p. 135). Hazlitt's words are: 'There is nothing of a sickly and sentimental cast. Romeo and Juliet are in love, but they are not love-sick. Everything speaks the very soul of pleasure, the high and healthy pulse of the passions: the heart beats, the blood circulates and mantles throughout. Their courtship is not an insipid interchange of sentiments, lip-deep, learnt at second-hand from poems and plays' (p. 104). As his only quotation Heine offers one already given by Hazlitt. When we remember that Heine was not called upon to say anything about Romeo, we are the more struck by his reiteration of Hazlitt's doubts as to the felicity of the suggestion that Romeo has had a first mistress in Rosalind. In this connection Heine writes: 'Trotzdem, dass er sich der zweiten Liebe ganz hingiebt, nistet doch in seiner Seele eine gewisse Skepsis, die sich in ironischen Redensarten kundgiebt, und nicht selten an Hamlet erinnert' (p. 134). While Hazlitt makes this pronouncement: 'Romeo is Hamlet in love' (p. 113).

In considering *Julius Caesar* Hazlitt calls special attention to Act I, Sc. 2. He says: 'Cassius's insisting on the pretended effeminacy of Caesar's character, and his description of their swimming across the Tiber together, "once upon a raw and gusty day," are among the finest strokes in it' (p. 27). Heine, after commenting on the nature of republicanism, writes: 'Wenn man dieses bedenkt, muss man erstaunen, mit welchem Scharfsinn Shakespeare den Cassius geschildert hat, namentlich in seinem Gespräche mit Brutus, wenn er hört, wie das Volk den Cäsar, den es zum König erheben möchte, mit Jubelgeschrei begrüsst' (p. 99). There follows in full Cassius' description of Caesar's weakness in the swimming match and his effort to destroy the godlike in Caesar's character. Hazlitt continues: 'But perhaps the whole is not equal to the short scene which follows, when Caesar enters with his train' (p. 27). While Heine continues: 'Cäsar selbst kennt seinen Mann sehr gut, und in einem Gespräche mit Antonius entfallen ihm die tiefsinnigen Worte...' (p. 100). He then quotes from that scene Caesar's judgment on Cassius. Lastly Hazlitt notices the 'burst of tenderness in Brutus' (p. 30), where he is speaking of the conversation between Brutus and Portia in Act II, Sc. 1. Heine says of Brutus: 'mit weicher Seele hängt er an seiner Gattin Portia' (p. 101).

In his remarks on Cleopatra Heine reiterates Hazlitt's praise of

Act I, Sc. 5[1]. Hazlitt speaks of the 'subsequent infatuation of Antony when in the sea-fight at Actium, he leaves the battle, and "like a doating mallard" follows her flying sails' (p. 74). While Heine writes: 'Antonius "gleich einem brünst'gen Entrich," mit ausgespannten Segelflügeln, flieht ihr nach' (p. 102).

The only reference to the Princess Katherine in Hazlitt's observations on *Henry V* lies in praise of Act V, Sc. 2. Overlooking Act III, Sc. 4, of which one might very rightly have expected him to make something, Heine proceeds at once to Act V, Sc. 2, although he does not repeat Hazlitt's praise.

What Heine has to say on Jeanne d'Arc (p. 115) might, not without some semblance of justice, be regarded as an expansion of Hazlitt's pronouncement: 'She is here almost as scurvily treated as in Voltaire's *Pucelle*' (p. 165).

Finally Heine makes use of quotations to be found also in Hazlitt from the following plays: *The Merchant of Venice* (two), *The Taming of the Shrew, Comedy of Errors, Twelfth Night.* It ought to be noticed that this last quotation is taken from what Hazlitt calls 'The only passage of a very Shakespearian cast in this comedy' (p. 254).

This brings us to Heine's treatment of the characters from the comedies. Actually he contented himself with supplying an apt quotation. Of the characters for which he chose quotations eight are to be found in Mrs Jameson's *Shakespeare's Heroines.* The quotations used by Heine for Miranda, Perdita, Imogen, Beatrice, Helena, Isabella, had all been previously given by Mrs Jameson. Further, instances of what she considers the felicitous sayings of Rosalind have been definitely listed by Mrs Jameson (ed. of 1897, p. 82): and the first of these, that which would most naturally catch the eye, forms the chief part of Heine's quotation for Rosalind.

In his remarks on Cleopatra, Heine gives her speech beginning 'O Charmian' (Act I, Sc. 5), which is contained also in Mrs Jameson's quotations from that scene. Both writers also give Cleopatra's description of Antony from Act V, Sc. 2.

The two paragraphs from Portia, *The Merchant of Venice*, which Heine took bodily from Mrs Jameson will be found in the English writer, pp. 40–41, and in the German, pp. 146–147. It is not surprising that Heine remains, in company with Mrs Jameson and in opposition to Hazlitt, an admirer of Portia.

[1] Cf. Hazlitt, pp. 74–75; Heine, p. 105.

Discussing the parting scene between Queen Margaret and Suffolk, *Henry VI, Part II*, Act III, Sc. 2, Mrs Jameson writes: 'Her criminal love for Suffolk (which is a dramatic incident, not an historic fact) gives rise to the beautiful parting scene in the third act, a scene which it is impossible to read without a thrill of emotion,- hurried away by that power and pathos which forces us to sympathise with the eloquence of grief, yet excites not a momentary interest either for Margaret or her lover. The ungoverned fury of Margaret in the first instance, the manner in which she calls upon Suffolk to curse his enemies, and then shrinks back overcome by the violence of the spirit she had herself evoked, and terrified by the vehemence of his imprecations, the transition in her mind from the extremity of rage to tears and melting fondness, have been pronounced and justly, to be in Shakespeare's own manner' (pp. 283–284). She makes also two quotations, one from the concluding speech of the Queen, and one from that of Suffolk. The first is from the passage beginning 'O, let me entreat thee cease,' but does not begin until 'Go; speak not to me; even now be gone,' five lines from the end of that passage. Of Suffolk's reply she omits the first two and the last two lines. The quotations in Heine exactly correspond; and he writes: 'Durch ihre Liebe für Suffolk, den wilden Suffolk, weiss uns Shakespeare sogar für dieses Unweib einige Rührung abzugewinnen. Wie verbrecherisch auch diese Liebe ist, so dürfen wir derselben dennoch weder Wahrheit noch Innigkeit absprechen. Wie entzückend schön ist das Abschiedsgespräch der beiden Liebenden!' (p. 118). Again, in dealing with York's appearance as a captive before Margaret, *Henry VI, Part III*, Act I, Sc. 4, Mrs Jameson writes: 'But soon after follows the murder of the Duke of York; and the base revengeful spirit and atrocious cruelty with which she insults over him, unarmed and a prisoner—the bitterness of her mockery, and the unwomanly malignity with which she presents him with the napkin stained with the blood of his youngest son and "bids the father wipe his eyes withal," turn all our sympathy into aversion and horror' (pp. 284–285); while Heine says: 'Sie (Margareta) ist ein hartes, frevelhaftes Weib geworden. Beispiellos grausam in der wirklichen, wie in der gedichteten Welt ist die Scene, wo sie dem weinenden York das grässliche, in das Blut seines Sohnes getauchte Tuch überreicht und ihn verhöhnt, dass er seine Thränen damit trocknen möge' (p. 117).

Mrs Jameson concludes her remarks on Cordelia by comparing her with the Antigone of Sophocles, and this comparison is briefly repeated by Heine. The two qualities of Cordelia named by Heine schweigsame

Zärtlichkeit' and 'Innigkeit' (p. 133) admirably epitomise what is said by the English writer (p. 215).

In coming to a conclusion on the question of Heine's debt to Hazlitt and Mrs Jameson, we may first consider the matter of quotations. It is true that the appearance of the same quotation in two writers cannot be supposed definitely to indicate any direct connection between the two; there are, indeed, quotations which we should almost expect every commentator to give. Possibly no weight should be laid on the quotations in Heine which had already appeared in Hazlitt, save in the case of that from *The Comedy of Errors*. On the other hand, that six identical quotations are to be found in Mrs Jameson and in Heine, when it would have been possible for Heine to borrow only eight in all, certainly seems to point to the German writer's free use of the earlier work. The circumstance of the quotation for Rosalind is in itself a partial corroboration of this conclusion.

From the various correspondences in the treatment of certain characters, varying degrees of dependence on the English writers may be attributed to Heine. It is obvious, nevertheless, that absolute dependence has on occasion been reached—we have only to recall the comparison of Shakespeare's Weird Sisters with Middleton's Witches, or the treatment of the character of Queen Margaret. This inclines us the more to suspect that the agreement in the matter of quotations is not always or simply fortuitous. And we feel justified in concluding that Heine benefited markedly by the work of Hazlitt and Mrs Jameson.

KENNETH HAYENS.

DUNDEE.

THE SOURCES OF GRILLPARZER'S 'WEH' DEM, DER LÜGT.'

GRILLPARZER might have found the story of Leo and Attalus in four places, viz., Gregorii Turonensis[1] episcopi *Historiae Francorum libri decem* (Book III, ch. xv); Aimoini[2] monachi Floriacensis *Historiae Francorum libri quatuor* (Book II, ch. xi); *Deutsche Sagen*, herausg. von den Brüdern Grimm, Berlin, 1816–18 (No. 427; later editions, No. 432); Augustin Thierry, *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France* (first published in the *Courrier français*, 1820, No. 8). Of these the last three are merely versions of the first, which Grillparzer undoubtedly used, as is clear from a note made by him in 1823. He selected four incidents from it for possible dramatic treatment: '1823. Gregor von Tours. Sigismund, König der Burgunder.... III, 5.—Die Geschichte des Küchenjungen Leon, der sich in dem Haus als Sklave verkaufen lässt, wo Atalus, der Neffe seines Herrn, des Bischofs von Langers, als Geissel zurückbehalten wurde und die Pferde hüten musste. Wie er sich durch seine Kochkunst die Gnade ihres gemeinschaftlichen Herrn erwirbt und endlich mit Atalus entflieht und ihn glücklich wieder in die Arme seines Oheims zurückbringt. III, 5.—Childebert und Chlotar.... —König Theodebert.... III, 26, 27.' It is noteworthy that all these incidents are contained in Book III.

Another point that suggests that Grillparzer took his subject directly from Gregory of Tours is the location of the opening scenes of *Weh' dem, der lügt* at Dijon, for in the nineteenth chapter of the third book, i.e., a few pages beyond the story of Leo and Attalus, we are told that Gregory, Bishop of Langres, preferred to reside in Dijon, and a description of the town follows[3].

[1] Georgius Florentius Gregorius (538–594), great-grandson of Gregory, bishop of Langres (d. 539); bishop of Tours from 573. His *Historia Francorum* deals mainly (Books IV–X) with events that happened in his own life-time.

[2] Aimoin (c. 960–c. 1010), a monk of Fleury, whose *Historia Francorum* begins with the earliest times and stops at the year 653.

[3] 'Erat enim tunc et beatus Gregorius apud urbem Lingonicam, magnus dei sacerdos, signis et virtutibus clarus. Sed quia hujus pontificis meminimus, gratum arbitratus sum, ut situm Divionensis, in quo maxime erat assiduus, huic inseram lectioni. Est autem castrum firmissimis muris, in media planitie et satis jucunda, compositum; terras valde fertiles habens atque fecundas, ita ut, arvis semel scissis vomere, semina jaciantur, et magna fructuum opulentia subsequatur....'

Whether Grillparzer used the Latin text of Gregory's *History* or a translation it is difficult at the present moment, when Grillparzer's papers are inaccessible, to decide. Goedeke (*Grundriss*, VIII, p. 436) remarks: 'In Grillparzers Bibliothek befindet sich L'histoire française de S. Gregoire de Tours.... Paris, 1610.' This is suggestive but not decisive, in the absence of evidence as to when the book came into Grillparzer's possession. It must be remembered that Grillparzer read voluminously while employed in the Hofbibliothek in 1813, and his first acquaintance with Gregory may possibly date from that time. At least one edition of the Latin text merits attention in spite of Goedeke's note, viz., Bouquet's *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France* (Vol. II, Paris, 1739). Bouquet's Preface contains a paragraph entitled *Des Mœurs des Francs*, in which the habit of lying is discussed: 'Je remarquerai seulement que Procope ne leur rend pas justice, lorsqu'il les accuse d'être barbares et cruels, quoique Chretiens, et d'immoler des victimes humaines: il attribue mal-à-propos à la nation des Francs en general ce qui ne convenoit qu'aux Alemans qui étoient sujets du Roi Theodebert, et qui servoient dans son armée. Pour ce qui est du reproche qu'il leur fait d'être infideles et de violer leurs sermens, il leur avoit été fait long-tems auparavant par Vopisque, qui les accuse d'être si accoutumés à violer leur foi, qu'ils sembloient en faire un jeu. Salvien dit qu'ils regardoient le parjure comme une maniere de parler, non pas un crime; qu'ils étoient menteurs, mais civils aux étrangers....' This more favourable account of the Franks is in distinct harmony with Grillparzer's attitude towards them in the play, but it is not to be found in Gregory's story. The view of lying attributed to them above is fairly well borne out by Leon's behaviour in Act I, e.g.[1]:

> So 'n Herr, so brav, dass selbst die kleinste Lüge,
> Ein Nothbehelf, ihn aufbringt.... (257 f.)
>
> Hab' ich gelogen, war's zu gutem Zweck. (248)
>
> Wär' ich nur dort, ich lög' ihn schon heraus. (326)
>
> Wenn nicht ein Bisschen Trug uns helfen soll,
> Was hilft denn sonst? (376 f.)

Another paragraph in Bouquet's Preface is headed *Les Francs n'étoient point barbares*, and Grillparzer, differing from Gregory, as will be seen, makes the clearest distinction between 'Frank' on the one hand and 'barbarian' on the other, whereas in the sources the barbarians are Franks, the civilized people Gallo-Romans. Thierry lays particular emphasis on this, whereas Grillparzer is at great pains to bring out the

[1] The quotations are from my own edition of the text, as yet unpublished.

culture of the Franks and invents an unnamed barbarian race as a contrast. In the same place Bouquet gives an account of the Frankish general, Arbogast, whose name is used as a pass-word in *Weh' dem, der lügt.* It occurs, however, in Grimm's *Deutsche Sagen* (1816–18, No. 432), a few pages beyond the story of Leo and Attalus. It seems natural to suppose that, once Grillparzer's interest in the subject had been roused, he would seek additional information from such sources as were accessible to him. To what extent he is indebted to Aimoinus, Grimm, and Thierry remains to be seen.

It appears then that Grillparzer noted the subject of *Weh' dem, der lügt* for dramatic treatment at least as early as 1823, and we find it mentioned in a list of titles of plays prepared between 1824 and 1828. This is presumably the list mentioned by him in the *Selbstbiographie*[1], and it is printed by Sauer in Vol. XII, p. 211. It consists of thirty-three titles and begins: 'Libussa. Die ersten Habsburger (Kaiser Albrechts Tod). Weh' dem, der lügt! (Küchenjunge Leon). Zwei gute Hornbläser in Böhmen (Der blinde Jaromir). Krösus. Die Weissen und die Schwarzen. Hero und Leander....'

The actual use made by Grillparzer of the incidents recorded by Gregory of Tours in his *Historia Francorum* will appear from the following summary.

The story begins in Book III, ch. XV.

Theudericus[2] and Childebertus[3] made peace and each took an oath that he would not attack the other. They exchanged hostages, many of whom were the sons of senators. They quarrelled again and the hostages on both sides were made slaves in the public service[4]. These details are vaguely utilized in *Weh' dem, der lügt* to provide the historical background, e.g.:

> Es gibt wohl and're Wege noch und bess're,
> Sich durchzuhelfen für 'nen Kerl, wie ich.
> Der König braucht Soldaten.... (39–41)

> In diesem Haus, dacht' ich, wär' Gottesfrieden,
> Sonst alle Welt in Krieg... (54 f.)

> Sein Atalus, nach Trier ward gesandt,
> Als Geissel für den Frieden, den man schloss;
> Allwo er jetzt, da neu entbrannt der Krieg,
> Gar hart gehalten wird vom grimmen Feind.... (103–6)

[1] *Werke* (ed. Sauer, 1892), XIX, p. 141: 'Ich hatte mir eine ziemliche Anzahl Stoffe aufgezeichnet, die alle durchdacht und alle, bis auf die Einzelnheiten, obgleich nur im Kopfe, dramatisch gegliedert waren. Diese wollte ich nun einen nach dem andern vornehmen, jedes Jahr ein Stück schreiben und dem hypochondrischen Grübeln für immer den Abschied geben.'

[2] Theodoric or Thierry I, eldest son of Clovis and king of Metz (d. 534).

[3] Childebert I, third son of Clovis and king of Paris (d. 558).

[4] 533 A.D.

Als man—es ist jetzt über's Jahr—den Frieden,
Den langersehnten, schloss mit den Barbaren
Jenseits des Rheins ; da gab und nahm man Geissel,
Sich wechselseits misstrauend, und mit Recht.... (278–81)

Kaum war er dort, so brach der Krieg von Neuem,
Durch Treubruch aufgestachelt, wieder los,
Und beide Theile rächen an den Geisseln,
Den schuldlos Armen, ihrer Gegner Schuld.... (290–3)

Those in whose charge the hostages were placed made personal slaves of them.

So liegt mein Atalus nun hart gefangen,
Muss Sklavendienst verrichten seinem Herrn. (294 f.)

Many escaped and returned to their own country. (Not used in the play.) Several were detained, including Attalus, nephew (grandson ?) of Gregory, Bishop of Langres. Attalus was made a slave (in the public service) and his duties were to look after horses. His immediate master was a certain barbarian to the south[1] of the territory of Trier.

These three facts appear in the play. See the quotations above, and also :

Bist Du schon wieder müssig, wie Du pflegst ?
Dort geh'n die Pferde weiden.... (740 f.)

Die Pferde hüth' ich endlich, weil ich muss.... (812)

Kaum war er angelangt bei seinen Hütern
Im Rheingau, über Trier weit hinaus.... (286 f.)

Gregory sent servants to search for Attalus.

Leon. Und hat man nichts versucht, ihn zu befrei'n ?
Hausverwalter. Gar mancherlei, doch Alles ist umsonst. (109 f.)

They found him and offered his master a ransom, which was rejected, the barbarian insisting on ten pounds of gold in exchange for a young man of such a good family. Grillparzer alters the amount from ten pounds to one hundred :

Ich hab' um Lösung mich verwendet.
Doch fordern seine Hüter hundert Pfund
An guter Münze fränkischen Gepräges.... (296–8)

When the messengers returned, Leo, a kitchen-servant, asked permission to make an attempt to set Attalus free. Gregory gladly gave his consent. Leo's interview with Gregory is the substance of Grillparzer's Act I.

Leo went straight to the place and tried to rescue Attalus secretly but failed. (Not used in the play.) He then arranged with a stranger that the latter should sell him to the barbarian as a slave, the reward

[1] *Infra Treverici termini territorium....* Thierry translates ' qui habitait le voisinage de rèves ' ; Grimm ' im Trierischen Gebiet.'

being the price paid for Leo. The bargain was made and Leo was sold for twelve pieces of gold. Grillparzer expands this incident into two scenes (end of Act I; beginning of Act II). The price is altered to thirty 'pounds.'

Being asked what he could do, Leo replied that he was a first-class cook, unrivalled in his profession, and able to prepare a banquet fit for a king. 'Er ist ein Koch, berühmt in seinem Fach.' (479.) The barbarian then said that he intended to invite his neighbours and relations to a banquet on the following Sunday and ordered him to prepare a feast such as could not be surpassed even in the king's palace. In *Weh' dem, der lügt* this banquet is combined with a second (see below), and appears as the feast arranged for Edrita's wedding—providing the opportunity for the escape:

> und g'rade jetzt,
> An meiner Tochter Hochzeittag; da zeige,
> Was Du vermagst. An Leuten soll's nicht fehlen,
> Die vollauf würdigen, was Du bereitet. (504–7)

Leo demanded a plentiful supply of fowls. There is a faint allusion to this in the following lines:

> Blut auch bei mir, von Hühnern, Tauben, Enten.... (840)

> So thun wir ihm, wie Er den Hühnern thut,
> Und schlachten ihn 'mal ab.... (869 f.)

The feast was a great success, and the guests departed, full of praise; at the end of a year Leo had completely won the confidence of his master.

One day Attalus and Leo went out together into a field near the house, and lying down some distance apart, they began to converse, turning their backs on each other to avoid suspicion. This incident is reproduced in Act II.

Leo said: 'It is now time to think of home. To-night, when you bring up the horses, do not fall asleep, but come when I call you, and let us go.'

> Noch einmal, Atalus, bleibt still und hört.
> Eu'r Oheim sendet mich, Euch zu erretten. (774 f.)

The barbarian had invited many of his relations to a feast that night. (Grillparzer reduces the two banquets to one.) Among the guests was the husband of his daughter. Gregory, in the *History*, simply mentions the daughter and adds a little about the son-in-law, but the characters of Edrita and Galomir, her prospective husband, are entirely new to the story.

At midnight, when the guests retired, Leo followed the son-in-law into his room with a draught of liquor. The man said to Leo in jest,

'Tell me, if you can, O trusty butler of my father-in-law, when you intend to take his horses and return to your own country.' Leo, likewise in jest, answered truthfully, 'To-night, if it be God's will.' Whereupon the other said, 'May my servants guard me well, lest you take away any of my property!' They parted laughing.

The whole plot of *Weh' dem, der lügt* turns on this conversation, the point being that truthfulness here has the usual effect of a lie, i.e., it deceives. Bishop Gregor in the play lays down from the beginning the condition that no lies must be told in effecting the rescue of Atalus, and the interest of the plot centres in the maintenance by Leon of this attitude of truthfulness.

Edrita. Du willst entflieh'n.
Leon. Ich hab' es nie verhehlt. (1117 f.)

When all were asleep, Leo called Attalus, and they saddled the horses. Leo asked Attalus if he had a sword. The latter replied that he had only a short spear. ('Hätt' ich ein Schwert, der Schlüssel wäre mein,' 948.) Thereupon Leo entered the house and took his master's shield and sword. The barbarian inquired who it was and what he wanted, and Leo replied, 'I am Leo, your servant, and I am waking Attalus, so that he may rise at once and take the horses to pasture, for he is fast asleep, like a drunken man.' 'Do as you will,' said his master and with these words he fell asleep again. Leo then went out again and gave Attalus the weapons.

Grillparzer develops the scene in Kattwald's bed-chamber (Act III) out of this incident, though he changes the motive of Leon's entry. In the play it is a question of obtaining the key of the courtyard, not of providing Atalus with weapons.

They found the yard-gate, which had been nailed up the previous evening to secure the horses, now opened by divine intervention. For this miracle Grillparzer substitutes the action of Edrita, who obtains the key and places it in the lock, so that it catches Leon's eye.

Giving thanks to God, they departed, taking with them the horses that remained, and a wrap (volucrum) containing clothes. When they reached the Moselle they were prevented from crossing by certain persons. In the play the attitude of the ferryman is hostile at first.

Am Ufer dann des Flusses wohnt der Fährmann,
Verschuldet meinem Vater und verpflichtet.... (1177 f.)

Leaving their horses and the clothes behind, they swam the river on their shields. They then entered a wood under cover of darkness, and lay hidden there. The first scene of Act IV, the pursuit, is laid in a forest.

The third night had now come without their having taken food. Grillparzer's Atalus complains of hunger:

> Was nützt es uns, dass wir im Freien sind,
> Wenn wir vor Mangel grausamlich verschmachten? (1242 f.)

God showed them a plum-tree, laden with fruit, of which they partook. Grillparzer dispenses with this miracle, though Leon is made to rely on divine aid throughout:

> Vertraut auf Gott, der uns so weit geführt,
> Er wird die Hungernden mit Nahrung trösten,... (1247 f.)

Refreshed for the time, they entered the region of Champagne. Hearing the noise of hoofs rapidly approaching, they threw themselves down behind a blackberry-bush, with swords drawn, so as to defend themselves if necessary. In Act IV Galomir's approach is announced by the sound of a horn, whereupon the fugitives conceal themselves as above:

> Dort rückwärts ist, ich weiss es, ein Versteck,
> Wo dichte Sträuche sich zum Schirmdach wölben.... (1345 f.)

The horsemen stopped in front of the bush and one said, 'Alas, that these wretches have escaped and cannot be caught. I swear that if they are found, I will hang the one and have the other cut to pieces with the sword.' The speaker was the barbarian, their late master. This is vaguely reflected in Kattwald's outburst: 'Die Hand, den Arm in ihrem Blute baden' (1557). He was coming from Rheims, looking for them, and would have found them had not darkness come on. Then, putting spurs to their horses, the pursuers departed. The fugitives reached Rheims the same night. In *Weh' dem, der lügt* Leon and his companion reach Metz by night.

They entered the city and inquired the way to the house of a priest, Paulellus. As they went down the street, they heard the bell ringing for matins, for it was Sunday. They knocked at the priest's door and entered, and Attalus told him of the barbarian. The priest replied, 'Then my dream has come true, for this night I saw two doves fly up and settle on my hand. One was white, the other black[1].' Attalus then said to the priest, 'With all due respect for the Lord's day we must ask for food, for this is now the fourth day that we have eaten neither bread nor meat.' The priest hid them, gave them bread soaked in wine,

[1] Guizot, *Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France*, 1823, I, pp. 129–134, suggests quite reasonably that Leo must have been a negro. To avoid this conclusion, we must assume that the white dove represents the fugitives, the black dove the pursuers. This assumption is not wholly satisfactory as the character of the barbarians would hardly admit of comparison with a dove of any colour. Guizot is satisfied that black slaves were introduced into Gaul by the Romans.

and went away to matins. The barbarian followed, still searching for his servants, but, being deceived by the priest, went away again; for the priest and Gregory were old friends.

This final escape of Leo and Attalus is worked up by Grillparzer into the critical situation at the beginning of Act V, where Galomir's followers discover the fugitives.

Leo and Attalus remained two days in the priest's house, ate heartily and recovered their strength, and then returned safely to Gregory. The bishop rejoiced to see them and embraced Attalus, his nephew (grandson ?), with tears:

> Mein Atalus—mein Sohn !—Gott, deine Gnade !
> (Sie halten sich umarmt.) (1692)

He released Leo from servitude with all his family and gave him a piece of land, on which he lived, a free man, with his wife and family all the days of his life. In the play Gregor takes Leon into his family and hints at obtaining some favour from the king.

The broad features of Grillparzer's treatment of the story now stand out. The chief characters, Leo, Attalus, Gregory, and the barbarian, are made to live, and their personality is clearly defined. The brief conversation between Leo and the son-in-law becomes the mainspring of the plot. The two attempts to release Attalus are compressed into one. Leo's year of service with the barbarian becomes a single day. The two banquets are reduced to one, and a new motive, Edrita's wedding, is supplied. The barbarian, it is true, has a daughter, but we may regard the character of Edrita as a new creation. The same applies to Galomir, who bears no resemblance to the barbarian's son-in-law. The two miracles in the middle of the story are suppressed, but another is invented, viz., the deliverance of the fugitives before the gates of Metz. Metz takes the place of Rheims. Leon does not enter Kattwald's room to steal his sword and shield; he seeks the key of the yard-gate. Both this scene and the sale of Leo to the barbarian are developed at length in the play. The whole of the Paulellus episode is omitted and the route of the fugitives is changed. The barbarians (Franks) in the *History* remain barbarians (unspecified) in the play, but the Gallo-Romans, Gregory, Leo, and Attalus, re-appear as Franks. Gallo-Roman culture is abandoned in favour of an imaginary Germanic civilization.

The account given by Aimoinus is apparently a summary of Gregory's story. He omits to mention the escape of many of the hostages; Leo's attempt to free Attalus secretly; the second feast which the barbarian gives to his relatives; the miracle of the open gate and the conversation

[illegible] the priest Paulellus. He substitutes the Meuse for the Moselle. Grillparzer makes partial use of the feast and of the miracle; but he [illegible] the other incidents also omitted by Aimoinus. The river remains [illegible] in the play, but all indications point to the Rhine. Only in [illegible] place could it reasonably be suggested that Grillparzer followed [illegible] material of Gregory, viz., in Act I, where the Bishop explains [illegible] position of Attalus to Leon

> K[illegible] wie er dort, so brach der Krieg von Neuem,
> [illegible], wieder los.... (290 f.)

[illegible] of Tours has [illegible] inter reges scandalo...'; Aimoinus, [illegible] quorundam nefandorum molitionibus hominum, qui assiduis [illegible] pactae pacis violata sunt iura....' [illegible] perhaps [illegible] coincidence, as there is, otherwise, no good [illegible] Aimoinus, who adds nothing to [illegible] a great deal.

[illegible] *iem Pferdeknecht* [illegible] both to Gregory and [illegible] The *Sage*, with the [illegible] omit- [illegible] literal translation [illegible]

[illegible] transmitted by [illegible] between the [illegible] of the [illegible] Sage [illegible]

paraphrase of Gregory of Tours. Practically every point in the original narrative is elaborated[1] and no effort is spared to glorify the Gallo-Romans and to disparage the Franks. At the end he gives a long account of the ceremonies attending Leo's emancipation, which are not described in the original.

Thierry agrees with Aimoinus in writing 'Meuse' for 'Moselle' and he omits the miracle of the opened gate. The reference to divine aid is also omitted, and the discovery of the plum-tree is made to appear accidental. The only grounds for supposing that Grillparzer consulted Thierry are the omission of the miraculous and the location of the last scene at Metz, for Thierry mentions both Trèves and Metz at the beginning of his story. Grillparzer differs completely from the French account in his description of the Franks. He ignores the Gallo-Romans and his selection of Metz for the last scene instead of Rheims is consistent with this attitude. Minor[2] says that Grillparzer is indebted to Thierry's *Récits des Temps Mérovingiens* for many features of his description of the people and the times. On the contrary, there appears to be nothing in *Weh' dem, der lügt* that can, with any certainty, be referred to the *Récits*. Far more striking are the details of feasts, weapons, etc., which Grillparzer might have taken from Thierry, but did not. Altogether, Grillparzer appears to be completely indifferent to historical or geographical accuracy in this play.

The result of this discussion of the possible sources is easily stated. Grillparzer took his material either from the Latin original of Gregory of Tours, perhaps in Bouquet's edition of 1739, or from the French translation in his own possession. He owes nothing to Aimoinus. He may have noticed the names, Chlotar and Arbogast, while turning over the pages of Grimm, and he may have followed Thierry's example in omitting the miracle of the opened door, although the dramatist might have been expected to omit this incident without seeking justification in any of his sources. Possibly the juxtaposition of Trèves and Metz in Thierry's story gave Grillparzer the hint—in view of the geographical difficulties of Gregory's narrative—for the location of the final scene at Metz.

In one respect, Grillparzer differs from all his possible sources, i.e., he makes the heroes of the play Franks, not Gallo-Romans, and he imagines a new, unspecified tribe of barbarians to inhabit the Rheingau. Gregory

[1] For example, 'inlusus a presbytero' is rendered 'il eut beau questionner; malgré la sévérité des lois portées contre les réceleurs d'esclaves, le prêtre fut imperturbable.'

[2] *Grillparzer als Lustspieldichter*, in *Grillparzer-Jahrbuch*, III, 1893, p. 46.

[illegible]

[illegible] Gregory with an excess of [illegible] historical ground for this [illegible] following extracts from Gregory of Tours: [illegible] *Acta Sanctorum*): 'Post mortem [illegible] electus a Clero et populo, [illegible] Cui magna fuit abstinentia: sed [illegible] triticea panibus, alios tenues ex [illegible] alius erogabat, ipse vero clam [illegible] similiter et de vino faciens, [illegible] ad dramulandum desuper vinum [illegible] post charitatem aquae obtegeret.... [illegible] vigiliis, tam efficax, [illegible] novus effulgeret

[illegible] Delilah [illegible] support of this [illegible] above [illegible] until the [illegible]

Werk hat ein bedeutendes Kopfweh zurückgelassen... 28. Februar. Des Morgens, durch die gestrige Aufführung des Händelschen Oratoriums angeregt, den Samson als tragischen Stoff zu betrachten versucht. Keinen Brennpunkt gewonnen, die Händelschen Chöre könnten dem Dinge eingewebt werden.'

Support for a comparison between Leon and Petruchio may be found in the fact that Grillparzer began a translation of *The Taming of the Shrew* in 1821, printed by Sauer in Vol. XIII, pp. 57 ff. The noisy self-confidence of Leon in Act I is not unlike the general demeanour of Petruchio, and his flippant tone at his first meeting with Edrita is faintly reminiscent of Petruchio's brutal wooing.

For one feature of *Weh' dem, der lügt*, Gregory's simple narrative provides no foundation, viz., the love of Leon and Edrita. The character of the former is indicated in outline only by Gregory, and Edrita does not appear at all. Here the imagination of the poet had free play, although he would appear to have written with lively recollections of the Spanish Comedy. The influence of Lope de Vega on Grillparzer is a subject which has been so fully investigated by Farinelli[1] that it would be presumptuous in one ignorant of Spanish to criticize. The following summary represents Farinelli's views in so far as they affect *Weh' dem, der lügt.*

The circumstances under which Grillparzer commenced the study of Spanish are related in the *Selbstbiographie*, the first result being the publication in the *Wiener Modezeitung* (5 June 1816) of a translation of part of the first Act of Calderón's *La Vida es sueño.* The first point of contact between *Weh' dem, der lügt* and the Spanish Comedy is the title, a maxim or proverb, which the play proceeds to illustrate. This method of procedure is common in Spanish dramatic literature, but whereas Grillparzer holds faithfully to his text to the end, the Spanish writers are much more inclined to digress from the main theme.

The Spanish rogue-tales, e.g., *Vida y Hechos de Estevanillo González*, offer many tempting comparisons with the character of Leon, but it would be idle to attribute to Spanish sources incidents or motives which already exist in Gregory of Tours. Leon certainly has many characteristics of the Spanish *gracioso*, the same independence, the same high spirits, the same ready tongue; but he has a serious side, for which Grillparzer required no model but himself. Leon has a far more complicated personality than the *gracioso*, who is usually no more than an irresponsible caricature of his master.

[1] Arturo Farinelli, *Grillparzer und Lope de Vega*, Berlin, 1894.

Five of Lope de Vega's comedies, apparently, suggest themselves as direct sources of portions of Grillparzer's comedy. In *El Gran Duque de Moscovia*, Demetrio, like Leon, enters the service of the Conde Palatino as kitchen-boy and eventually marries the Count's daughter. The savages in *Los Guanches de Tenerife*, Giroto and Mileno in *Las Batuecas del Duque de Alba*, the Indians in *El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Cristóval Colón* act, like Galomir in *Weh' dem, der lügt*, solely in accordance with animal instincts. In *El Despertar á quien duerme* Anselmo's daughter Estela may well have suggested Edrita. Her lover, Rugero, at first a passive, sleepy nature, like Atalus, is kept a prisoner by her father. The latter, like Kattwald, praises the good qualities of the young man and thus imprudently excites his daughter's interest. Like Edrita, Estela helps her lover to escape. The first attempt fails and the Count threatens to poison Rugero[1]. A second attempt is successful; Estela puts on male attire and brings Rugero, still in chains, to the shelter of a forest.

Such is the evidence that Farinelli supplies in his investigation of Spanish influence on Grillparzer and it would appear reasonable to conclude that our author is indebted in a general way to Lope de Vega for the idea of allowing Leon to fall in love with Edrita, for certain sides, but not all, of the personality of Leon and of Edrita, for a suggestion of the character of Atalus, of Kattwald, and of Galomir, and for the part played by Edrita in the actual escape.

G. WATERHOUSE.

DUBLIN.

[1] Conversely, in *Weh' dem, der lügt* Leon threatens to poison Kattwald: 'Doch werf' ich Gift in alle Eure Brühen' (1183).

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

'BEOWULF' LL. 1604–5, 2085–91.

(*a*) Since Kemble, it has been usual among editors to render *wiston and ne wendon* 'they wished and did not expect,' the disappearance of the *c* in the former word being illustrated by forms like *gehnistun* < *gehnisctun*. Further, it has been pointed out that *wyscaðʼ and wenaðʼ* occurs as a formula in *Guthlac*, l. 47 (Klaeber, *Modern Philology* III, 458). But there is the distinction in the *Beowulf* phrase that the second verb is accompanied by a negative, and we should expect 'but' rather than 'and.'

In his edition of 1898, Wyatt assumed a 'blending of two constructions; *wiston*, "knew," would require *ne gesāwon*; *ne wēndon*, "did not expect," requires *gesāwon* only; the latter construction prevails.' Otherwise, '*ne* has dropped out after the *-ne* of *selfne*; in that case the meaning would be: "they knew, and did not merely expect, that they should not see their lord himself again."' This was a little too definite in view of the highly artificial character of the formula. Perhaps, a better rendering would be, 'They were as certain as they could be.' That the phrase is a genuine one is proved by its descendants, *To wite and nouȝt to wene* (*Horn Childe* 432, *Tristrem* 1207, 1401, 1952), *Ywis and nouȝt at wene* (*Tristrem* 17), and *Wel ich wot and nouȝt ne wene* (*Beues* 3374). For this and other survivals of OE. formulae in Middle English cf. the unpublished thesis on *The Alliterative Diction of Early Middle English Poetry* by Beatrice Allen (University of London).

(*b*) Ever since the appearance of Ten Brink's *Beowulf-Untersuchungen*, editors have been obsessed by the idea that *glof* must be rendered by some equivalent for his 'sack.' Thus, Harrison and Sharp (1895) rendered 'glove,' Holthausen (1906) 'Tasche,' Sedgefield (1913) 'pouch, bag,' Heyne-Schücking (1913) 'Handschuh (hier Tasche, Sack),' Chambers (1914) 'glove; pouch, bag.' In consequence, the expression *he mec þær on innan...gedon wolde* has been rendered by varying equivalents for 'he wished to put me in there'; cf. *wollte mich da hineintun* (Heyne-Schücking), *tun, stecken* (Holthausen), and the glossary to Harrison and Sharp's edition. It is curious that this mythical sack should have survived so long, side by side with the other notion that

Grendel was a pouched animal or marsupial. It seems clear that *glof* means nothing more than the monster's hand, the hard texture of which reminded the poet of devil's craft and dragon skins: it hung pendent as Grendel advanced; cf. the detailed description in ll. 984–90.

The rest of the passage may be rendered, 'The bold monster wished to make me one of many in that hall, innocent though I was,' i.e. to slay him. For the force of *þær on innan* cf. l. 2244, and l. 2186 for a parallel use of *gedon*.

P. G. THOMAS.

LONDON.

NOTES ON 'CLEANNESS'

The appearance in the *Yale University Press Series* of a fully edited text of this poem has suggested the following notes. Mr Menner's is the first adequate edition to make an appearance and will, no doubt, be the forerunner of others. Despite the general excellence of Mr Menner's work, it is inevitable that there should be difference of opinion upon particular points, a number of which are discussed below.

As regards punctuation, the Yale edition makes a considerable advance on that of Morris. Thus, ll. 236 and 237 are correctly associated to the great advantage of the sense, while l. 178 is improved by the pause after *se*. In l. 16, however, Menner reads *hope God and his gere*, although *þ* and *h* are said to be indistinguishable in the MS. (Introduction, v.). But the emphatic *hemself* (15) suggests a contrast, which is best brought out by dropping the comma after *altogeder* (15) and reading *hope* (16). 'Then are they sinful themselves, and both God and his essence are altogether defiled. Cf. l. 11 for the priests' contact with the Lord's body. A comma after *fot* (164) would improve the sense by relating the closing phrase to *hered* (163). Similarly, a comma should be inserted after *scene* (170). 'What are thy garments in which thou wrapped [illegible] that shall appear so bright, garments of the best!' In l. 47 *wissed* is hardly an adjective, as the glossary indicates, but a verb, as in l. 328 *wissed*. 788 is a compound participle in an absolute construction and needs a preceding comma. l. 1225–8 should run on without pause, not being understood before *ais*.

As regards interpretation, the MS. *gate* might be retained in l. 72 in the sense [illegible] by means not really. Their ill-will is more [illegible] *smal* 226 refers to the fine meshes [illegible] Menner's interpretation of l. 230 marks an advance and is [illegible] refers to God, the whole passage [illegible] 213. It would be interesting if *wrynni*

(456) could be proved to contain the F. *-aille* suffix, used contemptuously—a partial parallel occurs in the *poraille* of *Richard the Redeless*: *jumpred* (491) and *cagged* (1254) may, perhaps, be associated with the obsolete *jump*, hazard, risk, and *cag*, to insult; cf. N.E.D.

l. 145. *ungoderly* is a possible example of a Norse *-r* type adopted into English. It would bear the same relation to ON. *góðr*, as *hagherly* (18) to ON. *hagr*, *wyterly* (1567) to ON. *vitr*, and *wylger* (375) to ON. *viljugr*. The sense of l. 375 would then be 'Water waxed ever ready to destroy the dwellings.'

ll. 433–4. Emerson was the first to suggest that *joyst* in this passage is the past participle of ME. *joissen*. *roȝly* has been interpreted as 'glad' (Skeat), 'rough' (Gollancz), while Morris conjectured 'sorrowful': it is probably identical with *rwly* (390) from OE. *hrēowlice*, cf. the variant spellings *douþe* (270) from OE. *duguþ* and *droȝþe* (524) from OE. *drūgaþ*, and the rhymes in *Pearl*—*rescoghe*, *inoghe* (610–2), *alow*, *innoghe* (634–6). The passage might then be rendered: 'It was pitiful for the ark that the storm drives and within which the species were so happily lodged.' In this case, *remnaunt* refers, at one and the same time, to the vessel and to its inmates.

l. 473. Despite Menner's assertion that the apposition of *bodworde* and *blysse* is impossible here, we have the parallel *gryndel-layk*, *greme*, and *grete wordes* in *Sir Gawayne* (312), and the line clearly means 'Bring a message to the boat, bliss to us all.'

l. 527. I am confident that the correct text of this line is

Bot ever renne restleȝ rengneȝ þerinne,

referring to the fixed courses of night and day; cf. Chaucer's *Fortune*, 'Thou born art in my regne of variance.' The sentiment is inherited from Anglo-Saxon poetry, cf. *Beowulf*, l. 1135.

l. 553. This is a *crux* which still defies editors. Possibly, *þat* = that which, as in l. 580, while *me* simply records the interest of the writer in the event, as in *Patience*, l. 72 (cf. Gollancz, *Modern Language Review*, April, 1919), 'For that which shall appear in those bright houses must needs be pure as the burnished beryl.'

l. 577. *he* is pleonastic, and *þat* a relative pronoun referring to *saueour*.

l. 655. There seems to be no good reason for changing the MS. *tonne* to *teme*, but the passage is improved by including *Sare þe madde* within the inverted commas: 'She said to herself, "Sarah the mad, canst thou believe for wantonness that thou mayest conceive, while I am so advanced

in age and also my lord?"' The change of subject is not unnatural, nor the use of the proper name in addressing oneself.

l. 751. 'afflicted, punished' as a rendering of *þrad* hardly gives sense. *þrad* may be related to OE. *þrægan*, 'to proceed in a course,' just as *breed* (*Patience* 143) to OE. *brēgan*. The sense has weakened to 'to be, exist,' cf. the parallel development of OE. *hweorfan*.

l. 1141. The best sense is secured by rendering *loses* 'praises' and *wyth þewes* 'in respect of its qualities.' *wyth* is hardly the agential preposition but is used idiomatically as in l. 305.

l. 1155. *fader* is singular and *forloyne* an example of the dropping of final *-d*, as in l. 1165. For further examples cf. Miss Day's article in *Modern Language Review*, XIV, p. 413.

ll. 1231–2. Retaining the MS. *colde*, the passage obviously means: 'For if the Father had still been his friend and Zedekiah had not sinned against him, neither Chaldea nor India, nor even Turkey would have had the energy to attack him,—their indignation would have been too slight.'

l. 1502. Reading *amynde*, the closing phrase means 'to settle on reparation.' Caxton uses the singular form, likewise.

l. 1566. *make* is probably subjunctive; otherwise, read *makes*.

l. 1683. *ay* (1684) is probably a mere variant of *fogge*, and means 'hay.' 'By that time many thick thighs crowded about his flesh' renders l. 1687 satisfactorily. Nebuchadnezzar possessed many (i.e. four) thick thighs because he had degenerated into what the poet describes alternatively as a 'horse' or a 'cow.'

P. G. THOMAS.

LONDON.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF 'ANCREN RIWLE.'

As the reviewer of Miss Hope Allen's thesis in the *M.L.R.* (vol. XV, p. 99) I may perhaps be permitted to supplement her defence on one or two points of ecclesiastical history. It is only by a full discussion of these facts that we can come to a more probable conclusion either way.

Father M^c^Nabb writes (*M.L.R.* vol. XI, p. 2), 'St Augustine's Rule was almost unique in allowing the use of the bath.' But it is there allowed only in sickness (ch. IX) *cum infirmitatis necessitas cogit*, and (in the next sentence following Father M^c^Nabb's quotation) *de consilio medici*. My French translation of 1692 has 'quand l'infirmité en rend l'usage nécessaire...par l'avis du Médecin.' This is no more liberal than the Benedictine Rule (ch. 36): 'Balneorum usus infirmis quoties expedit

offeratur; sanis autem, et maxime juvenibus, tardius offeratur.' The Rule of Caesarius of Arles, again, follows St Augustine's very closely here. The fact that *A.R.* allows bathing 'as often as ye please' is, in itself, a very strong argument against these recluses belonging to any existing Order—or, in other words, in favour of Miss Allen's interpretation of 'St James's Order.'

The fact that *A.R.* constantly quotes from other Rules does not tell against this: the Benedictine Rule is full of citations from its predecessors, often in so many words. Father McNabb evidently fails to realize how frequent is the phenomenon in monastic history of a small group of recluses growing finally into a complete convent of some recognized Order; I have for some years been collecting isolated instances of this kind. His demand that Miss Allen should be able to specify the moment at which Kilburn became Augustinian is, therefore, unhistorical.

He writes (XI, 3): 'The writer insists that the Rule shall not bind under vow or sin (pp. 7–9, 413). Now St Dominic had probably been the pioneer in this movement amongst the religious orders.' He offers no evidence for this statement; and he has evidently not read St Bernard's *De Praecepto et Dispensatione*, written two generations before St Dominic's Rule, which treats the whole subject in the sense of *A.R.* It may be noted, by the way, that *A.R.*, on the first page here quoted by Father McNabb, commits itself to a distinctly anti-Dominican and anti-Franciscan rule, that of *stabilitas loci*.

Again (p. 3): 'The rule [*A.R.*] is divided into Distinctions (p. 13),' and so also (he points out) were the Dominican Constitutions of 1228. But so also is Gratian's *Decretum*, written about 1140; so are several of the works of Walter Map and Giraldus Cambrensis at the end of the century, to go no further. These Dominicans of 1228 simply adopted a classification which had become fashionable before any one of them was born.

Again (p. 4): 'The phrase "make your venia," i.e. prostrate yourself on the ground, is a technical phrase still daily used by Dominicans.' And by other Religious nearly two centuries before St Dominic was born. It occurs in the life of St Udalric of Augsburg, who died in 972 (Mabillon, AA.SS.O.S.B. saec. V (1685), p. 427); Peter the Venerable, about 1130, speaks of it as a regular Cluniac custom; and it is of constant occurrence in the *Revelation to the Monk of Eynsham*. Ducange gives a long list of early references.

Nor is it possible to take more seriously the reasons urged in *M.L.R.* vol. XV, p. 408. Miss Allen has dealt with the attempt to cite Father

Thurston as a witness; let me therefore take the paragraph which seems most imposing of all: 'Another identification which makes it impossible to assign *A.R.* to an earlier date than *c.* 1230 is the frequent use of the "Ave Maria" as a prayer.' No evidence, as usual, is offered by Father M^c^Nabb for the choice of this date; and it will not bear serious examination. Heriman, Abbot of St-Martin-de-Tournai, wrote his Chronicle about 1130 A.D. In § 57 he relates an event which he refers to a far earlier date, towards the end of the eleventh century, and which was related to him 'in pueritia mea[1].' Two Belgian Saints, Waletrude and Aldegonde, were seen by an anchorite falling at the feet of the B. V. M. in heaven and crying for vengeance against Thierry of Avesnes, who had burned two nunneries dedicated to them. 'The Virgin replied "Peace, I pray, and trouble me not; for I will not grieve this man at present, since his wife the lady Ada[2] doth a certain service unto me whereby she maketh me so much her friend that I cannot do any hurt either to her or to her husband." And, when the two Saints asked what that service might be, she replied: "She repeateth to me, sixty times a day, that angelic salutation which was the beginning of my joys on earth; twenty times prostrate, twenty times kneeling, twenty times standing in the church or in her chamber, or in some secret place, she saith in memory of me *Ave Maria gratia plena; Dominus tecum; benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui.*"'

Nor is this an isolated instance. Herzog's *Realencyclopädie* quotes also, s.v. *Ave Maria*, from S. Pietro Damiani, who died in 1072. Mussafia has shown that the two collections of Mary-Legends which Pez printed under the name of Botho belong also to the last quarter of the eleventh century; and these contain more than one reference to the habitual use of the *Ave* as a prayer[3]. A whole catena of early examples is given by S. Beissel, S.J., in his *Verehrung Marias in Deutschland w. d. Mittelalters* (1909), pp. 105, 231 ff. The twelfth-century legend of St Ildefons of Toledo, who died in 667, 'beweist, dass zur Zeit ihrer Abfassung das häufige Beten des *Ave Maria* nicht selten war' (*ibid.*, p. 233).

These facts may suggest that Father M^c^Nabb is often most mistaken where he is most dogmatic, and that, when he and Father Dalgairns write of *certainty* on the one hand, *impossibility* on the other, they are pressing those words into a sense which patient research cannot approve.

[1] Dachery, *Spicilegium*, vol. II (1723), p. 905 a. The Count Baldwin who comes into this tale was married in 1085, as Sigebert of Gembloux tells us.

[2] In a later passage she is called Ida.

[3] B. Pez, *Vita Agnetis Blannbekin &c.*, Vienna, 1731, miracles no. XI and XII. The first is of a thieving peasant, whom the B.V.M. saved because he prayed the *Ave* so frequently.

And I must comment also upon Father M^c^Nabb's attempt to enlist the late G. C. Macaulay on his side. Mr Macaulay came to consult me about Father M^c^Nabb's prefatory letter of March 18, 1915, in which he sketched the outlines of his theory; and we agreed that, though there was no evidence of the 'certainty' there claimed, the suggestion was interesting enough to lay before the public. We met fairly frequently in those days: once or twice he recurred to the subject, but with no hint of change in his benevolent scepticism; he frankly confessed himself untrained to follow the historical arguments. If he had lived to read Miss Allen's article, my own conviction is that he would, at least, have applauded it as the best working theory yet presented.

G. G. COULTON.

CAMBRIDGE.

'THE OWL AND THE NIGHTINGALE.'

It will be best to start with a passage which I feel sure has been misinterpreted; since this, if I am right, may decide the vexed question of the poet's didactic purpose. The Nightingale is reviling the Owl for being such a doleful prophet and counsellor; and he proceeds (l. 1169):

> Dahet euer suich budel in tune
> þat euer bodeþ un-wreste rune,
> an euer bringeþ yuele tiþinge,
> an þat euer specþ of vuele þinge!
> God Almiȝti wrþe him wroþ,
> an al þat werieþ linnene cloþ.

What is the point of this *linen cloth*? Gadow gives us no note here; Wells tells us in two words that the reference is to 'the clergy.' But the usual meaning of *linen cloth* in medieval English, as in French, is that of *underclothing*[1]. In default of evidence to the contrary—and I think none such has yet been offered—this specification of linen cloth cannot be referred to the outer garments of the clergy (who appeared in linen only for a few hours in the day) in preference to the large class who were

[1] See *N.E.D.* s.v. *linen* and Godefroy s.v. *linge*, who, after citing many instances, adds 'on remarquera que dans plusieurs des exemples cités, *drap linge* et *robe linge* désignent la chemise.' It is possible that Wells's interpretation is based upon what may look at first sight like a parallel passage (*Havelok*, l. 429), where the author invokes upon the villain the malison 'of patriark and of pope, and of priest with locken cope.' But this *locken cope* was not a linen vestment; it was the *cappa clausa* which Canon Law commanded the priest to wear on all but the most private occasions, and which answered in certain ways to the modern cassock. See e.g. Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, lib. III, tit. 1, and T. A. Lacey in *Trans. St Paul's Eccles. Soc.*, vol. IV (1900), p. 128, where the *cappa clausa* is well described, though some of the writer's earlier inferences must be read with caution. Linen did not distinguish the priest; deacon, sub-deacon or acolyte wore linen vestments in church whenever the priest wore them; the acolyte (parish clerk) was perhaps more often seen in linen than the priest himself.

distinguished from the rest of mankind by the linen shirt. For such a class did exist. The peasant and the poor man were generally shirtless by necessity; many others were shirtless for religion's sake. When Langland describes himself as 'wolleward and wete-shoed' (B. 18. 1 : cf. *Ancren Riwle*, ed. Morton, p. 418) he speaks either as a beggar or as an ecclesiastical penitent. The monk, the anchorite, and the stricter of the Canons Regular, wore no shirt, but a sort of woollen jersey instead; Innocent III expressly commanded this (*Decret. Greg.* lib. III, tit. XXXV, c. 6) and it was repeated equally solemnly by Gregory IX in 1236; 'utuntur camisiis lineis' is a frequent gravamen of Odo Rigaldi, the famous 13th century visitor. If, then, ***linen cloth*** is used in *O. and N.* in its commonest sense, the phrase roughly divides society into two classes: (1) the monk and his congeners, with the struggling poor, and (2) the rest of the upper and middle-class population. 'All that weareth linen cloth' would connote all socially respectable people, except the professional puritan. The Nightingale invokes upon the Owl the malison of all decent unmonastic folk.

This passage, perhaps, is in itself only passively consistent with the monk's habits and characteristics; but we can support our interpretation by other passages which seem to supply active evidence in the same direction. The allusion to night-services fits the monk alone among all classes of society; ll. 323–8 definitely specify the four services of Vespers, Compline, Matins and Prime. There is no allusion, it is true, to the three day services, but for this there is an obvious reason: the owl does not sing by day, and the poet was bound not to break too glaringly with the facts of natural history. But these omitted day-services are not in any sense distinctive of monasticism, the really significant allusion is that to the night services, if we are to suppose that the author had any [illegible] reason than that of the owl's literal habits for omitting the day-[illegible]. Whatever deductions we may draw from their omission would [illegible] heavily against the monks than against the rest of the clergy, [illegible] of whom and their Rules [illegible] we.

Again ll. 1[illegible] the owl proves that the kingdom of heaven is [illegible] with weeping, [illegible] and boasts his own frequent [illegible]. Is not this one of the many [illegible] echoes of that sentence of [illegible] addressed to St [illegible]? [illegible] sed plan-[illegible] habet [illegible] [illegible] And this Owl's boast [illegible] to the [illegible] his opponent lives to [illegible] The monk. [illegible] [illegible] men: it

was unlucky to meet him, as it was unlucky to see a raven. The other allusions which seem consonant with this interpretation must here be indicated more briefly: cloister-life may be satirically described in ll. 25—8, 89, 281—2; the monotonous psalmody, 220 and *passim*; melancholy and ascetic view of life, 226, 425—6, 485—92, 878, 895—914, 971—990; religious contemplation, 355—60; charity and good works, 535—40, 603—4, 609—10. Moreover, some of these seem very far-fetched, to suit some preconceived theme, without much care for ornithological truth. The author must have known, for instance, that the owl of natural history is very far from the religious altruist whom he depicts, e.g. in ll. 535—40.

We cannot, it is true, work the whole of this side of the debate into a thoroughly complete and consistent picture of monastic life; but consistency was not the medieval poet's strong point. Moreover, we must deal with the possibility that this poem is, after all, a translation from some Latin or French original; it may be worth noting that the line from which this discussion has started (1174) goes very naturally into French—'E cil ke portent linge drap.' Many of the inequalities in this poem would at once be explained if it turned out to be a not very masterly *rifacimento* of some earlier poem, far more consistent in its theme. Among other things, this would account at once for the noticeable superiority of ll. 433—67 to the rest of the poem.

For I must confess my dissent from the praise bestowed upon this author as an original observer of nature. I can see nothing in it which might not be mere *cliché* taken from people who knew little of birds and beasts at first-hand. The nestling owl fouling the hawk's nest is a scene far less likely to have ever happened, than to have been invented by the same people who invented the chivalrous nobility of lions and eagles, and the plastic power of the she-bear's tongue. The instances singled out by Mr Wells (p. xxxix) seem either desperately commonplace or actually incorrect; the hawk is not baited by 'carrion crows' (which are solitary birds), but by rooks, swallows, and even sparrows; moreover, it does not in real life 'sail from its lofty perch in lordly contempt of its base revilers,' but cuts a very undignified figure and often shows manifest fear. The poem is remarkable for its superiority of structure and metre at so early a date; but is it wise to credit the poet with virtues which will not bear close examination?

G. G. Coulton.

Cambridge.

[illegible] Elizabeth is a Game of 'Truth'

[illegible] queen whose commands must be obeyed and [illegible] must be answered whatever their nature may be—[illegible] sixteenth century as popular in France among courtiers [illegible] have been known for centuries in England in games like [illegible] and Commands' or 'Truth.' In 1592 an account is given of [illegible] game of this type as part of the performance of the shepherds who appeared in the entertainments at Sudeley in honour of Queen Elizabeth. 'Questions and Commands' is described in the *Mysteries of Love and Eloquence*, 1685, and more briefly in the *Spectator* of [illegible] 1711 (No. 1001), it is mentioned in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, February 1749 in connection with the burlesquing of royalty; and it has survived in the familiar children's game of the present day called 'Truth.' Among the courtiers of the middle ages and the renaissance the questions were usually closely related to those of court of love literature and the game itself was like a debate.

The following passage translated from a letter of Giacomo Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France written to the Signory, February 19, [illegible] shows that Henri [illegible] and his courtiers played this game in the [illegible] Twelfth Night festivities, the [illegible] questions of love and [illegible]

[illegible] with the Queen of [illegible] Sir Thomas Smith, he [illegible]

[illegible] name a King; a [illegible] Elizabeth, and a [illegible] masters he [illegible] was the most [illegible] The queen ended [illegible]

to the Queen, of her anger—which resulted in the banishment of Dudley's messenger from the court and her threat to lower Dudley 'just as she had at first raised him'—of his pining in a room of the castle for four days till Elizabeth pitied him and restored him to favour, and of the English Ambassador's conjecture that his rumoured elevation to the peerage and marriage to the Queen would at least be delayed.

C. R. BASKERVILL.

CHICAGO, U.S.A.

SHAKESPEARE—THE ENGLISH ÆSCHYLUS.

The comparison between Æschylus and Shakespeare, habitual in many of Swinburne's most dithyrambic passages of criticism, occurs also not infrequently in the writings of some of his European contemporaries. Thus, for example, in Carducci, 'Al Sonetto' (*Rime nuove*, 1887):

> A l' Eschil poi, che su l' Avon rinacque,
> Tu, peregrin con l' arte a strania arena,
> Fosti d' arcan dolori arcan richiamo.

It is no doubt, directly or indirectly, from Victor Hugo that many of these writers borrow this particular suggestion. But the comparison was not new even in Hugo. It is to be found, for example (to exclude English critics for the moment from our consideration), in Charles Nodier's *Promenade de Dieppe aux montagnes d'Écosse* (1821). I quote from the English translation (Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1822):

'I cast a last look on Shakespeare's Cliff, so admirably described in "King Lear," of which one of the excellent commentators on the English Eschylus says, that he never transported himself in imagination to the brink of the precipice without feeling, as he measured its frightful depth, a degree of giddiness' (*op. cit.* p. 208).

Hazlitt, in his *Lectures on the English Poets* (1818), had remarked of Shakespeare that 'he might be said to combine the powers of Æschylus and Aristophanes, of Dante and Rabelais, in his own mind'; and Ben Jonson had said much the same two centuries before. But this narrowing down of the comparison to one of the Greek dramatists, and to Æschylus in particular, is another matter. Can your readers furnish many earlier instances than Nodier's? The earliest which I have come across is from a sufficiently obscure source, a footnote in the Introduction (To the Reader, Vol. I, p. xxvii) of Antonio Montucci's *Quindici Tragedie di Vittorio Alfieri* (Edinburgh, 1805): 'If the reviewers allow to Alfieri the merit of imitating Shakespeare's style, I conclude he has taken from the English Æschylus the best part of his truly tragical beauties (many

of his other great ones being rather poetical than peculiarly tragical).' But here again (as in Nodier) the phrase has a derivative air, and Montucci's critical faculty may be gauged by the dedication of his work, in which he asserts of Alfieri that 'le bellezze tutte assembrò di Sofocle, Corneille, Voltaire e Shakespeare, ogni lor difetto felicemente schifando.'

JOHN PURVES.

EDINBURGH.

AN EARLY REFERENCE TO DANTE'S CANZONE 'LE DOLCI RIME D'AMOR' IN ENGLAND.

English literature owes to Chaucer a very early acquaintance with Dante; and the *Divina Commedia*, as is natural, was the work upon which Dante's fame with Chaucer rested. His minor works became known in England at a much later period. The earliest explicit reference to the *Convivio*, mentioned by Dr Paget Toynbee in his exhaustive work *Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary*, is by William Barker in 1568 (I, p. 41), while the familiarity with the *Vita Nuova* and *De Monarchia* seems to be of still later date. It is true that a possible acquaintance of Chaucer with the canzone heading the fourth treatise of the *Convivio* might be inferred from a passage in the *Wife of Bath's Tale* and from the *Balade of Gentillesse*. Both contain a discussion of the true nature of nobility, and Dr Toynbee thinks it almost beyond doubt that Chaucer was indebted for his arguments to Dante's canzone (*op. cit.*, pp. 13, 16). This seems to me too bold, as the discussion of the origin of nobility was already common from the thirteenth century onward, and the conclusion that nobility is founded in virtue was generally accepted.

In my opinion the similarity between Dante's canzone and Chaucer's views on the true nature of nobility is not strong enough to admit the conclusion that Chaucer knew the Italian poem. Dr Toynbee, nevertheless, is quite right in pointing out that the canzone at a very early date was the subject of a discussion likely to spread some knowledge of its contents far beyond Italy. Messer Lapo da Castiglionchio (c. 1310–1381), in a letter to his son Bernardo, gave an account of the examination of Dante's arguments by the famous jurist, Bartolo da Sassoferrato (c. 1313–1356).

This treatise of Bartolus on nobility has led to an early reference to Dante's canzone by an English author, which, as far as I can ascertain, has, so far, escaped the attention of scholars. It is due not to a poet but to a student of law, Nicholas Upton, who lived from about 1400 to 1457.

His career has been traced by Professor Pollard in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (LVIII, p. 39). He was a fellow of New College Oxford and a bachelor of civil and canon law. Though he took the lower orders and received several prebends, his occupations were of a lay character. He fought in France under Suffolk and Talbot, and was at Orleans during the famous siege as an attendant of the Earl of Salisbury.

After the latter's death Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, 'observing the parts and virtues of Mr. Upton, who at that time was not meanly skilled in both the laws, persuaded him to lay aside the sword and to take up his books again and follow his studies.' At the duke's request, Upton wrote his *Libellus de Officio militari*, a work on heraldry, nobility and military law, consisting of four books. It was published in 1654 by Edward Bysshe, Garter king of arms[1], who dedicated his edition to John Selden.

Upton appears to be well versed in the work of Bartolus, as might be expected. He even begins the first chapter of his book with this famous name: 'Famosissimus ille pater legum et doctor eximius, dominus Bartholus de Saxoferrato in lege prima C. de dignitatibus li. XII. nobilitatem sic diffinit' (p. 3). He proceeds to quote him several times and especially in chapter XIX of the first book, which is inscribed: 'Ad quos descendit nobilita' (p. 64):

Est vero nobilis et si ex nobili descendat, seu ex vili, vel plebeo, ut concludit dominus Bartholus in tractatu suo de nobilitate, circa medium, quem posuit in lege prima C. de dignitatibus li. XII. Et sic nichil aliud est vera nobilitas, quam vita humana, clara virtutibus per electionem et habitum anime intellectualis exterius operantis. Nec tamen omnis nobilis est generosus, ut supradixi, quia ille est generosus, qui descendit a parentela generosa et[2] semper nota, quod sanguis non purgatur usque ad quartum gradum inclusive: quamvis talis nobilitatus gaudeat regno, sive regalia, ut Rex Cipri, de quo supradixi. Unde adhuc opiniones quorundam referam.

Fuit enim quidam nomine Danty[3], de Florencia, vulgaris poeta, laudabilis, recollendeque memorie, qui circa hoc fecit quandam cantilenam in vulgari, *La doulce Ryme damour*. In qua recitat tres opiniones antiquorum: quarum prima talis fuit. Quidam imperator dixit, quod, Nobilitas est antiqua eris sive divitiarum possessio cum pulcris regiminibus[4] et moribus. Alii dixerunt quod antiqui boni mores hominem faciunt nobilem, et hii de diviciis minime curare videntur. Alii autem dixerunt, quod ille dicitur nobilis, qui descendit de patre, aut avo, nobili. Omnes tamen has opiniones reprobat ipse Bartholus, ibidem, ultimo determinans, quod quicunque est virtuosus, ille est nobilis in illa virtute. Nec nobilitas esse potest ubi virtus deest.

[1] Nicolai Uptoni *De Studio militari libri quatuor*. Johan. de Bado Aureo. *Tractatus de armis*. Henrici Spelmanni *Aspilogia*. Edoardus Bissaeus e codicibus mss primus publici juris fecit, notisque illustravit. Londini, Typis Rogeri Norton, impensis Johannis Martin et Jacobi Allestrye sub signo Campanae in coemiterio D. Pauli, 1654. The library of the University of Leyden possesses a copy of the work.

[2] Bysshe: generosa. Et semper nota quod....

[3] Id.: Dancy.

[4] Id.: regibus.

After quoting several other authorities Upton concludes by saying: 'Et sic potest esse verum quod dixit poeta Danty[1], ut supra dixi.'

Of the six manuscripts mentioned by Bysshe in his preface, the Cottonianus Nero C III appears to have been the basis of his text. Whether the manuscript British Museum Additional MS. 30946, described by Mr Pollard as 'possibly the original,' was among Bysshe's material, cannot be ascertained. Professor Geyl, at my request, was so kind as to compare the passage in these two manuscripts with the printed text. The Add. MS. proved to contain only a few words of the whole citation from Bartolus. Pages 63 and 64 of the edition are entirely omitted to the words: '(Et sic) Bartholus ultimo determinans etc....ubi virtus deest'; pp. 65 and 66 are also missing. As the mention of Bartolus' conclusion without the preceding argument has no sense at all, Add. MS. 30946 cannot be held to represent the original redaction by Upton himself, the more so as it inverts the order of the four books, enumerated by the author himself in his preface (p. 3).

It need scarcely be said that Upton's reference to Dante's canzone does not involve an acquaintance with the poem itself. Rather might it be said that it excludes such a knowledge. He renders the initial words, as far as he could understand them, as if they were French. Moreover, he has not even read his Bartolus with due attention.

Bartolus' treatise on nobility forms an excursus to his commentary *Ad duodecimum librum Codicis De dignitatibus*. It must have had an early and wide circulation as a separate pamphlet. The well-known Dante-scholar Karl Witte published it[2] from an edition of 1493[3]. Witte's remark, however, that the little treatise had been overlooked by the editors of Bartolus' works, so that it remained unknown even to Savigny, is an error, for, though missing in the Turin edition of 1589, the Lyons edition of Bartolus' works, 1581, contains it in the right place[4].

By comparing Bartolus' text with Upton's it is clear that the latter followed closely his authority, abridging it here and there. Let it suffice to quote the lines in which the opening words of the canzone occur:

Et ut circa haec veritas elucescat, multorum opiniones referam. Fuit enim quidam nomine Dantes Allegeri de Florentia poeta vulgaris laudabilis et recolendae

[1] Bysshe: Dancy.

[2] *De Bartolo a Saxoferrato Dantis Alligherii studioso commentatiuncula*, Halle, 1861, reprinted in Karl Witte, *Dante-Forschungen, Altes und Neues*, I, Halle, 1869, no. XXIV, p. 461.

[3] 'Infrascripti utiles et solaciosi tractatuli Bartoli legum doctoris famosissimi hic continentur...col. Impressi sunt presentes tractatuli Bartoli Liptzk per Gregorium Boticher Anno Domini MCCCCXCIII die quinta mensis Octobris.' A copy of this Leipzig incunabulum is in the Library of the University of Leyden.

[4] Vol. IV, f. 46 v., In tres codicis libros.

memoriae: qui circa hoc fecit unam cantilenam in vulgari quae incipit *Le dolze rime damor che solea trovare li mei penseri*[1], etc.

Et ibi recitat tres opiniones antiquorum. Prima est quae dicit quod quidam imperator[2] dixit quod nobilitas est antiqua aeris et divitiarum possessio cum pulchris regiminibus et moribus. Alii dixerunt quod antiqui boni mores faciunt hominem nobilem et isti de divitiis non curant. Tertii dicunt quod ille est nobilis qui descendit ex patre vel avo valenti, et omnes istas tres opiniones reprobat. Ultimo ipse determinat, quod quicunque est virtuosus, est nobilis. Item potest esse nobilitas etiam ubi non est virtus, et sic nobilitas habet in se plus quam virtus: exemplum in puella verecunda. Nam verecundia est diversa a virtute, et tamen in ea est nobilitas, etc.

Bartolus himself misinterpreted Dante by saying: 'Alii dixerunt quod antiqui boni mores faciunt hominem nobilem et isti de divitiis non curant.' For Dante referred to an opinion, which he wished to refute, as he explains himself in the *Convivio*, trattato IV, cap. 3: 'E dico che altri fu di più lieve sapere, che, pensando e rivolgendo questa definizione in ogni parte, levò via l' ultima particola, cioè i belli costumi, e tennesi alla prima, cioè all' antica ricchezza; e secondochè 'l testo par dubitare, forse per non avere i belli costumi, non volendo perdere il nome di gentilezza, difiniò quella secondochè per lui facea, cioè possessione d' antica ricchezza.'

Upton on his part did not observe that Bartolus is still rendering Dante's opinions in saying: 'et omnes istas tres opiniones reprobat (scil. Dante).' and ascribes to Bartolus the refutation due to Dante. Only where Bartolus in his turn refutes Dante's opinion, expressed in the words: 'È gentilezza dovunque è virtute, Ma non virtute ov' ella, etc.[3],' Upton correctly states Bartolus' conclusion.

The form *Danty*, used by Upton, could hardly be derived by him from the Latin text of Bartolus, which has *Dantes*. It would seem to occur also in the catalogue of the library of Henry VIII, but, as Dr Toynbee gives the quotation in modern English (p. 32), I cannot make sure of it, and must leave it open, how Upton, apparently not knowing from Chaucer the forms *Dant, Dante, Daunte*, came to this form *Danty*.

It is a curious coincidence that the rare references to Dante in English literature between Chaucer's time and the sixteenth century have all of them something to do with Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. Humphrey himself presented books of Boccaccio, Petrarch and Dante to the University of Oxford (Toynbee, p. 20). John Lydgate's *The Falls of Princes*, in which Dante's name is mentioned thrice, was undertaken at the instance of his patron, the Duke of Gloucester (*Ibid.*, p. 18). So

[1] The Lyons edition has corrected the Italian quotation.
[2] By this emperor Dante meant Frederick II of Hohenstaufen.
[3] Explained by Dante in cap. 19 of the *Convivio*, tratt. IV.

was Upton's *Libellus de Officio militari*, in which, probably for the first time, Dante as the author of the *Convivio* was introduced into England in the train of the great Italian jurist.

J. HUIZINGA.

LEYDEN.

DANTE IN PORTUGUESE LITERATURE.

Dante, with the exception of the Paolo and Francesca episode in Canto 5 of the *Inferno*, of which there are a dozen or more Portuguese versions (see Dr Esteves Pereira, *Francisca da Rimini* in the *Boletim* of the Lisbon Academy of Sciences, vol. 9, fasc. 1, 1915, pp. 43–70), has never been widely appreciated in Portugal. Apparently his style was not sufficiently smooth for Portuguese taste. Faria e Sousa in his commentary to the sonnets of Camões wrote that 'Dante en sus Rimas tiene un estilo muy áspero,' and José Agostinho de Macedo dismissed him as *tenebroso*. They preferred what Barros calls 'as doçuras de Petrarca,' who had eclipsed Dante even in Italy. There are no early Portuguese references such as that of Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino ('Dante el poeta grant conponedor' or 'Un letrado que fue grant poeta, Dante') or Francisco Imperial ('El poeta purista, teólogo, Dante'). The Portuguese poets of the new school in the sixteenth century looked chiefly to Sannazaro and Petrarca. Diogo Bernardez in his letters in *tercetos* names Petrarca and 'o culto Tasso,' but not Dante. Francisco de Hollanda, however, bids painters 'not disdain to read Dante in Tuscan.' Couto, we know, read Dante in India in 1563; Mestre Affonso in his *Itinerario* speaks of 'o famoso poeta damte' (p. 96). (The words 'de marauilhosa alteza' refer apparently to Mount Ida, not to the *altissimo poeta*.) Chiado in his *Pratica de Oito Figuras* mentions together Dante, Petrarca, and—Juan de Mena. Antonio de Sousa de Macedo says grudgingly that 'em Italia foi o antigo Dante como o Ennio Latino, entre cujas humildades se acham grãos de ouro' (*Eva e Ave*, 1676 ed., p. 128). The Portuguese poet scattering orange-flowers and rosemary in Oliveira's letter (ii, 27) meets, with Homer, Virgil, and Milton, not Dante but Tasso. Faria e Sousa, who complains of the roughness of Dante's style, elsewhere (*Fvente de Aganipe*, 1646, *Advertencias contra la opinión moderna de lo que es Poesía*, § 3) admits that 'es tanto menor Poeta el Tasso que el Dante quanto es menor un hombre que un gigante.'

AUBREY F. G. BELL.

ST JOÃO DO ESTORIL, PORTUGAL.

'MYSTÈRE D'ADAM,' l. 482.

It is, I think, clear from internal evidence, that *Cele te sachera le ras* renders the Vulgate *ipsa conteret caput tuum*. Förster's emendation *escachera* is probably correct; cf. 'Et dist ainsi que qui vouloit tuer premier le serpent, il li devoit *esquachier le chief*' (Joinville, ed. Wailly, p. 64). That leaves *ras*, of which this line contains the only O.F. record, unexplained. I do not know whether anyone has thought of the Arabic *rās*, head, which is cognate with the Hebrew *rōsh*, used in the original (*Genesis*, iii. 15). The solitary occurrence of an Arabic word in an Anglo-Norman text would certainly be a startling phenomenon; but it seems to be agreed (Studer, Introd., p. xxxiv) that the writer of the Tours MS. was a southerner, and this southerner may have included Moorish Spain in his wanderings.

[The above was in type before I had seen Mr Raamsdonk's note (*M.L.R.*, July—October, 1921). Without expressing an opinion on his solution, I am inclined to offer my own as an alternative.]

ERNEST WEEKLEY.

NOTTINGHAM.

ROMANIC ETYMOLOGIES.

Galician *axexar*, Spanish *acechar*.

These verbs, which have the sense of French *guetter*, seem to be based on Arabic *aš-šiṣṣ* 'the thief,' meaning one who lies in wait, looking for a chance to steal something. Direct assimilation produced the Galician stem *axex-* (*ašeš*). In Spanish the reverted quality of *s*[1] caused *ts* (with non-reverted *s*), written *z* finally and *ç* otherwise, to be used for the Arabic *s*-sounds. We should expect an early Spanish verb **axeçar* (*ašetsar*): the form *acechar* shows blending with *asechar* 'waylay,' derived from **assectare* for *assectari*.

Spanish *acetre, cetre, celtre*.

Arabic *saṭl* 'pail,' derived from Latin *situla* or *situlus*, corresponding to French *seille*, Italian *secchia* and *secchio*, has a remarkable *a* instead of *i*. Probably *saṭl* is an alteration of **siṭl*, with *a* due to the influence of the similar word *saṭlah* 'drunkenness'; **siṭl* would explain the Spanish forms and Portuguese *acéter, acetre*. Spanish stressed *e* does not commonly represent an Arabic short *a*, though it may correspond to long *a*, as *alfaqueque* < *al-fakāk*, *alférez* < *al-fāris*, *alfiler* < *al-χilāl*, in accor-

[1] T. Navarro Tomás, *Pronunciación española*, Madrid, 1918, § 108.

dance with the change of *ā* to *ē* in modern Tunisian Arabic[1]. The form *celtre* shows a treatment of the emphatic lingual having parallels in other words, as *aldea* < *aḍ-ḍaiʿah*, *alcalde* < *al-qāḍī* (not from *qaʿdi*, as given by Meyer-Lübke: the root is *q-ḍ-y-* 'decide,' not *q-ʿ-d-* 'abide').

Portuguese *alcançar*, Spanish *alcanzar*.

Meyer-Lübke tells us in his Romanic dictionary, under *incalciare*, that a connexion of Spanish *alcanzar* with Arabic *qanaṣ* is 'wenig wahrscheinlich, da das Wort erst im 12. Jahrh. erscheint und da an die Stelle von *encalzar* tritt.' If the source had *lc*, the early Spanish form must have had *lç*, not *lz* as given by Meyer-Lübke. His objection is pointless. The Arabs entered Spain before the twelfth century, and we can reasonably assume borrowing to explain an Arabic-like word used at that time, whether recorded earlier or not. The noun *alcanz* or *alcance* may have been adopted, in speech, as early as many other words of Arabic origin. The meaning happened to resemble that of *encalçar*; and (after perhaps two or three centuries of use) the noun developed the verb *alcançar*, which became confused with *encalçar* and finally displaced it. One sense of *alcanzar* is 'grasp' or 'seize': 'coger alargando la mano' says the Academy's *Diccionario*. This is closer to the Arabic verb, meaning 'hunt, catch or kill in hunting,' than to the Romanic verb 'follow' (at one's heels).

Meyer-Lübke fails to discuss the form of *alcance*. He follows Körting and Diez in mentioning only Arabic *qanaṣ* 'what is taken in hunting.' A noun more directly related to the Arabic verb is *qanṣ*, the so-called infinitive. *Al-qanaṣ* would have given **alcánaz*; the source of *alcance* is *al-qanṣ*. Though the Hispanic verb is formally based on *alcance*, its senses presumably include those of *encalçar*. There is no ground for supposing (as Meyer-Lübke does) that Portuguese *alcançar* was taken from Spanish.

EDWIN H. TUTTLE.

NORTH HAVEN, CONN., U.S.A.

ZUM 'WIENER HUNDESEGEN.'

In einer kurzen Notiz in der *Academy*, No. 1255 (1896), S. 428 hatte ich auf eine, wie mir schien, bedeutsame Übereinstimmung zwischen der Eingangszeile des *Wiener Hundesegens* und dem Anfang einer altenglischen Besegnung aufmerksam gemacht und darin eine Stütze für die Ansicht gesehen, dass der *Wiener Hundesegen*—oder lieber die hinter

[1] C. Brockelmann, *Semitische Sprachwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1906, § 67.

seiner ersten Zeile stehende Anschauung—dem germanischen Heidentum angehöre, sich ursprünglich auf Wuotan (Woden) bezogen hätte. A. Brandl hat dann auch in seiner *Geschichte der altenglischen Literatur*, Strassburg, 1908, S. 16 (956), 17 (957) diese Beziehung für den altenglischen Spruch als feststehend aufgenommen und in G. Ehrismanns *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, I. *Die althochdeutsche Literatur*, München, 1918, S. 100 liest man mit Rücksicht auf den *Wiener Hundesegen*: 'Wahrscheinlich aber ist der christliche Spruch Umwandlung eines heidnischen, mit Einsetzung christlicher Personen an Stelle heidnischer Götter.' Dagegen äussert sich E. von Steinmeyer, *Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler*, Berlin, 1916, S. 395: 'Ich sehe nicht ab, wie Priebsch aus den Worten *ne wolf ne þef* eines dem Milstäter Blutsegen verwandten englischen Segens...ein neues Argument für heidnischen Ursprung unseres Spruches hat herleiten wollen.' Dies ist die Veranlassung, dass ich noch einmal in Kürze auf jene Frage zurückkomme.

Das altenglische Stück, enthalten in einer ehemals Lord Ashburnham gehörigen Hs. (MS. Cxx, Appendix) des 12. Jahrhunderts (1182 nach einigen historischen Daten auf Blatt 3 zu schliessen) lautet unter Aufnahme einiger weniger Emendationen:

God was iborin in Bedlem,
Ihangid[1] he was to Jerusalem,
Ifolewid in þe flum Jordan,
Þer nes inemnid ne wolf ne þef.
Christ and seinte trinite, xpist in seinte trinite,
Child with wolf and þef, seine[2] ous and alle oure autee.
And alle godes crafte, Seint Johanne (?)[3] and seint Luc
Withinne wowes and withoute
Seine ous alle aboute.

Was dann noch folgt ist sinnloses Zauberlatein und für uns ohne Interesse. Man sieht, der Inhalt der Formel ist eine allgemeine Besegnung gegen jegliches Übel, das dem Menschen oder seinem Besitz (*autee*) schaden könnte. Z. 1–3[4] nun entsprechen tatsächlich dem typischen christlichen Anfang mehrerer deutschen und englischen Formeln für Blutstillung (Müllenhoff und Scherer, *Denkm.*[3], ii, S. 273 f., Ebermann, *Blut- und Wundsegen*, S. 26 f., *Palaestra*, xxiv), jedoch die vierte fällt gänzlich aus diesem Schema heraus. Stellt man sie unmittelbar hinter die drei ersten Worte des Spruches, so ergibt sich eine mit der ersten des *Wiener Hundesegens* so gut wie identische Zeile: 'God was iborin

[1] MS. Iborin. [2] fehlt. [3] h'nne.
[4] Nahe liegt die Umordnung 1, 3, 2. Vgl. M.S.D.[3] ii, S. 274. Hier wie dort hängt die sachliche auffallende Ordnung mit dem Reimanklang Jerusalem: Bedlem zusammen; in der Aufzeichnung des *Milstäter Blutsegens* hat sie eine weitere Änderung von 2 zur Folge gehabt.

þer nes inemnid ne wolf ne þef' und: 'Christ uuart gaboren er uuolf ode diob.'

Birgt sie eine kristliche Vorstellung? Da hat nun freilich E. von Steinmeyer (a.a.O., S. 396) aus der Trierer Hs. 40 saec. x eine lateinische Formel abgedruckt, die beim ersten Durchlesen diese Frage zu bejahen scheint: 'In nomine domini nostri creati! crescite et multiplicamini. Christus uos deducat et reducat. Ante fuit Christus quam lupus: Christus interpretatur saluator. Lupus interpretatur diabolus. Christus liberet canes istos ł alias bestias de dentibus luporum. de manu latronum. et ab omnibus inimicis. Et per intercessionem beati Eustachii. ite cum pace. amen.' Steckt etwa in dieser Formel das Vorbild unserer zwei Sprüche? Von Steinmeyer in seiner vorsichtigen Art zieht diesen Schluss nicht, andere werden dies nun voraussichtlich tun. Wie die Formel uns überliefert ist, zeigt sich ein einschneidender Unterschied zwischen ihr und jenen Sprüchen. Sie enthält zwar als Gegenüberstellung *Christus* (*salvator*): *diabolus* (*lupus*); allein der *latro* (bzw. *latrones*) wird nur ganz beiläufig unter und neben anderen Schädigern der Herden erwähnt. Es fehlt ihr also die Dreigliederung Christus-Wolf-Dieb und gerade diese bildet das hervorstechende Merkzeichen der beiden vulgärsprachlichen Segen, eignet, so viel ich weiss, nur ihnen. Diese Tatsache scheint m. E. genügend, die Formel in der vorliegenden Gestalt als gemeinsame Quelle auszuschliessen. Wohl aber könnte man da einwerfen, ihre Aufzeichnung in der Trierer Hs. möchte unvollständig, hinter den beiden *lupus* ein *aut latro* ausgefallen sein. Allein abgesehen davon, dass dieser Zusatz schlecht zur stilistischen Ökonomie der Formel passen würde—dem eingliedrigen *Christus interpretatur salvator* steht ganz richtig als Gegensatz das eingliedrige *Lupus interpretatur diabolus* gegenüber—würde es sich auch schwer verstehen lassen, wie diese offenbar ganz isolierte, keineswegs wie der Blutsegeneingang, typische Formel nach England gekommen und dort in verhältnismässig später Zeit, wie lange vorher auf deutschem Boden, genau dasselbe kleine Teilstück *Ante fuit Christus quam lupus* (*aut latro*), aus der Mitte der lateinischen Formel herausgerissen, in eine Besegnung ganz allgemeinen Inhalts eingefügt worden wäre. Ist es da nicht einfacher anzunehmen, dass die lateinische Formel ein gelehrter Nachhall des altdeutschen Hirtensegens sei, indem ihr geistlicher Verfasser die ihm auffällige nackte Behauptung *Christus—er uuolf*, entsprechend dem Lehrbetrieb seiner Zeit, symbolisch mit *salvator—diabolus*[1] ausdeutete, *diob* aber, das er ja doch wieder nur auf *diabolus*

[1] Der Vergleich *diabolus—lupus* erscheint schon bei Gregor d. G.; siehe J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 1835, S. 55 f.

hätte beziehen müssen, folgerichtig überging? Und sollte dann nicht auch der Schluss erlaubt sein, dass sich in dem inkriminierten Satz der beiden volkssprachlichen Besegnungen—einer literarischen Gattung, in der sich ja Altes, Bodenständiges, wenn auch oft un- oder halbverstanden am zähesten hielt—ein, wennschon noch so winziges Stück alten germanischen Erbguts erhalten hätte, das einerseits mit einem der anglofriesischen Stämme nach England, anderseits aus dem nordwestlichen oder nördlichen Deutschland, wo man demgemäss seine Heimat suchen würde, nach den südlicheren Teilen des Landes wanderte, bis es zuerst hier, später dort zufällig seine schriftliche Fixierung fand, beide male in christlicher Gewandung, in Produkten der gleichen literarischen Gattung? Giebt man die Möglichkeit dieser Hypothese zu, so würde alles Weitere auf dieser Basis sich unschwer entwickeln lassen.

Der Satz *er uuolf ode diob* bildet offenbar eine tadellose (zweite) Kurzzeile des Typus B. Als Stabträger der voraufgehenden ersten eines Langverses würde sich unter Berücksichtigung der eben erwähnten Wandertheorie das Wort *Wuotan* (*Woden*) ungezwungen einstellen. Gegen diese ja schon längst vorgeschlagene Ersetzung von *Christ* wandte man besonders ein, 'so geläufig für den Christen die Datierung von Christi Geburt, so ungeläufig und fremd war den Heiden die von Wuotans Geburt.' Ganz richtig; allein ist das *giboran* (*yborin*) dieses Verses wirklich ursprünglich und nicht vielmehr beiderseits—im althochdeutschen wie im altenglischen Segen, natürlich unabhängig von einander—erst durch die Macht der kristlichen Tradition hereingekommen? Es scheint mir nicht zu gewagt, sich auch hier nach einem Ersatz umzusehen und da bietet sich am befriedigendsten, weil damit zugleich die metrischen Bedingungen der Kurzzeile erfüllt werden, das substantivische Partizipium von *waltan* (*wealdan*) dar. Setzen wir dies ein, so erhalten wir die Langzeile (A B):

Ahd. Wuotan was waltent er uuolf ode diob.
Ags. Woden waes wealdend ær wulf oþþe þeof.
As. Wodan was waldand er wulf efdo thiof.

Die hinter dieser Langzeile stehende Anschauung scheint mir aus germanischen mythologischen Vorstellungen unschwer verständlich: Der Gott (Wuotan) war Herrscher (herrschte), ehe auf der Erde—gleichgültig, ob sie als göttergeschaffen oder vor ihnen existierend gedacht wird—noch das Übel sich zeigte; und dieses wird repräsentiert durch die zwei dem germanischen Bewusstsein fest aufgeprägten Schädiger—Wolf und Dieb[1]. Also ein Bild des goldenen Zeitalters, da 'auf Idafeld

[1] Vgl. Kögel, *Literaturgeschichte*, i, 2, S. 176: Der Wolf im Sprüchwort; Lehrspruch der Cott. Hs. v. 42: *þeof sceal gangan in þystrum wederum.*

kamen die Asen zusammen, Altäre zu schaffen und Tempel zu bauen,' noch geschaut vom Standpunkte jener Stämme, die Wuotan als der Götter höchsten verehrten. Damit vermehrte sich uns die Zahl der Wuotan-Formeln (ags. *Neunkräutersegen*, *Erster Merseburger Zauberspruch*) um eine neue. War sie der Eingang eines heidnischen Hirtensegens? Der altenglische Spruch, in den sich ja um die alte Formel offenbar ganz junges kristliches Gut gruppiert[1], kann nichts für diese Frage entscheiden. Eher klingt im *Wiener Hundesegen* die Phrase *der gauuerdo uualten*, deren Singular schon Kögel, *Literaturgesch.*, I, i, S. 260 mit Recht auffiel, wie ein altes dazugehöriges Stück, vor allem aber spricht zu Gunsten jener Annahme der Umstand, dass die in der Formel aufgeführten typischen Schädiger doch auch gerade die Erzfeinde der Herden sind. Immerhin liesse sich denken, dass diese Formel ursprünglich ein mythologischer Merkvers gewesen sei, der, zunächst selbst verkristlicht, sich auf deutschem Boden eben dieser fühlbaren Beziehung wegen die Aufpfropfung eines kristlichen Hirtensegens musste gefallen lassen, während er in England, weit unpassender, in eine allgemeine Bezeqnung hineingearbeitet wurde. Das ergäbe dann eine neue Möglichkeit für die Entstehung von kristlichen Segen, in die also ein von Haus aus selbständiges heidnisches Element recht und schlecht Eingang gefunden hätte. Allein das schlimme ist, dass solch ein Vorgang sich zwar theoretisch ansetzen, praktisch aber nicht beweisen lässt. Und auch im übrigen will ich nur Möglichkeit gegen Möglichkeit gesetzt haben.

R. Priebsch.

London.

[1] Auch die Phrase *Child with wolf and bef* zeigt, wie verständnislos ihr der Verfasser gegenüberstand.

REVIEWS.

The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham. By ALLEN MAWER. Cambridge: University Press. 1920. 8vo. xxxviii + 271 pp. 20*s.*

Various articles, reviews and notes dealing with place-name studies, as well as an address recently delivered before the British Academy by Professor Mawer, have led those interested in the subject to look forward to his long promised book on the local names of Northumberland and Durham. Other scholars have turned their attention to this field of study for a while and then returned to their earlier pursuits, whereas Professor Mawer continues to take place-name investigation very seriously and is pressing for wider recognition of its necessity and value. Impressed by the scale and thoroughness of the place-name surveys carried out in recent years in the three Scandinavian states he would urge upon our learned societies and even upon the Government to undertake a similar survey in this country.

A residence of over ten years in Northumberland has given Mr Mawer special facilities for the investigation of the place-names of the region north of the Tees, and it is evident that he has neglected no source and spared no pains to make his work exhaustive. In dealing with so large a number of names, some 1500 at the very least, for few of which does the record go further back than the twelfth century, it was inevitable that a good proportion could not be satisfactorily explained. Professor Mawer recognises this, for in his preface he remarks 'the comments should perhaps have been seasoned with "probably" and "possibly" a good deal more frequently than they have been.' We could have wished that he had given some indication of what he judges to be the degree of probability of each of his offered explanations. As is usual in place-name books, a choice of two or even three explanations is in many cases put before the reader, who must often be puzzled and even irritated by the want of certainty. Wideawake and well equipped as he undoubtedly is, Professor Mawer is not altogether free from a tendency to indulge at times in somewhat fanciful and even picturesque explanations. Thus for example in dealing with Snape Gate, where the earlier forms show *-gest* instead of *gate*, he says:

> A personal name is out of the question, as we cannot believe that four *Snapes* happened to possess a *gest*, whatever that might be. There is a North. M.E., and Mod. Engl. dial. *sneip*, *snayp*, *snape* meaning 'to be hard on, rebuke, or snub,' and the suggestion may be hazarded that a piece of land which made no response to cultivation, or a farm which was notoriously inhospitable, might be dubbed 'Snape-gest.'

Again, in regard to Thirston, Professor Mawer says:

> The first element is M.E. **thrastere*, **threstere*....It must have been used as a nickname, perhaps in the sense of a pushful person, a 'thruster.'

Under Ousterley occurs the following puzzling note:

> There is a *house-leek tree* or *tree-house leek*, a plant which grows on walls and roofs of houses. It is just possible that this may have been called, for short, *House-tree*, and the place named from it. Alternatively, we may note such compounds as *door-tree*...and *roof-tree*. There may have been a word *house-tree*, and the farm have been so called from a conspicuous piece of timbering.

Of Prudhoe Professor Mawer says:

> Pruda's *hōh*....Alternatively, the first element might be L.O.E. *prūd*<O.F. *prūd*, *prōd*, 'proud,' 'gallant,' descriptive of its proud position above the Tyne.

In his writings Professor Mawer has rightly protested against uncritical acceptance of early forms of personal names for which the evidence is either very slender or non-existent. He has, we seem to remember, warned investigators against putting too much faith in Searle's *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*. Yet in his book he not only cites names of doubtful authenticity but even invents names 'which might have existed.' For example, of Sheddon's Hill a single early form, *Shednes-lawe* 1382, is given. Professor Mawer's comment runs:

> Possibly 'Sceldwine's Hill.' The name is not found in O.E. but is a possible formation.

In a list of O.E. names of persons (p. 243) about 60 are marked with an asterisk to denote 'a hypothetical restoration of a lost name.' This number does not include many creations, plausible enough it is true, of diminutives or 'pet-names.'

Our author insists on the strict observance of the 'laws' of phonology, and in most instances he gives a reference to a valuable appendix (pp. 255–266) in which the phonology of the Northumbrian dialect based on the place-names is systematically treated. In a number of instances, indeed, his discussion of details of sound-change, with imposing sequences of hypothetical stages, seems to us out of place in a book of this kind. The disquisitions to be found in connection with Glantlees, Darlington and Birchope are examples of this. Of the more serious defects on the purely philological side, which arise when the offered explanation is not supported by the early forms there are, as might have been expected, very few in this book. Of Gamelspath (the old Roman road) the early forms are: 1380 *Kenylpethfeld*, 1411 *Kemylespathe*, 1456 *Kemblepeth*, 1473 *Gamyllespeth*, 1542 *Kemlespeth*, c. 1580 *Kemblespeth*, 1724 *Gemblespeth*. On the evidence of a solitary instance in a Runic inscription of *kamal* for *gamal* Professor Mawer thinks the first element of the name may have been the M.E. name *Gamel*, from O.W.Sc. *gamall*, 'old.' Apart from the question of the initial consonant, we note that the earliest form has *Kenyl-*, and Professor Mawer should have accounted for the *e* and the *n* coming from an earlier *a* and *m* respectively. In explaining Riddlehamhope as the 'hope by the ridded or cleared *ham*' he does not explain the *l* which occurs in all the early forms. There is a *Hredles sted* in BCS. 741. The early forms of Widdrington show *Woder-*, *Wuder-*, *wider-*, and *weder-*, which, it is suggested, represent a (hypothetical) *Wuduhere* or *Widuhere*, but this does not account for *Weder-*.

We are not altogether satisfied with Professor Mawer's treatment of O.E. and M.E. words. His preference for W. Saxon forms (*eald* for *ald* etc.), and for phrases such as (*æt þæm*) *nīwa(n) hūsum* (Newsham) is not likely to mislead students, but his assumption that in a number of instances the O.E. word forming the second element of a place-name was used in the dative plural and that the inflection *-um* underlies the modern endings *-ham, am* and *em*, is open to question. It is very doubtful whether the ending *-um* survived anywhere in England in the eleventh century; it must have been represented by *-an, -en, -e*, or it may have disappeared, according to the dialect. Professor Mawer is inconsistent in his treatment of this point; for example, all the early forms of Bolam and Crookham end in *-um* (*-om*), or *-un* (*-on*), which represent, he thinks, an earlier *-hām*; whereas in a number of other cases, i.e. Hoppen, Hulam, Kilham, Newsham, Summerhouse, Cowpen, Coatham etc., he refers the ending to the O.E. inflection *-um*. At the same time in Appendix A (p. 269), he admits that some of these 'may be examples of original unstressed *-(h)am* written as *-um*.' It would have been better if in each of the above cases he had at least mentioned both possibilities, as he has done in the case of Downham and Carham. Of Cowpen, whose early forms end in *-um, -un, -oun*, and which he derives from O.W.Sc. *kúpa*, he remarks 'The name is clearly a dative plural,' yet in connection with Crookham he says 'it is difficult to believe that a Scandinavian loan-word would be thus inflected.' We subjoin a few further notes taken from a number which we have set down in looking through this book. The early forms of Outchester show *ul-, ule-*. Professor Mawer suggests 'owl(haunted) chester' as the original meaning, from O.E. *ūle*, owl. We suggest the name *Wulf* or *Ulf* for the first element. For Trickley perhaps the pers. name *Thirkel*, a shortened form of *Thurcytel*, may be accepted in place of Professor Mawer's suggestion 'trickle' = sheep's dung. Whittonstone, 1292 form *le Whystan*, is, we think, better explained as *hwīt-stān* 'boundary-stone' than as 'hwetstone.' Perhaps Cowden, earlier *Colden*, meant originally 'coal-valley,' O.E. *cōl-denu*, rather than *cōle-denu* 'cool valley'; cf. 1255 *Colpittes*. Aldin (Grange) may be from *Aldwine* rather than from *Aldinga*

In general a preference in this book is given to hypothetical names + *ing*, rather than to the common O.E. *-wine* names. Surely Professor Mawer cannot be serious when he suggests the word 'slave' as the first element of Slaley, earlier *slaveleia, ȝlaveley* etc., adding that 'the clearing may be so called because cultivated by serfs'! He himself notes that no example of 'slave' is given before 1290 in N.E.D. The first element may be a pers. name such as *Slavin, Sclavyn* (cf. Weekley, *Surnames*, p. 151), which, like 'slave,' seems to have meant originally 'Slavonic.' The explanation of Bensham as derived from *Beornic* seems to us fanciful. Several of the early forms of Overgrass, 1255 *Oversgare*, 1250 *Overisgar*, 1272 *Eueresgares*, are clearly the possessive case of a pers. name. We suggest the pers. name *Eofor* instead of Professor Mawer's guess, O.E. *ōfer* 'shore' or O.E. *ufere* 'upper,' with what he calls 'pseudo-genitival *s* in certain forms.' We doubt his explanation of Dewley, earlier *Deue-*

lawe, Dewillawe, as 'Dew-hill.' We doubt still more his explanation of Emblehope as 'caterpillar-hope,' and Embleton as 'caterpillar-hill'; is not 'Emble' a name? An early form of Emsworth, Hants., is *Emelesworth*. How is the name Foulbridge 'self-explanatory'? And is 'Coldcheer-hill' a satisfactory explanation of Catcherside, earlier *Calcherside*? Of Yarnspath a single early form *Hernispeth* is given; on this evidence Professor Mawer explains the name as 'Eagle's path,' from O.E. *earnes pæð*. We prefer to regard the first element as a pers. name, possibly *Herewine*. None of the three or four suggested originals of Redmarshall seems to us satisfactory; once more we prefer a pers. name as the first element. The key to the original of Roddam lies, we think, in the 1207 form *Rodenham*; the first element is the name *Hroðwine*; cf. Rodington, Salop.

As regards the considerable number of names to which Professor Mawer assigns a Celtic original we do not pretend to have an opinion; the difficult question of Celtic survivals still awaits a thorough large-scale treatment by competent scholars.

In a number of cases we should have been glad to know that the suggested explanation was confirmed by the local features, e.g. in connection with Aycliffe, Cronkley, Boulmer, Hefferlaw, Nookton, Redhills, Sharperton, Carham etc.

We have noticed very few misprints and omissions. On p. 7, l. 63 *Auc-* and *Alc-* should be transposed; on p. 14 O.E. should be O.F.; on p. 258 [in] should be [iu]; on p. 65 *doe-peth* should be *doe-path*.

In the course of a fairly close examination of this book we have come to the conclusion that many seeming defects are in reality due to a failure to remove the scaffolding of the work, or, to change the metaphor, to make the final ruthless purge which all place-name books should receive before being printed off. We are sure Professor Mawer is only too conscious of this and that he, like others who have challenged criticism in this field, feels that there are things in his book he would rather not have said or at any rate would have expressed differently. We fully realise what zeal and hard work have gone to the making of this valuable study, which contributes a large amount of fresh material towards the ultimate goal of those interested in these studies, namely, a synthesis of all the labours of individual workers into a complete survey on a national scale of the place-names of England.

W. J. SEDGEFIELD.

MANCHESTER.

Donne's Sermons. Selected Passages. With an Essay by LOGAN PEARSALL SMITH. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1919. lii + 264 pp. 6*s*.

From the one hundred and sixty sermons we possess by John Donne Mr Pearsall Smith has made a selection of one hundred and fifty extracts. The original punctuation of the early published quartos and the three collected folios has been preserved, as also the original spelling, except in the use of 'i' for 'j,' of 'u' for 'v' and vice versa, and of contractions for 'm' or 'n.' The arrangement is not chronological but the

various passages are placed in a certain sequence according to their subjects. First we have the autobiographical extracts; next follow the scanty allusions to contemporary history, the death of Queen Elizabeth, the accession of James I, the Gunpowder Plot, the new settlements in America, the great plague of 1625, the death of King James; then come observations and remarks upon the more secular side of life, poverty and riches and the like; next we have religious faith and the revelation of that faith through the Scriptures and the teaching of the Church. Finally we are given the passages of his most burning eloquence upon the sinful state of the world, the fear of death, the hideous pageant of the Day of Judgement, the agonies of the damned, the everlasting joy and glory of Heaven. The book appropriately ends with extracts from the last sermon he ever preached, his own funeral sermon as it proved, delivered before the King at Whitehall in the beginning of Lent 163$\frac{0}{1}$. *Death's Duel*, for so this discourse is called, has imperial and sonorous periods which—as Mr Gosse has admirably said—'are adorned with fine similes and gorgeous words as the funeral trappings of a king might be with gold lace. The dying poet shrinks from no physical horror and no ghostly terror of the great crisis which he was himself to be the first to pass through....Our blood seems to turn chilly in our veins as we read.'

In spite of the modern interest in Donne's poems the immense body of his theological writings has received but scant attention. In the first place sermons are something out of fashion. The collected editions of the great seventeenth century divines rest unopened upon the topmost shelves. Many of Donne's discourses are of enormous length and must have taken two or three hours to deliver. And yet there is every reason to believe that huge congregations thronged around his pulpit and listened hour after hour with rapt attention broken only by a hum of applause as the preacher rounded off some stately period of impassioned exaltation.

Again Donne's sermons are not easily procurable. Three folios were published, the first in 1640, the second in 1649, and the last in 1660. In 1839, Henry Alford, afterwards Dean of Canterbury, printed 157 sermons out of the 160 contained in these three folios. They occupy about 3000 pages of an edition which he intended should include all Donne's works. This plan was finally abandoned and only the sermons, the *Devotions*, the poems, and the letters were included. Alford has shamelessly mangled the poems, the letters are most carelessly given, and he openly admits that he bowdlerized some of the earlier sermons. Yet with all these drawbacks Alford's edition is the one most accessible to modern readers.

In 1840 Pickering published a beautifully printed volume *Devotions by John Donne D.D.* which contains two sermons 'Death's Duel' and the sermon on the decease of Lady Danvers. The little volume is rare.

When we take these difficulties into consideration we are all the more grateful to Mr Logan Smith for having made this admirable selection, for having prefaced it with a most interesting introduction and for having added such ample and reliable notes.

Donne's prose is indeed informed with the most surprising beauty. When he deals with the great themes of Sin and God, his splendid perorations blaze out into ecstatic rapture unequalled for the dignity of its rhythm and the magnificence of its diction. The thought of Death particularly obsessed him. Again and again he returns to it and broods over it with minutest preoccupation. There is almost a morbid delight in his enumeration of the horrors hidden by the grave, the rotting of the cerements, the corruption of the body, the activities of the loathsome worm. And yet beyond all this which is physically horrible and revolting, almost crude it may be, there broods a dark atmosphere of far more terrible spiritual dread, which finds its apogee perhaps in that grand but fearful sermon where he tells of the 'horror beyond our expression, beyond our imagination,' to fall out of the hands of the living God.

The imagination of Webster was akin to the imagination of Donne. In *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The White Devil* we find sepulchral properties such as a dead man's hand, a corpse brought to the murderer's room at midnight, coffins, cords, a bell. His characters can hardly say the simplest thing without some funereal metaphor. They relate their dreams of midnight walks in churchyards where huge yew trees shadow the crammed graves. Mock friars attend death beds and travesty the last rites. Yet all these are mere details on a far darker background of spiritual ruin and despair. Withal 'there is no poet morally nobler than Webster.'

It is to be hoped that these *Selected Passages* from Donne will direct many a student to the original folios or at least to Alford. In any case Mr Pearsall Smith has hereby proved to even the most desultory reader that Donne was not only a great poet and a skilled theologian, but also a supreme master of English prose.

MONTAGUE SUMMERS.

LONDON.

Milton's Prosody: with a Chapter on Accentual Verse and Notes. By ROBERT BRIDGES. Revised final edition. Oxford: University Press, 1921. 8vo. v + 119 pp. 12*s.* 6*d.*

We have here the ultimate edition of a book which has undergone many developments. Beginning, so far back as 1887, in the shape of an unsigned Appendix to an edition of *Paradise Lost, Book I,* and soon supplemented by an excursus on the prosody of *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes,* it came out several times during the 'nineties of last century as an attractive-looking booklet, receiving as it went on various additions on kindred subjects. In 1901 it appeared in a substantial volume containing also W. J. Stone's treatise on *Classical Metres in English Verse,* with a short Introduction referring to the latter. In these several editions it grew by a simple process of aggregation, Appendices being tacked on without much regard to what went before. Now, after an interval of twenty years, it comes forth revised and recast, without Stone's treatise or the introductory preface describing it. The

old order is for the most part followed, but the old divisions have disappeared, their contents being sometimes differently distributed; new matter has been inserted where the author felt further definition was required. This 'revised final edition,' therefore, justifies its title, and must be regarded as superseding its many predecessors.

The omission of Stone's work seems on the whole desirable. It has, one believes, secured its place in prosodical history both by its youthful brilliance and by its formative influence on Mr Bridges and others; but it has no relevance whatever to Milton's prosody, being an attempt to introduce an altogether different basis of metre. Nor were the prefatory remarks particularly worthy of preservation. Their writer's acquaintance with the history of such attempts seemed limited to the contents of Stone's pamphlet; even the almost contemporary work of Cayley was apparently unknown to him. English prosody historically considered, indeed, is evidently not a thing to which Mr Bridges has devoted much study. He has preferred to deal with the subject by the light of nature—a nature, it need hardly be said, singularly able and in other respects well equipped. Still, more knowledge of what has been done might have showed more clearly what yet required doing, and perhaps have kept people from wandering up certain blind alleys.

An amusing new Preface, unduly modest about the merits of his 'poor little grammar,' refers us to his Notes for an account of its origin, already described above. The book has no Index, and but a meagre table of Contents, but is well furnished with marginal headings, and its general get-up is all that an author could desire, if hardly suited to slender purses. It is divided into four Parts, Part I discussing the metre of *P. L.*, Part II those of *P. R.* and *S. A.*, while Part III contains such of the former Appendices as have not been transferred to other pages. Part IV, 'On the prosody of accentual verse,' blends the old Appendix G with that long Appendix J which was added for the first time in 1901. The largest substantial additions will be found in Part I.

Of these the first to occur is a 'Digression on Quantity' (pp. 2—4). Here the author treads with sure feet as regards generals. Not for him the too common confusion between accent and quantity, or even the fallacy that the former can replace the latter, as if intensification could be a substitute for prolongation. Not for him to call syllables 'long' because they have stress, or to assert that 'there is no such thing as "quantity" in English speech.' But his deductions are less satisfactory. He does not distinguish between the fact of quantity and the rules for its use. Accent he makes a matter of pitch alone, and represents acute accent as a raising of the voice by three and a half tones. Dionysius predicated this of Greek speech, but modern writers make our ordinary English raising a much smaller interval, while restriction of accent to pitch in our speech is at variance with fact. He also, when citing some English words identical in both accent and quantity with τετυμμένος, instances 'scientific' as one of these; is its first vowel ever pronounced short? On the other hand he has, I think, omitted a former sentence (1901 edition, p. 79) which rashly asserted that 'syllables are in English

as much [my italics] distinguished by length and brevity as they can have been in Greek and Latin'; and when he still speaks (1921, p. 105) of English verse 'neglecting quantity' I do not understand him to mean that our poets make no use of it whatever.

The longest addition is a 'Digression justifying the use of the term Elision' (pp. 9—18). Mr Bridges has evidently been taken to task by critics for the way he uses this word, and he defends himself by pleading (p. 10) that the term has no phonetic significance, and 'cannot be mistaken for anything but a label.' This plea cannot be accepted. Reference to any common English dictionary will show that *elide* and *elision* are defined as meaning the 'omission' or 'suppression' of a vowel or syllable, and a writer should not speak of elision unless he means this, just as Prof. Saintsbury should not speak of a 'long' syllable which does not perceptibly occupy more time than a 'short' one. In this edition Mr Bridges prefers the term *synaloepha*, which—besides being barbarously technical—is not free from the same ambiguity, but he distinctly states that the sound of the terminal vowel is 'not lost,' and that 'the two vowels are glided together.' This calls for consideration.

The point is admittedly a difficult one. Doubt may be felt whether even in classical verse elision was absolute, whether Romans actually said *monstr' 'orrend' inform' ingens*. Still more may it be doubted whether our forefathers really said *tatone* for 'to atone,' or what Dryden meant when he spoke of 'sinking' the pronunciation of a vowel in verse. Again, what precisely is intended when we talk of gliding or blending or melting one vowel into another? Do the two form a diphthong, a sound different from the separate sound of either? What do phoneticians say to that? Does Italian speech throw light on it? Was Browning right when he asserted that 'Siena' is a word of two syllables[1]? If so, is there any corresponding action in English speech? These are questions to be discussed, not pronounced on *ex cathedra*.

There is one conception of our verse which gets over questions like these *per saltum*, but it is one to which Mr Bridges has never been very hospitable. This is the conception which regards a line of English verse as primarily a series of equal time-spaces which are normally occupied (wholly or partially) by the same number of syllables (two, three, or four as a rule), but which admit as many additional syllables as can conveniently be comprised within their limits. There is then no elision, no blending, but simply rapid pronunciation. 'To atone' can be easily uttered in the same fraction of time as 'enhance' or any such word, and similar arguments apply to phrases like 'the eternal' or 'And rapture so oft beheld,' where neither *sōft* nor *sŏft* can be an alternative. This conception seems unfamiliar to our author. In Appendix G (1901 edition, p. 103) there was a sentence about regarding the foot as a time-unit, but it has disappeared in this edition. Instead, there is only an allusion

[1] Whoever to scan this is ill able
Forgets the town's name's a dissyllable.

Pacchiarotto.

Yet he was rhyming it to *hyena*!

(p. 2) to the possibility of setting out a line of verse in musical notation, 'with the isochronous musical bars [i.e. bar-marks] (as is necessary) before the accents[1],' followed by a remark at the foot of the same page that 'one very effective and common way of reciting the verse of *P. L.* is to set up an equal-timed musical beat and keep as nearly to it as possible.' These are, I think, the only references to musical time in the book[2], and we need not dwell on a subject which bulks so slenderly in the author's regard.

But we must not linger over these digressions. The original purport of the book was to formulate the rules which govern Milton's blank verse, tabulating instances and exceptions. Such work, done with sedulous care by a critic so competent, must command respect even from those who disagree with its method. Prosodists who reject elision and advocate time-scansion must yet be interested to see what collocations of syllables Milton preferred to include within a time-unit. At first, perhaps, there was a tendency to make rules too absolute, and there still stands an assertion (p. 12) that certain specified words form 'the only exceptions' to decasyllabic structure[3]. How this squares with the other dictum (p. 34 and elsewhere) that these rules are only 'permissive' and not invariably observed I fail to see, and find that while the instances are carefully enumerated, the exceptions are left unexplained. Thus, while (pp. 6—8) a long list is given of terminations in *-ble* whose vowels are supposed to be elided before another vowel, no rationale is suggested of lines like

A dungeon horrible on all sides round (p. 39)

and

To human sense th' invisible exploits (p. 31).

It is hard to believe that in the doubly 'elided' line

O miserable of happie ! is this the end ? (*ibid.*)

the final vowel of *happie* can blend with the sequent vowel so disjoined from it. I do not know how Mr Bridges would scan the line (*P. L.* x, 931)

Against God only, I against God and thee.

If the *y* in 'only' is elided, a very harsh inversion follows, while is it possible to blend *I* with the first syllable of 'against'? Be it added that while inversion is freely invoked, no explanation is ever given of how iamb and trochee (to use popular parlance) can coexist in the same line. Undue dogmatism also, as before hinted, is evident about disputable matters. Throughout the book occur phrases like 'there can be no doubt,' 'should be scanned,' 'this is the right explanation of this verse,' while on p. 40 we are told that an oft-quoted line 'is to be read' thus:

Rocks, cáves, lakes, féns, bogs, déns, and shádes of deáth.

[1] The writer's musical preconceptions prevent him from seeing that accent can be equally well recognised at the close of a period. But succession must be uniform.

[2] Perhaps two dubious sentences (pp. 54 and 55) mentioning 'bars' and 'a time-beat' should be added to the above.

[3] In one place (p. 32) he is driven to suppose 'an error of the text.'

The very first line of *P. L.* is fatal to such dogmatism. Two people may quite legitimately differ about the value belonging to the first syllable of 'disobedience,' and no critic, however eminent, can settle such points by his *ipse dixi*.

With these qualifications, readers can enjoy the accurate collection of examples, and may come to accept the famous pronouncement, 'Milton came to scan his verses in one way and to read them in another,' of which some further exposition is now given in the paragraph which follows (pp. 35–6). The above remarks apply to Part II as well as Part I. Little need be said about the four pages devoted to *P. R.*, which are unaltered from previous editions except as regards two lines which the author thinks he then treated wrongly. Much, on the contrary, might be said about the prosodial analysis of *S. A.*, but it will come better in connection with Part IV. One point, however, may be noticed here. An early poem of Shelley's is given as an instance of rhythmical beauty ignored because unfamiliar. But there was a valid reason for this ignoring. Any poet using novel cadences is bound to make them clear at starting; how else can his readers appreciate them? Shelley began this poem with what seemed an ordinary decasyllabic line:

> Away! the moor is dark beneath the moon.

I quite agree that it is not such a line, that it needs to be eked out by pauses, and that Shelley doubtless so read it. But it was his business to make this demonstrably clear, and neither this nor the second line gives such help. He is not the only poet who has similarly lapsed.

The slender residuum of undistributed Appendices which forms Part III is entitled 'On obsolete mannerisms.' These are connected with accenting, spelling, and pronouncing words. The section devoted to the first still begins with the surprising statement 'Recession of accent is not now heard.' His quoted example *Sinjun* (for St John) disproves this, even if *Sinclair* is no longer associated with St Clair, or *Sillinger* with St Leger. In my own lifetime recession has become universal in the name Dunlop, and frequent in Carnegie and Meredith; some one lately was pulled up for saying Lóchaber. The same tendency appears in nouns like *access*, *details*, and many others. Poets have always evinced it, especially in words like *unknown*, *unseen*, etc., though Mr Bridges seems to think Shelley the first to use recession since Milton. Certainly, however, it became more common in nineteenth-century poets, and I do not doubt that a line by one of these still wi[illegible]

> He left the upland lo[illegible]

was consciously or unconsc[illegible] [illegible] rhyth line of *Comus*, just as Tennyson's lin[illegible]

> 'Rain[illegible]

was reminisc[illegible] [illegible] fore last. Ample proof [illegible]

The [illegible] of Milton's poems wi[illegible] [illegible] edition super-

he is misled by his assumed premises. No reader, I feel sure, so regards it. What we do, in reading such lines, is mentally to adjust syllables to the mere primary rhythm | $\acute{x}$ x x | $\acute{x}$ x x |, and we expect the poet not to make this too hard for us to do.

| Brightest and | best of the | sons of the | morning ∧ |

presents no difficulty in doing this, and this is, I am convinced, the way in which people read, think of, and remember the line. The difficulty in making dactylic or trochaic verse in English is that our sentences usually begin with an unaccented word, and poets are often hard put to it to get over this difficulty, and come to grief accordingly. Clough's line beginning 'With a mathematical score' (p. 109) is a case in point. He tried the experiment of substituting two weak initial syllables for one strong one, and the result is failure[1]. Had he boldly prefixed them to his first 'beat,' an English reader would have had no more difficulty with the line than with Byron's

Thou who art bearing my buckler and bow,
Should the | soldiers of Saul look away from the foe.

It should be added that the distinction drawn (pp. 90–1) between heaviness and length, so that long syllables, and also short syllables, may be either heavy or light, is excellent, and helpful in analysis. So, to go back for a moment, is the recognition (p. 70) of 'a foot of two unstressed short syllables preceding a foot composed of two heavy syllables,' where recent criticism tends to scan '... | sweat, and the | green | corn,' etc. On p. 61 (example 66) I wonder why elision is not brought in to scan 'b' ímportúning.' 'Equivalence,' with Mr Bridges, is not used in Prof. Saintsbury's sense, but is limited to the classic idea of two short syllables being equal to one long (p. 16), though on p. 17 it seems to have a somewhat wider meaning. The terrible word 'opisthophagic' [backward devouring?] is invented on p. 11, and the archaic 'quantitive' is habitually preferred to the more usual 'quantitative.' The Notes at the end of the book are entirely new, and will naturally invite attention.

Readers must be congratulated on having in this volume the author's view more consistently and intelligibly put than hitherto, and the author himself on having digested into suitable and permanent shape what before was somewhat chaotic and capriciously assembled.

T. S. OMOND.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS.

French Classicism. By C. H. C. WRIGHT. (Harvard Studies in Romance Languages, IV.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1920. viii + 177 pp. $2.50.

Professor Wright says in his preface that writers on the French classical age confine themselves too exclusively to the principal figures and neglect the secondary ones. In his book 'La Fontaine disappears

[1] It is singular that in twenty years Mr Bridges has not ascertained that 'Inverary' is a double trochee both in quantity and accent.

somewhat behind a Rapin and a Bouhours,' and to La Fontaine he might have added Mme de La Fayette, whose novel (without its author's name) is only mentioned twice, Malebranche, and Bourdaloue, and to Rapin and Bouhours La Mesnardière, Le Bossu, and that prince of dullards, the Abbé d'Aubignac. Now if Professor Wright had given us a real history of the rise of the School of 1660, if he had told us of its long struggle against powerful enemies, and of how, soon after it had obtained a hardly-gained victory, it found itself once more assailed by the same enemies, with fresh weapons and from a new point of attack—if this had been his aim, he would have been justified in his method of procedure. But his book is not in any sense a history, or even a narrative; it is rather a series of disquisitions on different aspects of French classicism. It is true that American undergraduates after reading it will abandon the belief that classicism is 'a play constructed according to the three unities of Aristotle,' but they would have had a clearer idea of what French classicism really is if Professor Wright had confined himself to the great writers and the governing principles.

Another feature of the book to which its author calls attention is that he has tried to show 'that the classicism of the Renaissance deserves almost as serious consideration as that of the seventeenth century.' Accordingly in Part I, which he entitles Foundations, he devotes three chapters (III, IV, V) to sixteenth-century classicism. But can it with truth be said that the classicism of the seventeenth century was built upon that of the sixteenth? 'The spirit of French humanism enters French poetry with the Pléiade.' That is perfectly true, but it marks the difference between the two centuries—between humanism, which is the cult of antiquity, and classicism, which is the adoption of classical forms and classical ideals for the purpose of a truly national literature. The non-continuity between the poetry of the Pléiade and that of the seventeenth century is shown by the fact that Malherbe made a clean sweep of the former.

On the other hand, Montaigne is a real forerunner of the classical age, and this is clearly seen by Professor Wright when he says that 'the most characteristic form of Montaigne's thought is the moral psychology of man,' and that 'Montaigne, like Molière, is a psychological realist' (p. 53). With Montaigne he might have joined Regnier, who is not only 'a great example of a formal satirist' but a predecessor of Molière in his careful observation of social types. Professor Wright is also right in calling attention to the Christianised Stoicism of Du Vair and Charron, which leads through the still more eclectic Stoicism of Malherbe and Balzac to that of Descartes and Corneille.

In chapter VI, which deals with the first half of the seventeenth century, we come to the real foundations of the classical period. These are set forth with knowledge and insight, but there are one or two points that invite consideration. It is true that French classicism was influenced by Jansenism, as instanced by Pascal, Racine, Boileau, and La Rochefoucauld. Even Bossuet did not press hardly upon the Jansenists, partly because he recognised that they threatened no real danger

to the Church, but partly also because he shared their devotion to St Augustine. But it was not disillusionment—except perhaps in the case of La Rochefoucauld—that created the pessimistic view of human nature common to nearly all the great writers of the reign of Louis XIV. It was rather the Christian doctrine of the sinfulness of man, which was as much over-emphasised by Bossuet and Bourdaloue as by Pascal and Racine.

The part played by the *salon* in the development of classicism is sketched on pp. 64–67. A distinction should have been drawn between the Blue Chamber of Mme de Rambouillet and the *salons* of inferior hostesses. It was in these latter, especially in that of Mlle de Scudéry, that preciosity found a congenial soil, and it is the failure to recognise this that leads Professor Wright, following M. Fidao-Justiniani, to declare that 'preciosity forms part of the early background of French classicism.' On the contrary, the School of 1660, especially Molière and Boileau, recognised in preciosity a formidable enemy. Again, though it is of course true that there were *précieux* as well as *précieuses*, it would have been well to point out that the term *précieux* (as a substantive) was never applied to men, a fact which emphasises the feminine character of the movement.

Can it be said that the *morale des honnêtes gens* had 'Jesuit graces' or was anti-Jansenist (p. 76)? Neither La Rochefoucauld, who has enunciated this *morale* better than any one, nor Molière, who has translated it into action in so many of his comedies, had any sympathy with the Jesuits. Alceste is as much of an *honnête homme* as Philinte, and it is only in his attitude towards society that Alceste can be said to be austere like a Jansenist or Philinte accommodating like a Jesuit.

Just as chapters V and VI are the most important part of Part I, so the strength of Part II (The Structure) lies in chapters VII–IX. 'In Bossuet we find the incarnation of seventeenth century classicism' (p. 49). There is truth in this, but it might have been expounded with advantage at greater length. 'Smooth' is not a very appropriate description of his sermons, which deserve far more attention than they get at the present day, at least from Englishmen. In their absolute sincerity, their hatred of sin, their ardent love of God, they are extraordinarily impressive witnesses to the Christian religion, while their reasoned eloquence, their absolute freedom from affectation, and above all their universality, makes them noble exponents of the classical ideal.

For this universality as a characteristic of classicism Professor Wright rightly quotes Aristotle in Butcher's translation and refers to the latter's admirable chapter on the subject. Unfortunately in the passage quoted there occurs that mention of 'the law of probability or necessity,' which caused such perplexity to Corneille and other writers on the drama, and which Professor Wright has not very successfully tried to disentangle. *Vraisemblance* in the sense of verisimilitude and as a motive for the three unities was the source of much nonsense, but, as meaning poetic or imaginative truth in contradistinction to scientific or literal truth, it was of the highest importance.

Professor Wright has some just and useful remarks on good sense, and reason, and taste (pp. 102–4), and on the subject of taste he quotes pertinent passages from La Bruyère and Sir Joshua Reynolds, and rightly refers to Saint-Évremond, Bussy-Rabutin, and Bouhours. These three last, though their criticism does not go very deep, were all men of discernment, far superior to D'Aubignac or Rapin or Le Bossu, who, because they wrote formal treatises, had a reputation beyond their deserts.

Professor Wright's last three chapters are too slight to be of much value, especially the last, which deals with Art. Nicolas Poussin was too great a classicist and Le Brun's influence on the whole art of his age too important to be dismissed with a page of appreciation. In fact Professor Wright's chief defect is that he disperses his strength too much. He is well and widely informed and his observations are often just, but had he concentrated his thought more, had he carried his investigation deeper, had he borrowed from the great writers of the French classical age something of their constructive power and sense of form, he would have produced a more impressive work. As it is, he has not, it seems to me, done full justice to his powers or shown his wide reading to the best advantage.

A. TILLEY.

CAMBRIDGE.

GIULIO BERTONI. *L' 'Orlando Furioso' e la Rinascenza a Ferrara.* Con 32 illustrazioni. Modena: Umberto Orlandini. 1919. x + 364 pp. 38 lire.

GIULIO BERTONI. *Studi su vecchie e nuove poesie e prose d'amore e di romanzi.* Same publishers. 1921. viii + 382 pp. 25 lire

The first of these volumes completes the Ferrara trilogy which the author began, now eighteen years ago, with his *Biblioteca estense e la coltura ferrarese ai tempi del Duca Ercole I*, and followed up with his less generally known *Nuovi studi su M. M. Boiardo*; the second gathers together a part of the scattered fruits of that somewhat discursive activity, for which he tells us that his friends have called him to task.

We had rather expected from Professor Bertoni the definitive biography of Ariosto with a critical study of his works in the light of recent investigation and discovery. Instead he has given us an elaborate and picturesque volume, at times more or less popular in treatment, in which Messer Lodovico is represented as the supreme product of the Renaissance at Ferrara, and it is shown how the *Orlando Furioso* represents the spirit and reflects the life of its epoch. The titles of its four parts indicate the author's treatment: 'Gli elementi costitutivi della mentalità e dell' arte di Lodovico Ariosto,' 'Forme tradizionali e spiriti nuovi della coltura classica e romanzesca dell' Ariosto nell' *Orlando Furioso*,' 'Protettori e amici dell' Ariosto in Ferrara fra luci ed ombre di poesia nel *Furioso*,' 'Usi costumanze e consuetudini della società dei tempi dell' Ariosto nel *Furioso*.' The minor works—the comedies, satires and

lyrics—are comparatively neglected, and the literary criticism strikes us as occasionally somewhat obvious, not to say superficial. But the author's intention is mainly to investigate the influence and reflection of the society of Ferrara in the poet's masterpiece, and, under this aspect, the book is altogether admirable. It is full of minute details of the court life and intellectual conditions of Ferrara in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, abundantly furnished with new documents. For the specialist in Ferrarese matters, to whom the men and women of that curious Ferrarese society are more than mere names, these pages offer continual interest and fascination. If the book is not the complete life of Ariosto for which we had hoped, it is at least one of the very few indispensable works on the poet of the second *Orlando* that have yet appeared, and, as the author reminds us, it is the *Orlando Furioso* 'entro cui Lodovico Ariosto vive intero, quale poeta, con quella sua originale e simpatica fisonomia, con la quale, bonario e sorridente, ha sfidato e sfiderà i secoli.'

We quote the above sentence from an essay in the second volume before us, 'Il soggettivismo di Lodovico Ariosto,' which is a welcome supplement to the larger work, of which it summarises the conclusions The *Studi*—provided with a rather self-conscious preface and epilogue—touch upon various topics of romance literature and philology from the *Ritmo delle scolte modenesi* to Mistral, and are naturally not all of equal value. The first is perhaps the most important; in an essay which is a model of critical reconstruction, Professor Bertoni has restored that wonderful little Latin lyric of the ninth century ('O tu qui servas—armis ista moenia') to its original form and suggested its affinity with the mediaeval *alba*. We would also call particular attention to the study of the *pianto per la donna amata* of Giacomo Pugliese (so familiar to English readers in Rossetti's beautiful version), with a critical reconstruction of the text and a most noteworthy emendation of the final stanza. Among the other subjects dealt with are Marie de France, a poem of Jaufre Rudel, the lyrics of Lanfranco Cigala, 'il bacio di Lancilotto,' and some pieces of Franco-Italian literature. The notes entitled 'San Francesco cavaliere' and 'la Pastorella di Guido' (Cavalcanti) seem rather slight for inclusion in a volume of serious studies. The longest essay in the book, 'Letteratura ladina dei Grigioni,' has a distinct topical importance and interest, besides directing attention to 'una ricca miniera di bellezze peregrine' unfortunately accessible to comparatively few readers.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

MANCHESTER.

Fray Luis de Leon. A Biographical Fragment. By JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY. (Hispanic Society of America.) London: H. Milford. 1921. 8vo. xiv + 261 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*

There are few Spanish poets that make a more immediate appeal to an English reader than Fray Luis de Leon. He is essentially a Classical poet, steeped in Latin, enshrining in stately and melodious language

thoughts which, if they have no special claim to originality, are of universal appeal and have never been more exquisitely expressed. The poems are free from the conceits of the Renaissance and instinct with strong and sincere personal feeling. Rich in grave and harmonious colour, they speak in accents familiar to all Western nations, and their music, their classical simplicity, their love of nature, their warm religious fervour find a ready echo in the hearts of all lovers of poetry.

The author of this biography has placed English lovers of Spanish poetry under a fresh debt by his presentment of the poet's life. Known during his lifetime rather as theologian and scholar than as a poet—for his poems were not published to the world till 40 years after his death—the Augustinian Luis de Leon passed a life full of energy and marked by its full share of storm and trouble. Born about 1527, he was appointed in 1561 to the Chair of Theology in Salamanca—one of the many chairs that he was destined to occupy in the University of which he was such a distinguished ornament. He was the most eloquent of professors and his piety was not inferior to his learning. But while thoroughly orthodox, he was over-outspoken and over-pungent in the expression of his views, and the enmities created by the frankness of his criticism won him not a few enemies. Accused of heresy in 1571, he was arrested by order of the Inquisition in the spring of the following year and was not released from prison till more than four years were passed, when he escaped with a solemn reprimand for his indiscretion, a perhaps unexpected piece of leniency, as a majority of his judges had recommended the application of torture. He returned to the University of Salamanca, held chair after chair, incurred the rebuke of the Inquisition yet once again by the honest frankness with which he discussed the views of a writer suspected of unorthodoxy, and ended as Provincial of the Augustinians of Castile, in which office he died (Jan. 11, 1591), full of years and honour. Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly has given a vivid picture of the man, fiery, angular, indiscreet, but honest to the core, full of learning and practical wisdom, and a true and earnest follower of Christ. Not less vivid is his picture of the tempestuous atmosphere of Academic politics at Salamanca and of the tortuous methods of the Inquisition. The book is a monument of scholarship, though it may be urged that at times it is rather hard to see the wood for the trees. Ample as the notes are, they might with advantage be ampler still. For example, to quote but one out of many instances, the discussion of the authenticity of the delightful story to the effect that Fray Luis on returning to lecture at Salamanca after his long incarceration began 'As I was saying yesterday,' might well have been relegated to the notes. And the book would have been further improved, had the numerous citations from the poems, given in the admirable chapter with which the Life concludes, been given in the original instead of in Churton's elegant but wholly uninspired translation. The book forms the first in the series of Hispanic 'Notes and Monographs' appearing under the auspices of the Hispanic Society of America. The Society are to be congratulated on so admirable an inauguration.

H. E. BUTLER.

LONDON.

Francisco Rodrigues Lobo. Estudo biográfico e crítico. Por RICARDO JORGE. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade. 1920. xv + 474 pp. 50.000 réis.

Dr Ricardo Jorge, already well known for his writings on medical subjects, has lately turned his attention to Portuguese literature, and among other welcome results is this scholarly volume, in every way worthy of its subject, the great poet and prose-writer of the early seventeenth century, Rodrigues Lobo. Born at the little town of Leiría in the last third of the sixteenth century, perhaps in 1578, he went to the University of Coimbra in 1594 and took his degree there in 1602. Before 1604 he formed part of the household of D. Theodosio, Duke of Braganza, at Villa Viçosa, and when little over forty he was accidentally drowned in the Tagus, just two centuries before Shelley met a similar death. Dr Jorge, with his usual preciseness and after careful research, fixes his death in the last quarter of the year 1622. After telling us all that is known—more than has hitherto been known—of Lobo's life, Dr Jorge devotes Sections 5 to 11 of his work to Lobo's poetry and prose. Section 12 is bibliographical and bears ample witness to its author's keenness and ability as a biographer. The last section of the book (pp. 405–69) deals with Lobo's posthumous fame. That his fame is not greater and more universal is due partly to Portuguese neglect in not having published his works in a good modern edition, partly to Lobo himself for having written so much. His prose is excellent and constantly delights by its rich colour and harmony, but the modern reader fights shy of the immense length of his pastoral romances, which contain passage after passage of unusual beauty, and, if he reads him at all, reads him in his briefer *Corte na Aldea*, for which Gracian nearly three centuries ago prophesied an eternity of fame, and which well deserves it by reason of the interest of its subject and the precision of its style, here less trailing than in Lobo's pastoral works.

There is charm and indigenous flavour about most of what Lobo wrote, although very few now read his lengthy epic on the Constable Nun' Alvarez. His first published work (1596)—the first edition has disappeared, to the despair of Dr Jorge, who is only able to give us the facsimile of the edition of 1654—was a volume of *romances*. Lobo was essentially a poet and interspersed in his prose pastorals are to be found many delightful poems. On the subject of the *romances* in Portugal Dr Jorge has some important pages (166–75). He fully acknowledges the Castilian origin of the *romances*, which towards the end of the fifteenth century extended, as 'a kind of literary-musical epidemic,' to Portugal, popularly by means of the bilingual frontier of Tras-os-Montes and Alentejo, and aristocratically through the close relations of cultured families in Spain and Portugal. 'The traditional Portuguese *romanceiro* is not an autochthonous product, parallel and similar to the Castilian *romancero*: it is the Castilian *romancero* naturalised'—a supplement, as Menéndez y Pelayo called it. That Portugal possessed no, or scarcely any, historical *romances* of her own is no ignominy, but Dr Braga's atti-

tude on this question and his attacks on those who believe in the Castilian origin of the *romances* make Dr Jorge's remarks especially welcome. Equally interesting, equally characteristic of the thoroughness of his method, are those on the eclogues, dialogues and Lobo's other works. The author's keen intellect succeeds in enchaining the reader's attention throughout his book, which will always rank very high among Portuguese works of criticism. The edition is limited to 150 copies.

AUBREY F. G. BELL.

S. JOÃO DO ESTORIL.

Das Buch über Shakespeare. Handschriftliche Aufzeichnungen von LUDWIG TIECK. Aus seinem Nachlass herausgegeben von HENRY LÜDEKE. (*Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des* 18. *und* 19. *Jahrhunderts herausg.* von ALBERT LEITZMANN und WALDEMAR OEHLKE, I.) Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1920. 8vo. xxvi + 524 pp. 30 M.

Tieck's reputation as a critic of the drama already stands again much higher than in the days of Wilhelm Scherer and Rudolf Haym. Had the *Kommentar zu Shakespeare,* which is by far the most important section of the present *Buch,* been published before the year 1800, it could hardly have fallen as low as it did. For Tieck here, in spite of some aberrations, goes beyond his predecessors and these pages, written before he was twenty-one, if Dr Lüdeke's date is correct, support Hans Bischoff's view: 'Gründlich studiert ist Shakespeare erst von Tieck worden' (*L. Tieck als Dramaturg,* Brussels, 1897), if we take 'studiert' in its full sense. And to the young Tieck Shakespeare is not merely, to use Gundolf's phrase, 'Offenbarer des poetischen Sinns der Weltbewegung.' He is also 'der grosse Kenner der Natur,' who exhibits again and again 'seine Kunst und sein tiefes Studium des Herzens.'

The present (and first) editor of Tieck's unhappily belated *Kommentar,* though hampered by war and post-war conditions, has written a useful introduction and added brief notes, with references to the Schlegel-Tieck translation (ed. Brandl), Tieck himself having cited chiefly Steevens' edition (1785) or Eschenburg's translation. (One would welcome an English version of select passages, with references to a good English edition.) The *Kommentar* itself contains much now unimportant matter, and the minor *Entwürfe,* some of which Dr Lüdeke gives reasons for re-dating, have in the main been printed before. On the other hand some important essays on Shakespeare find no place in this volume. May one hope for a supplementary volume, which might well be introduced with an essay on Tieck's place in Shakespeare criticism?

Dr Lüdeke gives a good account of the genesis and 'Sterbezeit' of the *Kommentar,* so far as these are traceable. The latter belongs to the 'zwanziger Jahre in Dresden,' the former most probably to the winter of 1793–94, for Tieck was using throughout the rare Shakespeareana of the Göttingen University Library and in the autumn of 1793 proposed to write in letters to his friend Bernhardi 'manches, was ich über Shakespeare denke.' But even if Köpke's later date (1795) is correct, we

cannot but be amazed at what Max Koch in 1896 well called 'den genialen historischen Blick und die umfassende Kenntniss, durch die schon der junge Tieck alle seine deutschen Zeitgenossen übertraf' (*Jahrbuch d. Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, xxxii, p. 338). Reason, feeling, imagination, wide reading, independence of judgment, such were the gifts of Nicolai's protégé and these, but for the break with his protector, he might have revealed to the world in his early twenties. Even now, incomplete and apparently never finished for the press, the *Kommentar* still arouses the reader's keen interest. In the main one is struck by Tieck's freedom from cant, moral and literary, and by his grasp of the essentially dramatic, as opposed to the merely theatrical. His Romanticism is here only embryonic, but his Anti-classicism is plain enough. There is, of course, but *one* unity for him, but he widens its scope: it is 'die der Handlung, oder des Interesse.' This he declares (p. 303) 'beobachtet Sh. immer,' yet admits that the dramatist's interest in his plot often flags towards the end of the play. On *Hamlet* he notes specifically, 'die Handlung selbst interessirt weit weniger, als die Empfindung, die durch die Empfindung der Hauptperson veranlasst wird.' His prose is nearly always clear and crisp and he loves an aphoristic phrase: 'je mehr Wunderbares hinzukömmt, je mehr wird das Wunderbare wahrscheinlich,' he says of *A Midsummer's Night's Dream*, and Hamlet's inaction is summarised thus: 'er *leidet*, andre *handeln*, damit er leide, dies war der Zweck des Dichters.'

Shakespeare's plays are nowhere claimed as faultless; he has e.g. a sad tendency to word-play and affectation. But they are the product of genius, genius in evolution, 'erlebt und nicht gemacht' by one who became a 'grosser Menschenkenner' and finally 'ganz vollendeter Künstler.' The foundation of Tieck's criticism is sympathetic understanding, little trammelled by prejudices or authorities. 'Bei ihm,' as Goethe wrote in his review of Tieck's *Dramaturgische Blätter* (1826) 'ruht das Urtheil auf dem Genuss, der Genuss auf der Kenntniss...'; and, one may add, this 'Kenntniss' seems due to a kind of 'elective affinity' for his subject. A crucial case arises with *Richard III*, which Tieck says boldly 'ist ein Beweis, wie dem Genie keine Bahn zu betreten verboten sei.' He is bolder than Lessing, less sophistical than Schiller; he realises, as no German critic before him, that Richard displays 'Seelengrösse' and as Shakespeare 'uns in seine Seele hineinführt,... die erhitzte Phantasie hat für Recht und Unrecht dann einen ganz andern Maasstab....' 'Kaliban hat eine eigne Sprache und Richard hat die seinige auch....' Weisse's Richard, on the other hand, 'ist ein gemeiner Bösewicht, ein blutdürstiger Tyrann, ohne feine und individuelle Züge.' And then Tieck pains us by sacrificing Richard's essentially tragic character on the altar of Aristotle-Lessing: 'Freilich ist der Charakter Richards gewiss kein *tragischer* Charakter, er erregt kein Mitleid für sich, und keine lebhafte Theilnahme, aber Sh. wollte auch keine Tragödie schreiben....' To the really tragic thing—the fact that Richard's 'Seelengrösse' is deformed, like his body—Tieck deliberately shuts his eyes. And yet he is half right; for has not Mr Masefield

written, 'the vision of all this bloodiness is less terrible than that vision of the sheep triumphing, so dear to us moderns?'

The book is essentially stimulating; one feels that Goethe's words on Tieck's *Dramaturgische Blätter* are no less applicable to the earlier *Kommentar*: 'Gar mannigfaltige Betrachtungen erregte mir dies merkwürdige Büchelchen.' While the editors' work is not faultless the first volume of their new *Neudrucke* has a real value.

M. MONTGOMERY.

OXFORD.

MINOR NOTICES.

Professor G. McLean Harper of Princeton is known as the author of the *Life of Wordsworth*. In *John Morley and other essays* (London, H. Milford, 1920, 6*s.* 6*d.*), writing an easy and graceful English, in a tone of unaffected sincerity, he shows his thoughtful interest in many sides of life and literature. His own view of life is revealed in his very sympathetic essay on John Morley, written in 1911: but he is so far from being a narrow agnostic that he devotes one essay to an admiring study of a forgotten Christian mystic of the 18th century, David Brainerd. He writes finely of the austere sonnets of Michael Angelo: and with discriminating enthusiasm of the *Comédie Humaine*, which he has read from end to end. He introduces us to a new critic of marked individuality, W. C. Brownell: and he makes a further contribution to our knowledge of Wordsworth in two notable essays, one on Wordsworth's Love Poetry, the other on his life at Blois. Professor Harper in a visit to Blois read through the manuscript minutes of the Blois revolutionary society, 'Les amis de la constitution,' and found a minute of 3 Feb. 1792 in which permission was given to two Englishmen to attend the meetings of the society—one of them, with little doubt, being Wordsworth—and other minutes relating to the part played by Wordsworth's friend, Beaupuy.

G. C. M. S.

Professor Henry A. Beers' *Four Americans* (New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press; London, H. Milford, 1920, 4*s.* 6*d.*) consists of four slight but pleasantly written essays on Roosevelt, Hawthorne, Emerson, Whitman. The treatment of the two former is something fuller than that of Emerson, who only appears as one figure in the society of Concord, and of Whitman who only receives a 'Wordlet' of five small pages, but in no case does the critic allow himself to be shaken from an attitude of rather cool detachment. Those among us whose view of life's values has been profoundly affected by Whitman will rub their eyes at being told that 'his poetry though animal to a degree is not unhuman.' But after this generous concession, the *advocatus diaboli* proceeds:

'Where was his perfect poem, his gem of flawless workmanship?'

'Was he the great poet of America, or even a great poet at all?'

'Our really democratic writers have been such as Mark Twain and James Whitcomb Riley.'

'I do not stand in terror of any critics, however authoritative; remembering how even the great Goethe was taken in by Macpherson's "Ossian."'

So if Professor Beers had only been a Goethe, he would probably have felt Whitman's sweep of soul and his sheer power as an artist. As it is, he cannot be 'taken in.'

The 'Wordlet' is provocative: the other essays contain much that will be interesting, at least to English readers. The qualities of Hawthorne are delicately discriminated: and the society of Concord is pictured once more. Professor Beers even assents to the opinion that the one of the Concord authors who will live longest is not Emerson, but Thoreau.

G. C. M. S.

Bacon tells us that he found in his own nature a special adaptation for the contemplation of truth. 'For I had a mind at once versatile enough for the recognition of similitudes, and at the same time sufficiently steady and concentrated for the observation of subtle shades of difference.' Professor L. N. Broughton, author of *The Theocritean Element in the Works of William Wordsworth* (Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1920, M. 18), has hardly this double equipment. His essay, while laboriously showing points of resemblance between the two poets, shows little sense of the differences between them, and seems to me to add very little to our knowledge of either.

G. C. M. S.

We have received the third volume of *Studi danteschi* edited by Michele Barbi (Florence, Sansoni, 1921, Lire 12,50). Under *Il bacio* [illegible] V. Crescini investigates, with illustrations drawn from both romantic and epic sources, the apparent discrepancy between the scene in the *Francesca* and Dante's famous lines in the fifth canto of the *Inferno*. De Rajna in *Il nome di Dante*, discusses the history and correct spelling of the surname 'Alighieri.' Michele Barbi [illegible] places in its right perspective the famous episode in the life of the poet when, in the spring of 1321, he appears as [illegible] for the straightening [illegible] The article is supplemented by an interesting [illegible] Among the [illegible] are those by [illegible] interesting readings adopted in the sex[illegible] convincing. Enrico [illegible] strongest defence of the theory that [illegible] but gives a suggestive inter[illegible] In addition there are [illegible] on the question of the *Fiore* and [illegible] bibliographical matter.

E. G. G.

[illegible] Dante the surname 'Evelyn [illegible] express his regret.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

September—November, 1921.

GENERAL.

ERMATINGER, E., Das dichterische Kunstwerk. Grundbegriffe und Urteilsbildung in der Literaturgeschichte. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 40 M.

HAMELIUS, P., Introduction à la littérature française et flamande de Belgique. Brussels, J. Lebègue.

LORCK, E., Die 'erlebte Rede.' Eine sprachliche Untersuchung. Heidelberg, C. Winter. 9 M.

PERRY, BLISS, A Study of Poetry. London, Constable. 12*s.* 6*d.*

ROBERTS, S. C., A History of the Cambridge University Press, 1521–1921. Cambridge, University Press. 17*s.* 6*d.*

SCHRIJNEN, J., Einführung in das Studium der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft. Übersetzt von W. Fischer. (Indogermanische Bibliothek, I, 1, xiv.) Heidelberg, C. Winter. 20 M.

SCHÜCK, H., Allmän litteraturhistoria. III. Renässans. Stockholm, H. Geber. 12 kr.

WARD, Sir A. W., Collected Papers. III, IV (Literary, I, II). Cambridge, University Press. Each 31*s.* 6*d.*

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

NICHOLSON, G. G., Recherches philologiques romanes. Paris, H. Champion.

Italian.

ALTROCCHI, R., The Calumny of Apelles in the Literature of the Quattrocento (*Publ. M.L.A., Amer.*, xxxvi, 3, Sept.).

ARIOSTO, L., Orlando Furioso, a cura di F. Martini. Paris, Paravia. L. 12.

BIAGI, V., Opere anonime e di dubbia autenticità della letteratura italiana. Florence, R. Bemporad. L. 10.

Cambridge Plain Italian Texts. Rosmini, Cinque Piaghe; G. Gozzi, La Gazzetta veneta; Alfieri, La virtù sconosciuta; Leopardi, Pensieri; Mazzini, Fede e avvenire. With Introductions by T. Okey. Cambridge, University Press. Each 1*s.* 6*d.*

DANTE ALIGHIERI, Le Opere. Testo critico della Società Dantesca italiana. Florence, R. Bemporad. L. 25.

DANTE ALIGHIERI, La Divina Commedia, con il commento di T. Casini. Per cura di S. A. Barbi. I. 6ta Ed. Florence, Sansoni. L. 6.

Dante Six Hundred Years After: Symposium. Three Addresses read before the Chicago Literary Club.

DELLA CASA, G., Il Galateo, con introd. e note di U. Scoti-Bertinelli. Turin, G. B. Paravia. L. 6.

DEL LUNGO, I., Dante. Prolusioni alle tre cantiche e commento all' 'Inferno.' Florence, Le Monnier.

DE SANCTIS, F., Pagine dantesche. Con prefazione di P. Arcari. Milan, Treves. L. 8.

DONADONI, E., Scritti e Discorsi letterari. Florence, Sansoni. L. 10.

FARINELLI, A., Dante in Spagna, Francia, Inghilterra, Germania. Turin, Bocca. L. 40.

FOLIGNO, C., Dante: The Poet. (British Academy.) London, H. Milford. 1*s.* 6*d.*

GARDNER, E. G., Dante. Annual Master-Mind Lecture (British Academy). London, H. Milford. 1*s.* 6*d.*

GENNARI, L., Ritratto di un poeta: A. Fogazzaro. Bergamo, A. Savoldi. L. 6.

GUARINI, B., Il pastor fido, ridotto alle sue scene principali per la rappresentazione di Bedford College, giugno 1921. Como, Tip. Cavalleri.

MISCIATELLI, P., Pagine dantesche. Siena, Giuntini Bentivoglio. L. 12.

Studi glottologici italiani, diretti da G. De Gregorio. VIII. Turin, G. Chiantore. L. 50.

TASSO, T., La Gerusalemme liberata. Pref. di G. Mazzoni; note di A. Della Torre. Turin, G. B. Paravia. L. 9.

TOYNBEE, P., Dante Studies. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 16*s.*

ZIINO, M., Raffronti Manzoniani. Palermo, Trimarchi. L. 6.

Spanish and Portuguese.

BELL, A. F. G., Gil Vicente (Hispanic Notes and Monographs, Portuguese Series, I). Oxford, University Press. 5*s.*

COTARELO, E., Ensayo sobre la vida y obras de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca (*Bol. Acad. Española*, ix, 39, Oct.).

MOREL-FATIO, A., El puñal en latiga (*Rev. litt. comp.*, i, 4, Oct.).

VINCENTE, GIL, Auto de la Sibila Casandra. Con prologo y notas de Á. Giráldez. Madrid, V. Suarez.

ZAUNER, A., Altspanisches Elementarbuch. 2. Aufl. (Samml. roman. Elementarbücher, i, 5). Heidelberg, C. Winter. 18 M.

French.

(*a*) *Old French.*

LAUBSCHER, G. G., The Syntactical Causes of Case Reduction in Old French (Elliott Monographs, vii). Princeton, N. Y. 1 dol. 50.

MARIE DE FRANCE, Les Lais, I–IV. Introd. par E. Hoepffner (Bibl. Rom., 274–5). Strasbourg, J. H. E. Heitz.

Ysopet-Avionnet. The Latin and French Texts, ed. by K. McKenzie and W. A. Oldfather (Univ. of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, v, 4). Urbana. 1 dol. 50.

(*b*) *Modern French.*

BONNEFON, P., Scribe sous la monarchie de juillet (*suite*) (*Rev. d'hist. lit.*, June).

BOUILLIER, V., La Renommée de Montaigne en Allemagne. Paris, H. Champion.

BURTON, J. M., H. de Balzac and his Figures of Speech (Elliott Monographs, viii). Princeton, N. J. 1 dol.

DIMOFF, P., Une source anglaise de l'‘Invention’ d'André Chénier (*Rev. litt. comp.*, i, 4, Oct.).

DROZ, E., Corneille et l'Astrée (*Rev. d'hist. lit.*, June).

FOSTER, E. A., Le dernier séjour de J. J. Rousseau à Paris, 1770–78 (Smith College Studies in Mod. Languages, ii, 2, 3). Northampton, Mass.

GROS, E., Avant Corneille et Racine. Le ‘Tite’ de Magnon, 1660 (*Rev. d'hist. lit.*, June).

HAVENS, G. R., The Abbé Prevost and English Literature (Elliott Monographs, ix). Princeton, N. J. 1 dol. 50.

JOURDAIN, E. F., Dramatic Theory and Practice in France, 1690–1808. London, Longmans, Green. 12*s.* 6*d.*

KLEMPERER, W., Einführung in das Mittelfranzösische (13.–17. Jahrh.). Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 24 M.

KÜCHLER, W., Ernest Renan. Der Dichter und der Künstler. Gotha, F. A. Perthes. 20 M.

MARTINO, P., Sur deux poèmes musulmans de Leconte de Lisle (*Rev. lit. comp.*, i, 4, Oct.).

MORONCINI, E., A. de Musset e l'Italia. Rome, Albrighi. L. 10.

RAYNAUD, E., Les parents de Baudelaire (*Merc. de France*, Aug. 15).

ROTH, G., Kirke White et 'Joseph Delorme' (*Rev. lit. comp.*, i, 4, Oct.).

TRONCHON, H., Herder et Lamartine (*Rev. lit. comp.*, i, 4, Oct.).

VERMALE, F., Notes sur Joseph de Maistre inconnu. Chambéry, Dardel. 4 fr.

GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

Scandinavian.

JAKOBSEN, J., Etymologisk Ordbog over det norrøne Sprog på Shetland. 4 vols. Copenhagen, V. Prior. (1908–21.)

JÓNSSON, F., Norsk-islandske Kultur- og Sprogforhold i 9. og 10. Årh. (Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selskab.) 10 kr. 50.

Konungs Skuggsjá. Speculum regale. Udg. efter Håndskrifterne af det kgl. nordiske oldskriftselskab. 2 Parts. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 4 kr.

STEFFEN, R., Översikt av svenska litteraturen, v. (1900–20). Stockholm, P. A. Norstedt. 9 kr. 75.

Vatnsdœla saga. Herausg. von W. H. Vogt. (Altnordische Sagabibliothek, xvi.) Halle, Niemeyer. 26 M.

English.

(*a*) *General.*

The Year's Work in English Studies, 1919–20. Ed. for the English Association by Sir Sidney Lee. London, H. Milford. 6*s.*

(*b*) *Old and Middle English.*

AELFRIC, De vetere et novo testamento, Pentateuch, Josua, Buch der Richter und Hiob. (Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, i.) Unveränderter Neudruck. Hamburg, H. Grand. 50 M.

AELFRIC, Exameron Anglice, or The Old English Hexameron. Ed. by S. J. Crawford. (Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, x.) Hamburg, H. Grand. 30 M.

AURNER, N. S., Hengest. A Study in Early English Hero Legend (University of Iowa Studies: Humanistic Studies, ii, 1). Iowa, Univ. of Iowa. 1 dol.

Buik of Alexander, The. Ed. by R. L. Graeme Ritchie. II. (Scottish Text Society, New Series, xii.) Edinburgh, W. Blackwood.

CHAMBERS, R. W., Beowulf. An Introduction to the Study of the Poem. Cambridge, University Press. 30*s.*

Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose. Ed. by K. Sisam. Oxford, University Press. 7*s.* 6*d.*

LANGHANS, V., Der Reimvokal 'e' bei Chaucer (*Schluss*) (*Anglia*, xlv, 4).

Pearl. Ed. by Sir I. Gollancz. London, Chatto and Windus. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Wheatley Manuscript, The. Ed. by Mabel Day. (Early English Text Society, Orig. Series, clv.) London, H. Milford. 30*s.*

(*c*) *Modern English.*

BAUM, P. F., 'Samson Agonistes' again (*Publ. M.L.A., Amer.*, xxxvi, 3, Sept.).

BLAKE, W., The Poems of. Ed. by J. Sampson. London, Chatto and Windus. 15*s.*

CHEVALLEY, A., Le Roman anglais de notre temps. London, H. Milford. 8*s.* 6*d.*

CLUTTON-BROCK, A., More Essays on Books. London, Methuen. 6*s.*

DRAPER, J. W., Aristotelian 'Mimesis' in Eighteenth Century England (*Publ. M.L.A., Amer.*, xxxvi, 3, Sept.).

ELLIOTT, G. R., The Real Tragedy of Keats (*Publ. M.L.A., Amer.*, xxxvi, 3, Sept.).

English Prose, chosen and arranged by W. Peacock. III. Walpole to Lamb. (World's Classics, ccxxi.) London, H. Milford. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Fisher, The life of John. Ed. by R. Bayne (Early English Text Society, Extra Ser., cxvii). London, H. Milford. 15*s.*

FOWLER, H. W., On Hyphens and 'shall' and 'will' and 'should' and 'would' in the Newspapers of to-day. (S.P.E. Tract, No. vi.) Oxford, Clar. Press. 2*s.* 6*d.*

GÖRICKE, W., Das Bildungsideal bei Addison und Steele (Bonner Stud. zur engl. Phil., xiv). Bonn, P. Haustein. 7 M.

GRIERSON, H. J. C., Lord Byron, Arnold and Swinburne (Warton Lecture on Engl. Poetry, xi) (British Academy). London, H. Milford. 2*s.*

HERRICK, R., The Poetical Works of. Edited by F. W. Moorman. London, H. Milford. 5*s.*

HEYWOOD, T., The Captives. Ed. by A. C. Judson. New Haven, Yale Univ. Press. London, H. Milford. 12*s.* 6*d.*

JONES, H. M., The King in Hamlet (Univ. of Texas Bulletin, No. 1865). Austin, Texas.

KELLNER, L., Die englische Literatur der neuesten Zeit: von Dickens zu Shaw. Leipzig, B. Tauchnitz.

LOWELL, A., Tendencies in Modern American Poetry. Oxford, B. Blackwell. 12*s.* 6*d.*

MCNAUGHT, D., The Truth about Burns. Glasgow, Maclehose and Jackson. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of the Seventeenth Century. Donne to Butler. Ed. by H. J. C. Grierson. Oxford, University Press. 6*s.*

Minor Poets of the Caroline Period. III. Edited by G. Saintsbury. Oxford, University Press. 16*s.*

NEWBOLT, Sir H., An English Anthology of Prose and Poetry. London, J. M. Dent. 10*s.* 6*d.*

PADELFORD, F. M., The Virtue of Temperance in the Faery Queene (*Stud. in Phil.*, xviii, 3, July).

Peacock's Four Ages of Poetry; Shelley's Defence of Poetry; Browning's Essay on Shelley. Ed. by H. F. B. Brett-Smith. Oxford, B. Blackwell. 4*s.* 6*d.*

PYRE, J. F. A., The Formation of Tennyson's Style. (Univ. of Wisconsin Studies in Lang. and Lit., xii.) Madison, Wis.

ROLLINS, H. E., A Contribution to the History of the English Commonwealth Drama (*Stud. in Phil.*, xviii, 3, July).

SAURAT, D., Les Sources anglaises de la Poèsie de Milton (*Rev. germanique*, xii, 4, Dec.).

SHAKESPEARE, W., The Merry Wives of Windsor. Ed. by Sir A. Quiller-Couch and J. D. Wilson. Cambridge, University Press. 8*s.*

SHAKESPEARE, W., The Taming of the Shrew. Ed. by H. Ten Eyck Perry; King Richard II, ed. by Ll. M. Buell (The Yale Shakespeare). New Haven, Yale Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. Each 4*s.* 6*d.*

STRONG, A. T., Three Studies in Shelley and an Essay on Nature in Wordsworth and Meredith. London, H. Milford. 10*s.* 6*d.*

WHITE, H. C., Matthew Arnold and Goethe (*Publ. M.L.A., Amer.*, xxxv, 3, Sept.).

WHITE, N. J., Shelley's 'Swell-Foot the Tyrant' in Relation to Contemporary Political Satire (*Publ. M.L.A., Amer.*, xxxvi, 3, Sept.).

German.

(*a*) *General (including Linguistic).*

BORINSKI, K., Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Stuttgart, Union. 98 M.

GRIMM, J. and W., Deutsches Wörterbuch. XI, 2, 3. Lief. bearb. von V. Dollmayr. XI, 3, 8. Lief. bearb. von K. Euling. Leipzig, S. Hirzel. Each 10 M.

STOCKI, K., Schweizerdeutsch. Abriss einer Grammatik. Zürich, Orell Füssli. 7 fr. 50.

(*b*) *Old and Middle High German.*

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THE SINGLE COMBAT IN CERTAIN CYCLES OF ENGLISH AND SCANDINAVIAN TRADITION AND ROMANCE.

To a generation deeply impressed with the close interdependence of every member of a community upon all the rest, the suggestion that national or international difficulties may be solved by single combat between those directly concerned must appear primitive and inadequate. Yet the device has not altogether lost its appeal. We can conceive of a leader, even in an age when human life counted for little, who should refuse to sacrifice his helpless and innocent followers to his own ambition, or of a people, driven beyond endurance by indecisive war, who, in a flash of almost cynical rationalism, should demand that the quarrel be confined to those who hoped to gain by the event. 'Pugnent soli qui soli cupiunt dominari.'

The *motif*, indeed, is not unknown to legend or to authentic history, but it occurs, as one would expect, sporadically, and seems to express a reaction against a prevailing code[1]. The purpose of this article is to draw attention to the occurrence of such a *motif*, implied or fully expressed, in a certain curiously related series of tradition and romance, linked by the presence of the Scandinavian adventurer, Anlaf Cuaran. It is not intended to base any theory on what, after all, may be no more than a chain of coincidences. The only justification for putting forward so imperfect a survey is the hope that the subject may be further pursued by those who are already at work in the field of tradition and romance.

Before dealing directly with the tradition of Anlaf Cuaran, it is proposed to enter the subject indirectly, by way of a tradition connected with the relations between England and Scandinavia in the eleventh century.

In the twelfth-century chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon[2] is found the story of a duel between Edmund Ironside and Canute of Denmark

[1] The question is touched upon in H. C. Lea's *Superstition and Force* (3rd ed. 1878, pp. 95, 99, 118) and in Arbois de Jubainville's *Cours de Littératures celtiques*, Vol. VII, ch. IV. In both cases a clear distinction is drawn between the wager by battle intended as a direct appeal to Heaven to decide the justice of a quarrel, and the single combat arranged to avert a general slaughter.

[2] Rolls Series. Ed. by T. Arnold, 1879. Lib. VI, p. 185. Translation, T. Forester. Bohn's *Antiquarian Library*.

in the year 1016. Six terrible battles have been fought, and preparations are in train for a seventh. The armies are drawn up in Gloucestershire, but before the battle is joined, dissatisfaction arises among the nobles, presumably of Edmund's party, and the general opinion is voiced in terms of bald common sense, 'Why are we such fools as to be so often putting our lives in peril? Let those who wish to reign singly decide the quarrel by single combat[1].' The rival kings readily adopt the suggestion, and a meeting place is arranged at 'Olanie[2].' A fierce combat follows without marked advantage on either side, until Canute, foreseeing that his strength is about to fail him, proposes terms to his opponent. 'Let us be brothers by adoption, and divide the kingdom, so governing that I may rule your affairs and you mine. Even the government of Denmark I submit to your disposal[3]. An agreement is arrived at, to which the people assent with tears of joy, a suitable conclusion to what Professor Earle describes as 'one of the established sensation scenes of History[4].'

The story is circumstantial enough and not *prima facie* incredible, but since it is apparently unknown to the writers of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* and to Florence of Worcester, it is open to the gravest suspicion. Modern historians have, indeed, brushed it aside somewhat cavalierly[5], accepting Professor Earle's suggestion that the legend must have arisen from the misinterpretation of a phrase which occurs under the year 1016 in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, 'the kings came together at Olanege[6].'

But if the phrase 'comon togædere' is in itself ambiguous, the context makes it perfectly clear, and it would be a negligent and unintelligent chronicler who could so grossly misinterpret his source. There can be no doubt that the compiler of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* has in his mind a friendly meeting, 'then counselled Eadric the ealdorman and the "witan" who were present that the kings should come to terms

[1] 'Cur insensati necis periculum totiens incurrimus? pugnent singulariter qui regnare student singulariter.'

[2] Said by earlier chroniclers to be an island in the Severn. (See Florence of Worcester, Roger of Wendover, Robert of Gloucester, etc.) MS. D of the *A.S. Chronicles* states that Olanige is 'with Deorhyrste.' See J. Earle's *Saxon Chronicles*, 1865, pp. 340, 341.

[3] 'Simus fratres adoptivi, regnumque partiamur, imperemusque ego rebus in tuis, tuque in meis. Dacia quoque tuo disponatur imperio.'

[4] Earle's *Saxon Chronicles*, p. 340.

[5] E.g., E. A. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, 1877, Vol. I, p. 705. R. Green in his *Conquest of England* and C. Oman in *England before the Norman Conquest* ignore the story completely. For a discussion of the incident, see a paper by J. Hogg in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, Second Series, Vol. V, Part II, 1854: 'On two Events which occurred in the Life of King Canute the Dane.'

[6] 'þa cynegas comon togædere æt Olanege' (MS. C).

and exchange hostages, and the kings came together at Olanege, and there confirmed their friendship[1].' It is difficult to believe that so circumstantial and persistent[2] a legend should have arisen simply from the misunderstanding of a perfectly straightforward account. Is it not unnecessarily insulting to ascribe such stupidity to Huntingdon or another? But if we might assume that in the mind of the chronicler there existed the memory of a traditional single combat fought between an English and a Danish prince with the realm of England as the prize, we could more readily believe that he might read into the elastic phrase of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* the suggestion of such a combat, and that he might then proceed to elaborate the suggestion on the lines of this floating tradition. It is, of course, not uncommon for a story, which has been cut adrift from its moorings or has never been located, to attach itself to some prominent or arresting historical figure[3].

Did any such tradition actually exist in England at the time at which Henry of Huntingdon was compiling his chronicle?

In approaching this question, it is convenient to consider first the setting of the story of Edmund and Canute in the fourteenth-century chronicle of Henry Knighton[4]. After an introductory chapter the chronicler touches upon the reigns of Edwy, Edgar and Edward the Martyr, and comes in Chapter II to the reign of Aethelred. He then records the series of battles between Edmund and Canute, and gives an account of the single combat without any important divergence from the version given by Henry of Huntingdon. Chapter III deals with the reign of Canute, and Chapter IV with Robert of Normandy. Chapter V returns to the reign of Canute, and is of particular interest. It professes to deal with the grounds of Canute's claim to the English throne[5], and

[1] The incident of the meeting at Olanege is told in almost identical language in texts C, D, E and F, while texts A and B do not cover this period. 'Þa gerædde Eadric ealdormann 7 þá witan þe þar wæron þ(æt) þa cyningas seht naman him betwynan 7 hi gislas him betwynan sealdon 7 þa cynegas comon togædere æt Olanege 7 hira freondscype þær gefæstnodon.'

[2] For a list of authorities which have adopted the tradition, see Sharon Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 6th ed., 1836, Vol. II, p. 331. One form of the tradition represents the single combat as suggested but not actually undertaken. See for example Gaimar's *Estorie*, Rolls Series, 1. 4257 ff.

[3] William of Malmesbury, for instance, ascribes both to Alfred the Great and to Anlaf Sictricson the incident of the leader who gains access to the enemy's camp disguised as a harper.

[4] Rolls Series. Ed. by J. R. Lumby, 1889.

[5] The earlier and more reliable chronicles, e.g. the *A.S. Chronicles*, Florence of Worcester, Henry of Huntingdon, do not suggest that Canute attempted to justify his accession to the throne of England on any plea of hereditary right. The connection between Canute's claim and the story of Havelok had been suggested before Knighton, e.g. in Rauf de Boun's *Petit Bruit* (Harl. MS. 902 Brit. Mus.). This chronicle, however, does not record the single combat.

tells how a certain king Egelwoldus, who formerly ruled in England, has a daughter Goldusburgh. At her father's death she is committed to the care of Godric, Duke of Cornwall, and later becomes the wife of a certain Avelec, son of Birkelanus, king of Dacia 'in the neighbourhood of Lincoln, who in later years reigned at the same time both in Anglia and Dacia....For this cause the Danes carried matters with too high a hand in Anglia and long oppressed the English, as is related in the history of Grimsby[1].'

Although the narrative at this point is far from clear, Knighton's presentation of his subject is of especial interest, if not to the historian at least to the student of tradition. For the present enquiry, its chief importance lies in the fact that we find here combined in one connected narrative the story of the duel between Edmund and Canute and the story of Havelok, with an explicit statement of the supposed connection between the two[2]. It should also be noticed in passing that the story of Havelok is followed by that of Guy of Warwick and his single combat with the giant Colbrand in the reign of Aethelstan, and that no reference is made to the historical Battle of Brunanburh. Whatever the original connection between the two stories, the fact that they are found in juxtaposition in more than one chronicle is an encouragement to search the story of Havelok for traces of a single combat, which might have influenced the tradition of Edmund and Canute. The earliest version of the Havelok story which has come down to us appears to be that of the French *Lai d'Aveloc*, which probably belongs to the first half of the

[1] 'Apud Lincolniam, qui postea regnavit tam in Anglia quam in Dacia simul....Inde Dani sumpserunt nimiam audaciam in Anglia et suppeditaverunt Anglos longe tempore, sicut continetur in historia de Grimmisby.' Fortunately the origin of the association between the Havelok story with the town of Grimsby is outside the scope of this article.

[2] There appears to be no doubt that a tradition existed of an early Scandinavian conquest of England. Sir F. Madden, in his edition of the English *Havelok* (Roxburghe Club, 1828), pp. ix–x, footnote, quotes references from Scandinavian sources in support of this. It is not impossible, though undemonstrable, that the story of Havelok had taken form among the Danes in England as early as the eleventh century, and that it may have been exploited by Canute's political supporters to give a colouring of legal right to Canute's accession to the English throne. It might well be some time before a story with so strong a Danish bias would be embodied in the English chronicles, but Henry of Knighton, writing in the fourteenth century, could have no political reasons for omitting the tradition which connected the story of Havelok with Canute's bid for the throne. He does not commit himself as to the justice of the claim. The following passage from Robert of Brune's translation of Pierre de Langtoft's *Chronicle* (ed. T. Hearne, Vol. I, p. 25) bears out the impression that the story of Havelok was suppressed by certain early chroniclers.

Bot I haf grete ferly, þat I fynd no man,
Þat has writen in story, how Hanelok þis lond wan.....
Bot þat þise lowed men upon Inglish tellis,
Right story can me not ken, þe certeynte what spellis....
Of alle stories of honoure, þat I haf þovgh souht,
I fynd þat no compiloure of him tellis ouht.

twelfth century[1]. The later part of the poem describes how Havelok, at the instigation of Sigar, a Danish noble who has remained faithful to the memory of Havelok's dead father, determines to win back his kingdom from the usurper Hodulf.

The opposing forces are drawn up, but

> Haveloc saw the poor folk
> Who had come to help him.
> He did not wish them to be killed.
> To king Hodulf, by his friends,
> He sent word that he would fight him,
> Body against body, and if he conquered him,
> The folk with him should come
> And hold him for their lord.
> 'I know not why they should fight
> Who are not in fault[2].' (ll. 943 f.)

Here, then, stands out clearly the *motif* of a single combat, upon which depends the fate of a kingdom. The combat is suggested as a means of avoiding the slaughter of those who have no stakes in the game. But in this case the initiative comes, not from exasperated subjects, but from one of the protagonists: 'Pitee renneth sone in gentil herte.'

The *Lai* proceeds to describe the combat, which, unlike the combat between Edmund and Canute, appears to have been fought in the open field. Hodulf falls, and his followers crave mercy from Havelok, who readily grants it.

> They turned to him
> And he pardoned them all[3]. (ll. 969 f.)

The humanitarian note is curious[4], and one might be inclined to see in

[1] In dealing with the story of Havelok, three main versions have to be taken into account, viz. the French *Lai*, the version which precedes Gaimar's *Estorie* (both of which are included in Sir T. Duffus Hardy and C. T. Martin's edition of Gaimar's *Estorie des Engles*, 1888), and the English *Lay of Havelok* (edited by W. W. Skeat, from Sir F. Madden's edition of 1828, in the E. E. T. S., Extra Series, No. IV). In addition an epitome is found in the Lambeth MS. of Robert of Brune's translation of Pierre de Langtoft's *Chronicle*, while incidental references to the story are found elsewhere. See Skeat's Introduction.

[2]
> Haveloc vist la gent menue
> Qen saide estoit venue;
> Ne voelt quil soient occis...
> Au roi Hodulf, par ses amis,
> Manda qa lui se combatist
> Cors contre cors, et, si le venquist,
> Les genz a lui touz se venissent,
> Et a seignur le tenissent.
> 'Ne sai purquei se combateroient
> Qui nule culpe nen auoient.'

Translated in Rolls Series, Gaimar, Vol. II.

[3]
> Cil se sont a lui tourne,
> Et il lur ad tut pardone.

[4] It should be noted that Gaimar's short version and the English *Lay* omit this element, but the earlier date of the French *Lai* is of great weight.

it the refining tendency of French romance, but there is no good reason to doubt that the single combat formed part of the original story.

A very convincing train of argument connects Havelok of the romance with the famous Scandinavian adventurer of the tenth century, Anlaf Cuaran, who held precarious sway now in Northumbria and now in Scandinavian Ireland. It is not possible in this place to discuss the identification. Although the question must remain open[1], the probable identity of the names of Havelok and Anlaf, and the application of the nickname Cuaran (Cuheran) to both characters, are difficult to explain away, and the fact that the main course of the life of Anlaf Cuaran, his expulsion from his father's kingdom, and his attempts to regain and to hold his inheritance are in broad outline not unlike the career of Havelok, is also of weight[2].

'Huntingdon,' wrote John Milton in his *History of Britain*, 'still haunts us with this Anlaf (of whom we gladly would have bin ridd).' Anyone who attempts to run to earth this shape-changing personality may well share Milton's irritation. Even in the earliest and most sober chronicles[3], we find him almost inextricably confused with his kinsman Anlaf Guthfrithson. Irish records serve only partially to distinguish

[1] The question of the origin of the Havelok story has had various solutions. See especially P. F. Suhm, *Critisk Historie*, Bind III, pp. 857, 880 ff.; Gustav Storm, *Englische Studien*, III, p. 533; *Havelok the Dane and the Norse King Olaf Kuaran*; W. Skeat, *Havelok the Dane*, E. E. T. S., Extra Series, IV; K. Køster, *Sagnet om Havelok Danske*, 1868; H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Dept. of MSS. in the British Museum*, 1883, pp. 429 ff.; C. W. Whistler, *Saga of Havelok the Dane* (*Saga Book of the Viking Club*, Vol. III, p. 394, 1902); M. Deutschbein, *Sagengeschichte Englands*, I, *Wikingersagen*, 1906, pp. 103 ff.; A. Bugge, *Havelok and Olaf Tryggvason*, translated by C. M. E. Pochin in *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, Vol. VI, 1908–9, from *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1908. See also H. E. Heyman, *Studies on the Havelok Tale*, Upsala, 1903.

[2] Is it impossible that ll. 728 ff. of the English *Havelok*:

> But or he hauede michel shame,
> Michel sorwe and michel tene,
> Ane thrie he gat it (i.e. the kingdom) al bidene

are reminiscent of Anlaf's accession to the kingdom of Northumbria in 941 (*A.S. Chron.* D), his expulsion in 944, his return in 947, and his second expulsion in 952? It is true that only two occasions are recorded on which Anlaf can be said to have got his kingdom 'al bidene,' but, even supposing that the Chronicles have recorded the complete course of events, a touch of exaggeration would not be unprecedented in romance. An account of these events is given in the *English Historical Review*, Jan. 1918, by M. L. R. Beaver; cp. also W. G. Collingwood, 'King Eirík of York' in *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, Vol. II, pp. 318 ff.

Madden interprets the word 'thrie' in the passage quoted above as 'trouble, affliction'; Holthausen amends 'thrie' to 'yete.' Skeat recognises the difficulty and remarks 'without doubt the usual meaning of "thrie" is "thrice," which is easily construed, only it remains to be shown why thrice should be introduced; unless perhaps it signifies in a threefold degree.' Certainly as it stands the statement is inconsistent with the story contained in the English *Lay*, but a trace of an earlier and more authentic tradition of Anlaf-Havelok might persist and escape the attention of the poet.

[3] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, 937–952.

their separate careers, while, as far as the late chroniclers are concerned, the two Anlafs may be regarded as having merged into one.

As regards Anlaf Guthfrithson, one of the indubitable facts of his career is his appearance at the Battle of Brunanburh, as leader of the Scandinavians of Ireland against King Aethelstan of England. This is the Anlaf who fled overseas to Dublin after the *débâcle*, with his defeated army, 'abashed in mind.' On the other hand, it is by no means impossible that Anlaf Sictricson, who was son-in-law to the 'old trickster' Constantine of the Scots, was also present, and he is undoubtedly associated with the battle in certain later chronicles[1].

It seems therefore safe to assume that at one stage of its growth the tradition of Anlaf Cuaran included some reminiscence of the Battle of Brunanburh. Is it then possible to trace in the records of this battle any suggestion of a single combat, which might have re-appeared in association with Anlaf Cuaran in his character of Havelok[2]?

No suggestion of a single combat appears in the prose references to the Battle of Brunanburh in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, nor can the *motif* be read in the pæan found under the year 937 in four out of the six MSS[3]. Three aspects of the battle, however, which emerge clearly both from the general tenor of the poem and from definite statements, deserve attention.

First, the battle was held to be in the strongest sense of the word 'decisive.' The fate of England had hung upon the issue, and England was saved[4]. The account of Constantine's ignominious flight to the

[1] E.g. Florence of Worcester, who writes of the Scandinavian leader at Brunanburh as 'Anlafus, a socero suo rege Scottorum Constantius incitatus,' i.e. Anlaf Sictricson; Henry of Huntingdon, who describes him as Anlaf, king of Hibernia, i.e. Anlaf Guthfrithson; William of Malmesbury, who, in relating the legend of Anlaf's visit to the enemy camp disguised as a harper, calls him the son of Sihtric. Robert of Gloucester, writing of the same person, describes him as 'Anlaf, king of homberlond.'

It would seem that the more romantic figure of Anlaf Cuaran came to overshadow his elder kinsman and namesake, Anlaf Guthfrithson. As a parallel may be cited the development of the tradition of Hrólf Kráki and Hróarr in Scandinavia, as compared with the earlier tradition of Hrothgar and Hrothwulf in England.

[2] For a summary of the records relating to the lives of the two Anlafs see J. H. Todd, *War of the Gaedhill with the Gaill*, Appendix D, pp. 280 ff. In the French versions of the *Romance of Guy of Warwick* a reminiscence of two distinct figures is probably preserved in the statement that the Scandinavian army which invaded England in the reign of King Aethelstan was led by two kings, Anelaph (Hunelaf) and Gonelaph (Gunelaf). H. L. D. Ward's *Catalogue*, pp. 471, 486, cf. Giraldus Cornubiensis' account of this event, quoted in T. Hearne's *Chronica de Dunstaple*, Vol. II, and *Le Petit Bruit* of Rauf de Boun, Harl. 902, British Museum.

[3] MSS. A, B, C and D.

[4] A sense of the magnitude of the issues is conveyed by later chronicles, e.g. Ethelwerdi Chronicorum Lib. IV (*Monumenta Historica Britannica*, Vol. I, 1848, p. 520): 'facta est pugna immanis Barbaros contra, in loco Brunandune, unde et vulgo usque ad praesens, bellum praenominatur magnum: tum superantur Barbarae passim turbae nec ultra dominari...uno solidantur Brittannidis arva,' etc.

North and of the return of the Northmen to Dublin, 'æwiscmode' suggests a rout from which the defeated party was not likely to rally. The poem expresses a feeling of relaxation after a great tension. Secondly, the slaughter on both sides was unprecedented. 'Never before this day was greater slaughter of men wrought in this island at the edge of the sword, as books tell us and aged scholars, since the time when the Angles and Saxons made their way hither from the East over the wide ocean, sought the land of Britain, those proud war-smiths, overcame the Welsh, and won for themselves a home, those valiant earls[1].'

The third aspect of the battle suggested by the Anglo-Saxon poem is the dawning of a sense of nationality, struggling with conceptions of the relation between prince and people inherited from an earlier, heroic age. The poet's interest is not centred wholly upon the prince and his *comitatus*. This is a crisis in which a nation is involved, and one may assume that the poet, in commenting upon the prowess of West Saxons and Mercians, has the rank and file in his mind[2]. At the same time the conception of a kingdom as the personal property of its ruler is not wholly superseded. King and aetheling, as the tradition of their house demanded,

wiþ laþra gehwæne land ealgodon
hord 7 hamas[3].

Thus in the earliest account of the Battle of Brunanburh can be traced an impression that the fate of England had indeed hung upon the issue of a single battle. The situation was dramatic, and calculated to fire the imagination of chroniclers and romancers. One touch only

[1] MS. A.

Ne wearð wæl mare
on þis eiglande æfer gieta
folces gefylled beforan þissum
sweordes ecgum þæs þe us secgaþ bec
ealde uþwitan siþan eastan hider
Engle 7 Seaxe up becoman
ofer brad brimu Brytene sohtan
wlance wigsmiþas Weealles ofercoman
eorlas arhwate eard begeatan.

The *A.S. Chronicles*, not unnaturally, emphasise the slaughter of the enemy. Their account is supplemented by that of the *Annals of Ulster* (W. H. Hennessy's edition, 1887, p. 457): 'A great, lamentable and horrible battle was stubbornly fought between the Saxons and Norsemen, in which many thousands of Norsemen, beyond counting, were slain.... On the other side, however, a great multitude of Saxons fell. But Athelstan King of the Saxons was enriched with a great victory.'

[2] H. M. Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, p. 332.

[3] 'Hord 7 hamas,' in accordance with the general structure of the verse, would seem to be an explanatory phrase, elaborating the word 'land,' and suggests the equation of the kingdom with the property and estates of the royal house. The poet, however, is no doubt using traditional phraseology, and the meaning of the phrase in this passage should not perhaps be pressed.

was needed to heighten the drama, and it is but a step from the recorded historical facts to the conception of a kingdom staked, deliberately and in advance, upon the issue of a single engagement. The memory of the carnage at Brunanburh might suggest a motive for such a device, and a vague, traditional conception of Aethelstan as a humane and responsible ruler would suggest that the initiative might well come from him.

The account of the Battle of Vinheith in the *Egilssaga* is accepted by most scholars as in some way reminiscent, if not a direct description, of the historical Battle of Brunanburh[1]. In considering, therefore, not the historical fact of the battle but the tradition which sprang from the seed of that fact, we may regard the account in the *Egilssaga* as material of exceptional interest. In C. LII occur the following statements: 'Then they send messengers to king Olaf and put forward this message that king Athelstan wished to hazel a field for him and appoint a place of battle at Vínheith by Vínskógi, and that it was his desire that they should not harry in his land, but that whichever of them had the victory in the battle should rule the realm of England; he appointed a meeting time a week hence, and he who arrived before the other was to await the other one week. Now it was then a custom, that as soon as a field was hazelled[2] for any king, he should not indulge in shameless harrying until the battle was over; king Olaf, therefore, called a halt, and refrained from harrying, and waited till the appointed day and then moved his army to Vínheith[3].'

Here is a heightening of the drama which undoubtedly enhances the value of the story as artistic material. The momentous character of the engagement is openly admitted. Defeat involves a renunciation of all claims as complete as that demanded from unsuccessful suitors at Portia's Belmont. The motive for such a desperate venture is also suggested; the appointment of a definite meeting place meant the cessation of all promiscuous harrying[4].

[1] See Finnur Jónsson's edition of *Egilssaga* in G. Cederschiöld's *Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek*, 1894, III, p. xxii. The substantial identity of the battles of Brunanburh and Vinheith is also assumed by Vigfusson in his *Sturlunga Saga*, Vol. I, Prolegomena, p. xlviii.

[2] Cf. extract from *Kormakssaga* quoted below.

[3] 'Síðan gera þeir sendimenn til Ólafs konungs ok finna þat til ørenda, at Aðalsteinn konungr vill hasla honum vǫll ok bjóða orrustustað á Vínheiði við Vínuskóga, ok hann vill, at þeir heri eigi á land hans, en sá þeira ráði ríki á Englandi, er sigr fær í orrostu, lagði til vikustef um fund þeira, en sá bíðr annars viku, er fyrr kemr. En þat var þá siðr, þegar konungi var vǫllr haslaðr, at hann skyldi eigi herja at skammlausu, fyrr en orrustu vaeri lokit: gerði Óláfr konungr svá, at hann stǫðvaði her sinn ok herjaði ekki ok beið til stefnu dags, þá flutti hann her sinn til Vínheiðar.'

[4] Other passages in the Sagas in which the 'hazelling' of a field for a general engagement is mentioned (e.g. *Hkr. Hakonssaga*, c. xxiv; *Hkr. Olaf Tryggvs*, c. xviii; *Orkneyingasaga*, c. xi) do not mention this provision with regard to harrying. It is perhaps worth noticing that whereas in the case of earlier and later Scandinavian invasions or attacks

One is tempted to press the point still further, and to see in the hazelling of the field recorded in the *Egilssaga* preparations, not for a pitched battle, but for a single combat[1]. Yet the temptation should probably be resisted, since the precise meaning of the phrase 'hasla vǫll' in any particular passage is difficult to ascertain. It is clear that the phrase was closely associated with the 'holmgang' procedure. The well-known passage in the *Kormakssaga* (c. 10), which deals with the laws of holmgang, gives clear directions as to the hazelling of a field: 'There must be three lines round about the cloak of a foot breadth; outside the lines there must be four posts, they are called hazels, and the field is hazelled when this is done[2].'

On the other hand, the phrase 'hasla vǫll' is undoubtedly used of a field appointed for a pitched battle[3]. In such cases, however, it is probable that the phrase has lost its first precise meaning, and has become a conventional term for the appointing of a place of combat, whether for a single combat or for a pitched battle. It is therefore unwise to press the meaning of 'hasla vǫll' in the case of the Battle of Vinheith, although it may be noted in passing that the statement 'þegar konungi var vǫllr haslaðr' is elaborated by a later statement that 'there were there set up hazel wands as a boundary[4].'

Here then we seem to have a memory of the great battle seen through the eyes of an Icelander, who himself took part in the engagement. No evidence of exactly the same class is to be found in England, since we are forced to regard the so-called *Chronicle of Ingulf* with far greater suspicion than is necessary in the case of the *Egilssaga*[5].

harrying is frequently recorded (e.g. *Annals*, 878, 897, 911, 944) the *A.S. Chronicles* record no harrying in connection with the Battle of Brunanburh. It is curious that the custom referred to in the passage quoted above appears to deprecate harrying only until after the close of the battle. This custom therefore apparently does not involve the withdrawal of the defeated army. Such a condition is however implied by Aethalstan's proposition 'sá þeira ráði ríki,' etc.

[1] G. Nielson, 'Brunanburh,' in *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. VII, 1910.

[2] 'þrir reitar scolo umhverfiss feldenn fetz breiðer; ut frá reitom scolo vesa stengr fiórar—oc heita þat hæslor. þat es vœllr haslaðr es svá es gœrt.' Text and translation from Vigfusson and Powell, *Origines Islandicae*, Vol. I, p. 321.

[3] See references in note 4, p. 121.

[4] 'þa váru þar settar upp heslistengr allt til ummerkja.' In this connection a note on p. 148 of Finnur Jónsson's edition of the *Egilssaga* is of special interest. '*Hasla-voll*, eig. "einen zum kampfe bestimmten platz mit haselstangen einfriedigen"; diese sitte ist uralt und im eig. sinne konnte der kampfplatz nur dann so eingeschlossen werden, wenn die heere sehr klein waren; wahrscheinlich sogar war dies nur gebraüchlich, wenn zweikampf stattfand....In der historischen zeit bedeutete das wort *at hasla vǫll* im allgemeinen nur einen kampfplatz bestimmen ohne jeden gedanken an eine umzäunung; die folgende schilderung [i.e. of the Battle of Vinheith] ist kaum historisch.'

[5] But see C. W. Whistler, 'Brunanburh and Vinheith in Ingulf's Chronicle and Egil's Saga,' in *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, Vol. VI, 1908–9, p. 59, where a plea is put forward for a less sceptical attitude towards Ingulf's narrative of the Battle of Brunanburh.

The account in the *Egilssaga* may be taken to represent a stage of tradition intermediate between the plain records of the chronicles and the irresponsible elaborations of the romances.

Turning, then, to the romances, is it possible to discover in them any echoes of the Battle of Brunanburh? We should expect to find the bare facts of the engagement much embroidered with romantic *motifs*, as well as some confusion of names and chronology. We should also expect that whatever dramatic and arresting elements were implicit in the original account would be fully worked out in the romance. The decisiveness of the battle could not fail to be emphasised, and it would not be an altogether unnatural development for the story of a kingdom staked upon a single engagement to be transmuted into the story of a single combat between appointed champions.

Ward, in his *Catalogue of Romances*, writes of the combat between Guy and Colbrand, which he regards as the kernel of the Romance of Guy of Warwick: 'critics have...been inclined to regard this single combat as a sort of symbolical picture of the great Battle of Brunanburh[1].' However this may be, the story of Guy of Warwick is associated with the rising which led up to the Battle of Brunanburh[2] by the fact that the single combat described in the Romance is said to have taken place in the reign of King Aethelstan, and that the invading Scandinavian army is led by 'kyng Anlaf[3]' of Denmark.

Further, not only is the incident of Guy and Colbrand brought into association with the historical Anlaf, but also with the romantic Havelok. Indeed, in at least one authority[4], we have this curious situation: Anlaf lays claim to the kingdom in the right of his predecessor Havelok, who, if the theory of the identification be correct, is none other than Anlaf himself in romantic disguise. It goes without saying that the chronicler is unaware of the identification. The following extract from Harleian

[1] H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Dept. of MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 471. Cf. Deutschbein, *Wikingersagen*, pp. 220 ff.

[2] The setting of the combat between Guy and Colbrand in Thomas Rudbourne's *Historia Major Wintoniensis* (Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, I, p. 211) is of interest. Here Aethelstan is said to have completely routed the Danes at a battle which appears to be identical with the Battle of Brunanburh. After this, Aethelstan and Anlaf agree to stake the kingdom upon a single combat between champions; cf. the course of events in a short chronicle of England in the unpublished Harleian MS. 63.

Following up the suggestion of symbolism in the passage quoted from Ward's *Catalogue*, is it fantastic to see in the dragon from Ireland which devastated Northumbria and was slain by Guy, apparently in the neighbourhood of York, a 'symbolical picture' of Anlaf (Sictricson or Guthfrithson or both), who was so closely associated both with Ireland and Northumbria? *Guy of Warwick*, Camb. MSS., E. E. T. S., Extra Series, xxv, ed. Zupitza, 1875, 11, 6813–6966.

[3] *Guy of Warwick*, Camb. MS. 1, 10367.

[4] Harl. 63.

MS. 63 emphasises the connection between the story of Guy and Colbrand and that of Havelok[1]: 'And Adelstone lay at Wychesty(r) and the kyng of denmarke sent unto hym a Harowde of Armes to witte wheder he wolde fynde a man to fight w^t^ Colbrande for the right of the kyngdom of Northumbry that the Danes had obtayned byfore by the title of kyng Haneloke that wedded Goldesburgh the kyng is doughter of Northumbr(e)[2].'

The Romance of Guy of Warwick, linked up, as has been shown, in a curious chain of tradition, contains as one of its essential features a single combat between an English and a Danish champion, with the kingdom of England as the prize.

The king of Denmark, on landing in England, begins to lay waste the country,

> The londe he stroyeth and cuntrayse
> And brennyth townes and abbayes. (ll. 9943 f.)

He then sends a challenge to Aethelstan to find a champion to meet the Danish giant Colbrand in single combat[3]. None of the English knights is prepared to accept the challenge, and Aethelstan is at first distracted, but is advised in a vision to entrust his case to an unknown champion, who proves to be the great Guy of Warwick disguised in palmer's weeds.

Before the combatants meet,

> Swyþe men broȝt a boke anon
> The kynge of Denmarke swere þeron,
> Yf hys man were to dethe woundyd,
> Slayne or ellys in batell confowndyd,
> That he schulde neuyr aftur þat day
> In peyne of renayenge of hys laye
> Ryght to clayme in Ynglonde,
> But wende whome into hys londe

[1] In Henry Knighton's *Chronicle* (Rolls Series, Vol. 1, p. 27) occurs a passage in which a sober historical reference to the reign of Aethelstan, the stories of Guy and Colbrand, Havelok and Edmund and Canute, are brought into juxtaposition. See p. 116.

[2] The statement that the king of Denmark is here represented as claiming Northumbria and not the whole of England is of interest in connection with Anlaf Cuaran's associations with the kingdom of Northumbria.

[3] In view of the lines quoted above the Danish king can hardly be actuated by a respect for human life and property. Presumably the device is conceived as having been suggested by Colbrand's hitherto invincible strength, in which case the incident belongs to the type found in the story of David and Goliath. The fact that a certain motive is suggested in the version which has come down to us does not, however, destroy the possibility that the original version implied a different motive. Ward (*Catalogue of Romances*, p. 472) suggests that the legend is reminiscent of the invasion under Olaf Tryggvason in 993. In any case the character of the English king as depicted in the English romance has far more in common with that of Ethelred the Unready than with that of the august Aethelstan. Ward's suggestion with regard to the association between the Anlaf of the story of Guy and Colbrand and Olaf Tryggvason is critically examined by M. Deutschbein, *Studien zur Sagengeschichte Englands*, 1, *Wikingersagen*, pp. 228 ff. Cf. suggested relation between *Havelok* and *Olaf Tryggvason* discussed in Ward's *Catalogue*, p. 436, and developed by A. Bugge, *Havelok and Olaf Tryggvason*. See p. 118, note 1.

And neuyr more in hys lyue
Wyth Englysche nodur fyght nor stryve.
And sythen swore kynge Adelston
Before the barons euerychon,
That, yf hys man be slawe,
That he schall stande to þys lawe:
Hys sworne man become he schall
And of hym holde hys landys all;
Grete trewage he schulde ȝolde
And hys heyres aftur hym hyt holde[1]. (ll. 10199 f.)

The scene of the combat is stated (l. 10134) to be 'an yle wythynne the see,' a curious statement, since the site is also represented as so close to Winchester that after his victory Guy is led

To Wynchestur, the ryche towne,
Wyth songe and wyth precestion[2]. (ll. 10375 f.)

Perhaps the author has embodied a tradition which in the course of time has lost its original meaning. The 'yle wythynne the see' inevitably recalls the Scandinavian 'holmgang,' and links the story of Guy of Warwick with the story of Edmund and Canute, and possibly with the story of the Battle of Vinheith in the *Egilssaga*[3].

It has already been suggested that the connection between the *motif* of the single combat and the stories relating to Anlaf Sictricson may have no real significance, and that to follow this apparent clue may lead the investigator into a blind alley. Possibly the emphasis should be laid, not upon the single combat as an episode in the career of any individual, but upon the fact that it is found so frequently in stories relating to Scandinavia. Not only is this the case in the stories already dealt with, but several of the instances collected in Additional Note II, which appear to have no connection with the Anlaf-Havelok cycle, point in the same direction.

It is, for instance, noteworthy that critics have seen in the *Tristram* cycle a suggestion of Scandinavian influence[4]. Again, the romances of *Bevis of Hamtoun* and *King Horn* are commonly grouped with *Havelok* and *Guy of Warwick* as embodying at least some memory of the Scan-

[1] The romance relates that after the death of Colbrand the Danes left England according to their agreement. Cf. *A.S. Chronicles* (C, D, E, F), *Annal* 994: '7 him þá Anlaf behet swa he hit eac gelæste þ(æt) he næfre eft to Angelcynne mid unfriðe cumon nolde.' The Anlaf here referred to is apparently Olaf Tryggvason. See p. 124, note 3.

[2] For a similar instance of fossilized tradition, of which the significance is forgotten by the poet, cf. the English romance of *Tristram*. E. Kölbing in *Germania*, 1889, p. 190, points out that in the single combat described in ll. 10188 ff. of the English romance, the author appears to forget that the combatants are to fight upon an island, and represents the hero as riding direct to the place of meeting.

[3] Ward's *Catalogue*, p. 480.

[4] Gaston Paris, *Poèmes et Légendes du Moyen Age* (1900), p. 122; W. G. Collingwood, *Scandinavian Britain*, 1908, p. 49.

dinavian invasions of England[1]. The case of *Partonope of Blois* is yet more striking. The scene of the chief episodes is France, and certain passages suggest that the invaders are a Saracen rather than a Viking host, but one of the leaders

> hathe wythe hym dyuerse nacionys
> and grete Numbere of Cheualrye
> off Norway, of Glygland, of Orcanye
> off Erlond, off Fresselond, of Denmarke, (ll. 2660 f.)

while the followers of Surnegoure, who suggests the single combat, are said to be Danes.

Lastly, it is significant that in five out of the eleven stories referred to in Additional Note III, as well as in the stories of Edmund and Canute and of Guy of Warwick, the single combat is said to have been fought on an island, a fact which clearly points to the Scandinavian 'holmgang.'

There is, of course, no doubt that the single combat as a means of settling private quarrels was a recognised procedure in Scandinavian countries in the Viking Period. There is, however, no evidence that this 'judicial duel' was extended even in Scandinavian countries to national and international disputes, and the question arises: Did the duel in this sense exist in actual fact or only in the imagination of the people? But even if the tradition does not correspond with fact, it cannot rest upon air. Is it then a symbol, as critics have suggested in the case of Guy and Colbrand, or does it reflect, perhaps imperfectly some half-forgotten custom[2]?

It is this last possibility which is most consistent with what is known of the course of tradition among semi-primitive peoples, and of folk-psychology as revealed by students of folk-lore and ethnology[3]. Here, perhaps, lies the road to a solution, and it is not impossible that some of those already at work in these fields of research might be able to throw light upon this curious subject.

[1] M. Deutschbein groups under the heading 'Wikingersagen' the romances of *Horn*, *Havelok*, *Tristan*, *Bevis* and *Guy*.

[2] M. Deutschbein, *Wikingersagen*, p. 223, remarks upon the absence of any trace of the judicial single combat in Anglo-Saxon laws and other records. In view of this fact he suggests a post-Conquest origin for the episode of the single combat in the romance of *Guy of Warwick*. 'Die Idee, die Sache zweier Völker durch einen Zweikampf entscheiden zu lassen, ist absolut unags., ist aber in der lat. und franz. Literatur des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts nur allzuhäufig.' But since Colbrand represents the Danish nation, and since the combat was widely prevalent in Scandinavia before the Norman Conquest, the influence of a tenth-century Scandinavian tradition is as conceivable as that of a twelfth or thirteenth-century Anglo-French tradition.

[3] This aspect of the subject has been impressed upon me by Miss B. Phillpotts, to whom I am indebted for much valuable criticism and advice.

ADDITIONAL NOTE I.

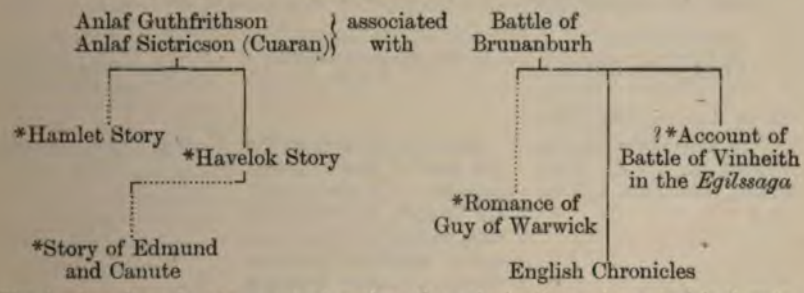
Anlaf-Havelok and the Hamlet Story.

A connection has been suggested[1] between the story of Havelok and that of Hamlet. Although a single combat *motif* could appropriately be associated with Shakespeare's Hamlet, it would be altogether out of keeping with the repugnantly crafty character of his Danish original.

It may, perhaps, be worth noting that Saxo gives an account of a single combat fought upon an island between Horwendil, Hamlet's father, and Koll, King of Norway. The motive suggested, however, seems to be that of personal honour. 'Then Horwendil endeavoured to address the king first, asking him in what way it was his pleasure to fight, and declaring that one best which needed the courage of as few as possible[2].'

ADDITIONAL NOTE II.

Table illustrating the Relation assumed between the Stories dealt with.



The broken line denotes contact rather than derivation. An asterisk denotes the appearance of the single combat *motif* in direct or indirect association with the story concerned.

ADDITIONAL NOTE III.

A complete study of the single combat *motif* would involve a far wider investigation than has been attempted here, and include at least the consideration of the single combats of Greek and Roman tradition, and would no doubt lead the investigator still farther afield. It would also be necessary to consider the allied *motif* of a battle between a small

[1] K. Køster, *Sagnet om Havelok Danske*; W. Skeat, *Havelok*, E. E. T. S., p. xix; I. Gollancz, *Hamlet in Iceland*, pp. xl ff.

[2] O. Elton's translation. 'Tunc Horwendillus prior regem percontari nisus, quo pugne genere decernere libeat, prestantissimum affirmans, quod paucissimorum viribus ederetur.' Sax. Gram., *Gesta Danorum*, ed. A. Holder, 1886, Bk. III, p. 86.

body of representatives substituted for a general engagement, such as occurs in Herodotus, Book I, c. 82, and Livy, I, cc. 24, 25.

The following list, undoubtedly incomplete, consists of instances drawn from early Teutonic tradition and mediaeval romance. Only such instances have been included as represent the single combat as involving, in a greater or less degree, the fate of a community. The motive for the single combat is stated clearly only in a few cases; in some, therefore, the combatants may be moved chiefly by a passion for personal glory, in which case the episode falls outside the scope of this enquiry. But a clear distinction cannot always be drawn.

Instances of the single combat are cited by E. Kölbing, *Zur Tristansage*, in *Germania*, XXXIV, pp. 191 ff., and *Studien zur Bevis Saga*, in Paul und Braune's *Beiträge*, XIX, 1894, pp. 121 f.; E. Adam, *Torrent of Portentayle*, E. E. T. S., Extra Series, LI, p. 107; J. Hall, *King Horn*, p. 143; H. C. Lea, *Superstition and Force*, pp. 95, 99, 118 ff.; de Jubainville, *Littératures celtiques*, by which some of the following instances have been suggested.

Note. An asterisk denotes the presence or suggestion of the 'holmgang' element.

Story and source	*Stakes for which combat is fought*	*Reason for substituting single combat for general engagement*
Early Teutonic Tradition.		
*Offa, king of the Angles. *Widsiδ*, ll. 35 ff. Saxo Gram., *Gest. Dan.* Lib. IV.	Saxo clearly states that the fate of the kingdom depends upon the contest, cf. *Widsiδ*, ll. 38 ff.: 'ac Offa geslog ærest monna cniht wesende cynerica mæst; .....ane sweorde merce gemærde wiδ Myrgingum.'	Not clearly defined.
Hildebrand and Hadubrand in *Hildebrandslied* (edit. and transl. in B. Dickins, *Runic and Heroic Poems*).	The poem is fragmentary and allusive, and leaves the motive for the challenge to single combat unexplained. Other versions of the same theme suggest that the motive is chiefly personal, but this does not necessarily exclude the humanitarian motive: 'Ik gihôrta δat seggen, δat sih urhêttun ænon muotîn, Hiltibrant enti Haδubrant untar heriun tuêm.'	

Story and source	*Stakes for which combat is fought*	*Reason for substituting single combat for general engagement*
Danish Tradition.		
Saxo Gram., *Gest. Dan.*, edit. A. Holder. O. Elton, Trans. of Books I—IX, 1894. Many instances of wager by battle occur. See Elton's Introduction, pp. xxxviii f., but in many cases the motives of the combatants are not clearly defined. The most pertinent case is that of the 'Kurland Wizard' who challenges the Danes to produce a warrior to meet him in single combat (Book III).	The payment of taxes by Kurland to Denmark.	'inquit...publicam stragem privato discrimine precurrere liceat.' *Gest. Dan.* (ed. A. Holder), Bk. III, p. 83.
Arthurian Romance.		
*Flollo and Arthur. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Britonum*, Book IX, c. 11.	'cui victoria provenisset, alterius regnum obtineret.'	'cum Flollo gentem suam fami perire doluisset, mandavit Arturo, ut ipsi soli duellum inirent.'
*Tristram and Morhaut. Various versions. See E. Kölbing, *Die nordische und die englische Version der Tristan-Saga*, 1878, and *Sir Tristrem*, ed. Sir W. Scott, 1804, also included in Kölbing's edition above. The Scandinavian version omits the 'holmgang' element.	Payment of tribute by Cornwall (England) to Ireland.	Not clearly defined. *Sir Tristrem*, ll. 1033 ff., emphasises the patriotism of the hero. 'God help Tristrem, þe kniȝt[1]. He faught for Ingland.'
Romances containing an element of English Tradition.		
**Bevis of Hamtoun*. Combat between Bevis and Ivor. E. E. T. S., Extra Series, XLVI, XLVIII, LXV, ed. E. Kölbing; *Bevers Saga* in *Fornsögur Suðlanda*, utgifna af G. Cederschiöld, pp. 262 ff.	Direct *casus belli* is Ivor's attempt to carry off Josiane, but ll. 3919 ff. of the Chetham MS. of the English romance make it clear that the fate of a kingdom is involved.	Most clearly defined in the Scandinavian version: 'ok þotti mikils vm vert, ath suo morg riki ok velbornir menn skyldu sinu blodi utt hella firir tuo menn.'
King Horn, E. E. T. S., 14, ed. by J. R. Lumby, and J. Hall, 1901.	A trace of the single combat *motif* appears in the challenge of the pay-	

[1] M. Deutschbein, *Wikingersagen Englands*, pp. 121 ff., points out the conformity of the *Tristan* saga to the exile-return type to which *Havelok* belongs. A curious link between the story of Guy and Colbrand and that of Tristram and Morhaut is the fact that in the ballad of *Guy and Colbrand* found in the Percy Folio and in the ballad of *Sir Tristrem*, the hero is represented as pushing off his boat from the island, to the astonishment of his opponent (*Guy and Colbrand*, ll. 224 ff.; *Sir Tristrem*, XCIII).

Story and source	*Stakes for which combat is fought*	*Reason for substituting single combat for general engagement*
French Romance, F. Michel, *Horn et Reimenhild*, Bannatyne Club.	nim giant who invades Ireland, and with whom Horn offers to fight[1]. *King Horn* (E.E.T.S.), ll. 857 ff. The sequel is, however, much obscured.	
Other Romances.		
**Torrent of Portentayle*, E. E. T. S., Extra Series, LI, ed. E. Adam. Combat between Torrent and a giant fighting on behalf of the Prince of Arragon.	The combat is primarily fought for the hand of the lady Desonelle, but ll. 1248 ff. show that the stakes involve a kingdom.	Not clearly defined.
Partonope of Blois, E. E. T. S., Extra Series, CIX, ed. A. Trampe Bödtker. Combat between Partonope and Surnegoure, leader of what is clearly a Viking host (see ll. 2660 ff.).	If Partonope is victor, the heathen are to do homage to the king of France and leave the country. If Surnegoure is victor, the French king shall hold his realm in fealty to Surnegoure.	ll. 3418 ff.: 'For welle y wote hytte myȝthte nott fayle, And eche of vs bryngge to the fylde hys oste, Many a gode man ther schalle be loste.'
King Alisaunder, H. Weber, *Metrical Romances*. Single combat between Alisaunder and Por(u)s of Bandas.	ll. 7299 ff.: 'Gef he wynneth then the maistrye, Of us he have the seignory: Gef thou him myght perforce aquelle, His folk wolen don thy wille.'	ll. 7293 ff.: 'He may to bataile fynde Fourty hundret thousant. He n'ul nought that ye demere, *No that his, no thyn no dere....*'
Scandinavian *Trojumannasaga*[2]. Combat between Menelaus and Paris (Alexander), *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1848, p. 50, c. 20.	Not clearly defined.	'úsannlegt, at swá margr maðr gyldi saka þeirra er vit eigumst við[3].'
English Troy Book.		
Proposed combat between Hector and Achilles, E. E. T. S., 121, ed. by J. E. Wülfing.	ll. 8477 ff. contain the suggestion that the contest shall decide the issue of the war.	l. 8412: 'For we do evel and mychel synne Off mannes blod that we don spille.'

[1] Deutschbein, [illegible], p. 21, suggests the identification of Arild, son of the King of Ireland on whose behalf Horn accepts the challenge, with Aralt, son of Anlaf Cuaran, who fell in battle against Brian Boru in the year 1000.

[2] Although the romances only develop incidents found in Homeric tradition, the clearness of motivation in the romances suggests that the theme is a familiar one in Scandinavian and English traditions.

[3] Cf. Hector's words to Ryger in the Saga [illegible]: 'dugir þat sigi at omaklígir menn [illegible] Fornaldarsögur, Christiania, 1860, I. § 235. In this case the [illegible] to serve for the suggestion of a single combat.

M. ASHDOWN.

A HITHERTO UNCOLLATED VERSION OF SURREY'S TRANSLATION OF THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE 'ÆNEID.'

III.

THE collation of the three extant texts[1] of Surrey's translation of *Æneid IV* (Vol. XV, p. 113 seq.) reveals at a glance an exceedingly complex relationship. It is clear from the number of minor variations that the copyist and compositor stand as very potent modifying influences between the present texts and the work of the author. It is also clear that D. and H. are closely related, while, at the same time, the nature of some of the variations between them forbids us to believe that copyist and compositor are a sufficient explanation of their differences. We know that D. was subjected to a certain amount of editing, that it was printed from three MSS., of which the chief was but one stage removed from Surrey's autograph, and that the autograph itself, by reason of the 'spedy writing' thereof, had provided in many passages no clear authority[2]. We know of H. that it is the work of an early Elizabethan scrivener copying a MS. which was more closely related to D. the first, than to T. the second, printed edition. Of the methods and MS. authority of T. we know nothing.

The variations between these three texts can be divided for study into the following groups. For reasons of space, only one or two examples out of many will be given under the majority of the headings.

I. Printers' and copyists' errors. D. shows considerably more blundering than either T. or H. Not the possession of three MSS. seems to have been able to prevent a good deal of incorrect guessing from the context, e.g.:

T. 261. The floores (H. erth) embrude with yelded blood of beastes.	D. Flowers embrused yelded bloud of bestes.

It misspells frequently even the simpler classical names—teucryne (Teucrian), Tancase (Caucase), nunned (Numid), etc.

[1] Since this article was written a new edition of the *Poems* of Surrey has been issued by Prof. F. M. Padelford, University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature, Vol. I. To the notes in this volume the reader is referred for some similar and some different theories as to the relationship of these texts.

[2] See Owen's Preface quoted in the *Modern Language Review*, Vol. XIV, April, 1919.

H. gives the impression of more careful and accurate work than D. In general, proper names, though the spelling frequently differs from T.'s, are given with fair accuracy:

T. The Libians and Tirans of Nomadane.	D. The Libians and Tirians tirans of Nomadane.	H. The Libian folk and tyrantes Numydanne.

In this case H. has the smoothest (but not probably the oldest) line and the spelling nearest to the Latin. D.'s compositor seems to have hesitated between *Tirians* and *tirans*, and, in order to make sure, to have put both.

The comparatively unimportant misprints in T. (with indications as to how accurately they are preserved in Bolland's reprint) can be found in Dr Imelmann's article (*Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, XLI) alluded to in the Introduction[1] to this study. Its more accurate workmanship can be illustrated by comparing its proper names with D.'s.

II. 'Colourless' variations, i.e. differences in readings which do not greatly, or do not at all, affect sense or metre. Various explanations of these are possible—alternative readings of Surrey's own, copyists' and compositors' variations, guessing and editing by publishers and owners of MSS.

(*a*) Cases where H. corroborates D. even in such minor points.

T. 166. *Out at* the gates. D. H. *Unto* the gates.

(*b*) Cases where D. varies independently of H.

T. H.[2] 236. So many mouthes to speak and *listning* (D. *harkening*) eares.

(*c*) Cases where H. varies independently of D.

T. D. 450. And prophecies of Licia *me aduise*. H. *me bidd*.

Sometimes the changes are more far-reaching than this, yet of such a kind that the meaning is not greatly affected:

T. D. 40. Thy youth alone in plaint still wilt thou spill.	H. Thi youth all sole in plaintes wilt thou nedes spill.
T. D. 262. And threshold spred with garlands of strange hue.	H. & thresholdes spredd with garlandes strange of hew.

Some of these lines in H. would seem to be the result of a longer circulation in MS., which in the sixteenth century was more likely than in medieval times, perhaps, to result in considerable variation without blundering. The MSS. were not always copied out by scribes. Authors themselves transcribed their poems, and their friends and fellow-dabblers in literature made their own copies. If a member of a literary coterie felt,

[1] This Introduction (*M.L.R.*, Vol. XIV) and the subsequent Collation (*M.L.R.*, Vol. XV) will in future be referred to as *Part I* and *Part II* respectively.

[2] The numbers refer always to the lines in T. Owing to the omission of certain lines the numbering in D. and H. will differ slightly from T.'s.

in copying out a poem, that he could improve upon style and metre he doubtless frequently did so. The Hargrave catalogue asserts that its MS. frequently differs 'for the better' from the printed text (i.e. T.). This involves a question of taste, but it is clear that only somewhat tentative and elusive criteria based upon a study of the whole work of Surrey can decide whether the 'betterment' is to be ascribed to author or editor.

It was the opinion of Dr Otto Fest[1] that many of the minor variations in H. were prompted by a desire to remove irregularities in rhythm. Some of these can now be shown to be identical with D.'s readings and to be therefore older than T.'s[2], e.g.:

D. H. 724. *Or skorned me* to ther prowd shippes receaue.	T. 726. *Or me scorned* to their proude shippes receiue.

But there remain some cases where the reading in H. seems to be dictated by the more exact but conventional notions of verse that would be natural to a contemporary of the authors of *Gorboduc* and the *Steele Glas*:

T. 939. *Commaunded I reue* and thy spirit vnloose.	H. *I do bereaue* & *eke*[3] the sprite vnloose.

T.'s line belongs to a type very common in the *Certain Bokes* where the unaccented element prevails numerically over the accented, giving the line when read (however it be scanned) a trisyllabic rhythm, and this (apart from any corroboration in D.) would on the whole make for its authenticity. For it is evident from a study of the whole of the *Certain Bokes*, the bulk of which, after making every allowance for corruption, remains Surrey's work, that he had in his mind a more complex verse-pattern than had, for example, a mid-sixteenth century poet like Gascoigne, and that, influenced rather by Italian than English modulation, his ear was in no way governed by the 'old Iambick stroak.' Since this is so, the mere priority of D. H. in the line *Or scórned mé*, etc. does not conclusively destroy the claim of T.'s more irregular, but more powerful and emphatic, *Or mé scórned* to be Surrey's work. For again, the use of the trochee in the second foot with no preparatory pause is characteristic of the *Certain Bokes* and points rather to the original adapter of *versi sciolti* than to any English editor[4].

[1] 'Ueber Surreys Virgilübersetzung' (*Palaestra*, 1903).

[2] For proof that D. H., i.e. the element common to both, is older than T. see *post*.

[3] This *eke* also in D.

[4] For the use of this trochee in Italian verse (especially Dante's) and a discussion of its applicability in English see Tozer's *Essay* in Moore's *Textual Criticism of the Divina Commedia*, pp. 715, 716.

III. Differences in vocabulary, grammatical forms and usage. The innumerable small variations that might be quoted under this heading provide an illustration of the sort of gauntlet which an author's style, grammar and syntax had to run. These three texts by themselves would seem to show that it was considered immaterial by copyists and compositors which tense was used in verbs or which number in substantives. As to which of these three texts best represents Surrey's usage some slight evidence can be gathered from the most reliable authorities for the lyrical and other poems[1]. Comparison with the Latin is also of service in individual cases as Surrey's standard of accuracy (as revealed in his translated work as a whole) was unusually high and strict. But this method needs to be used with care, for though there are cases, for example, when H.'s preference for the plural of substantives seems to be more accurate (e.g. 239 T. *cotage*, D. *coltage*, H. *cottages*, Lat. *tecta*), often no question of real accuracy is involved since the Latin frequently employs a formal plural naturally rendered by an English singular (e.g. T. 274 *coast*, H. *coostes*, Lat. *litora*, where, however, no other coast than that of Carthage is intended). A thorough examination of the numberless small variations between T. and D. H. shows a consistent tendency on the part of T. to stick close to the Latin, sometimes in the minutest points of detail. A number of slight alterations are made that the Latin clause construction may be more exactly followed. Unobvious changes in form and vocabulary can be found, prompted apparently by no other cause than a determination to represent some point of Latin balance or emphasis, e.g.:

H. 218[1]. Aye me! this was the *fore most* daye of myrthe & of mischief the *first* occasion eke.	T. Ay me! This was the *first* day of their mirth, And of their harmes the *first* occasion eke.

The reason for this change (which also involves a characteristic departure from Gavin Douglas, see *post*) emerges when the Latin is compared:

Virg. 169. Ille dies *primus* laeti, *primus*que malorum.

e three texts preserves a consistent control over the . The inconsequent use of present and past, is largely he jerky and unfinished effect which frequently mars rrey's Virgilian translations. The wavering of the three

f this see Padelford, *Poems of Surrey*, p. 206. Thus it appears haic 3rd person plural suffix *-en* is not in accord with Surrey's rtain that the translation of the Fourth Book is contemporary . It may be earlier work.
iations.

texts renders it uncertain how far Surrey himself was responsible. On the whole T. shows a preference for the historic present, encouraged in many cases (though not all) by the use of that tense in the original.

The ordinary rules of concord are violated in all three texts. The careless workmanship of D. would lead one to expect this, but the otherwise careful H. offends frequently in this respect, especially in the 2nd pers. sing. of verbs (e.g. H. 552 The metist tymes *thow knew*). There is no need to regard Surrey as responsible for this.

There remain some interesting differences in vocabulary. Some archaisms (mostly derived from Gavin Douglas) are removed in T., e.g. T. has (259) *waking*, (759) *all spred*, (782) *peping* for D. H. *waker*, *skalt all*, *creking*. Several Latin or Romance words in D. are replaced by 'Saxon' words in T. Sometimes H. corroborates D. and sometimes not. Thus we have:—D. *tymerous*, T. H. 204 *ferefull*; D. *residence*, T. 456 *risting seat*, H. *rested ende*; D. H. *Destenie(s)*, T. 581 *the werdes*; D. H. *la(y)menting*, T. 890 *shril yelling*[1]. This would seem to be deliberate on someone's part, yet it is not quite consistently done, e.g. 216 T. *descrive*, D. *tell*, H. *behold*.

The extent to which T. stands alone as against D. and H. was apparent in *Part II*. It would only be as a version revised *by the author* that it could maintain its unique readings against the unanimity of the other two texts. This statement will receive abundant illustration from an important group of variants of which only one or two of the most characteristic and significant are selected here.

IV. Instances where the priority and authenticity of D. H. can be proved by reference to Gavin Douglas.

In many cases where D. and H. contain a striking difference from T., a glance at the corresponding passage in Douglas's *Æneid* will show how their reading was arrived at—by Surrey working over the Scots translation. In these passages in T. the likeness to Douglas has been lessened or eliminated. In other words, although the *Certain Bokes* show a close dependence on Douglas, D. and H. show a dependence closer still which results at times in following the Scotsman's errors. There can be no doubt that theirs are the older readings and the work of Surrey. No outsider would be likely to use Douglas to alter a passage from the form (usually in these cases superior) in which it occurs in T., to that in which it is found in D. H., nor would any 'editor,' however blundering, be likely to revert by accident to a mistranslation identical

[1] T. has once before shown a preference for this word: l. 216. *yelled* for D. H. *wayled*.

with one of Douglas's lapses. It may be taken as certain that T.'s are later *revised* readings, showing not only less dependence on the earlier translation, but also, in general, a more scholarly aim and finer poetic tact. Examples are :

(*a*) Virg. 80. *lumenque obscura vicissim luna premit.*

D. H[1]. & the dimme moone repressed the daielight.

This line misunderstands and mistranslates the Latin, in which the reference is to the moon withholding her own light. It is not Surrey's habit to mistranslate like this. Douglas has led him astray, though there has been no verbal borrowing :

Efter all was voydit and the lycht of day
Ay mair and mair the mone quenchit away.

For the no-meaning based on this error, the reviser in T. substitutes both sense and poetry :

101. And the dimme moone doth eft withhold the light.

(*b*) Virg. 337. *pro re pauca loquar.*

D. H. 434. It is not greate the thing that I requyer.

Douglas has here merely supplied the verb *requyer.*

As the mater requiris a litill heris.

The reviser in T. rejects the line altogether, and substitutes an almost word for word translation :

For present purpose (pro re) somewhat (pauca) shall I say (loquar).

(*c*) A slightly different case.

Virg. 530. *non aequo foedere amantes.*

D. H. 696. Of lovers (trwe) unequall in behest.

This is directly derived from Douglas's *luifaris inequhale of behest,* meaning 'lovers not promising, not vowing, equal things,' i.e. lovers who do not recognise as equally binding the compact between them because the heart of one is less engaged than that of the other. Into his phrase *non aequo foedere* Virgil characteristically packs the whole situation between Æneas and Dido. The reviser in T. once more abandons Douglas altogether and translates, this time less literally, though not less accurately :

700. Of louers harts not moued with loue alike.

This brief list of examples could be considerably extended. In the opinion of the writer there can be no other explanation but revision.

[1] Quotations will in most cases be made from H., the accessible text.

The changes are deliberate and well thought out, and represent work of a different order from the 'editing' of Owen which resulted in D.

The evidence afforded by the class of variants just illustrated may be said to be clear and conclusive as far as it goes. The same cannot, unfortunately, be claimed for the next group—perhaps the thorniest of all.

V. Additions and omissions. Another feature of the uniqueness of T. is that it is the only complete text of the three. In both D. and H. several lines are left untranslated, but these texts only partially corroborate each other. Each instance, in fact, constitutes a peculiar problem, textual, stylistic, and sometimes metrical. The solution of these problems, the hypothesis which would explain them all, would probably give us the solution of the whole matter.

It will be simplest to put first cases where D. and H. corroborate each other. H. merely omits, while D. prints the untranslated Latin in the middle of the English text. These cases are:

(*a*) Virg. 121. *Dum trepidant alae saltusque indagine cingunt.*

D. *Dum trepidant ale.* And whyles the raunger doth set the groues about.	H. *lacking.* And while the range doth sett the groues about.	T. 152. And whiles the winges of youth do swarm about. And whiles they raunge to ouerset the groues.

The meaning of the omitted clause is somewhat doubtful and is taken by editors of Virgil in at least two ways. Douglas's translation is vague and wordy and has supplied Surrey only with some form of the word *range*. The opinion of the writer (after long oscillation of theory) is that this passage is one of those which go to show revision, or rather, editing, of a *second, lower* order in T. T.'s unique line is an attempt to fill up *what was regarded as a gap*, to which by 1557 the printing of the Latin in D. had, of course, drawn attention. In some cases D.'s Latin marks genuine omissions which were, perhaps, not filled in in any authentic MS. But in this instance there was no real omission, merely a very condensed translation in a line which soon became corrupt. The first part of T.'s second line stands nearest to the first part of this original line and contains the translation of *Dum trepidant alae*. Surrey, aware, doubtless, of the uncertain force of *alae*, made no attempt to be exact, and, choosing its metaphorical meaning (=scouts, outlying portions of an army) contented himself with *they range* for the whole expression. He then probably (and characteristically) proceeded with a co-ordinate clause as in the Latin, the wording of which is best represented by the latter part of D. H's only line. Surrey's whole original line ran therefore thus:

And while they range (*dum trepidant alae*) and set the groues about (*saltusque indagine cingunt*).

The writing of *the* for *they* by a copyist reduces the first part of the line to nonsense[1] which the change to *doth sett* in H. does little to remove. D. at the expense of the metre gets a new sense into the line by reading *raunger* (= keeper, beater). T.'s 'editor'[2] under the impression that *dum trepidant alae* was untranslated adds a rendering of his own and makes the change to *to ouerset* in order to complete the meaning of *they range* as if this formed part of the translation of *cingunt*, etc. If this train of reasoning be correct, then this passage not only affords an interesting example of how the original text has sometimes to be arrived at by combining the extant versions, but also introduces a new, important and disturbing factor into the authenticity of T. For if this be admitted then the first line (*And...swarm about*) is spurious and the second (*And... groues*) is partly corrupt, and certain other passages, especially any which seem to be uncharacteristic of the author, will at once be placed in jeopardy.

(*b*) Virg. 190. [*Fama canebat*] *venisse Aenean, etc.*

D.	H.	T. 247.
Æneas comen sprong of Troyan bloode	Æneas that of Troiane bludd is sprong	(1) Æneas, one outsprong of Troyan blood
To whom fair Dido wold herself be wed	*like* D.	(2) *like* D. H.
In Natures lust the winter for to passe	*like* D.	(3) And that the while the winter long they passe
Regnorum immemores, turpique cupidine captos.	*lacking.*	(4) In foule delight forgetting charge of reigne, (5) Led against honour with vnhonest lust.

Here Owen was undoubtedly right in finding an omission, which, however, no ambiguity or difficulty in the Latin explains. The agreement of D. and H. practically proves the authenticity of their reading at least for MSS. of their type or stage. The gap was in Surrey's autograph. It would at first sight appear obvious that the same 'editor' whose work has been traced under (*a*) above, should be credited with the remodelling of the third line here (*And that...passe*) and with the two unique lines supplying the omission. There is nothing impossible in this, and it is certainly the easiest way out of the difficulty. Yet a close scrutiny of the lines in T. reveals the following three points which seem to show that this example should not be too readily accepted as parallel to (*a*).

[1] The presence of one or two common errors in D. and H. points to the existence of a linking MS. between them—one of the three from which D. was printed.

[2] It will be convenient for the present to assume a distinction between *reviser* and *editor*.

(i) If T.'s line (3) be compared with D. H.'s and both with the Latin (Virg. 193 *nunc hiemem...fovere*), the change from D. H.'s infinitive of purpose (*for to passe*) to T.'s co-ordinate clause (*And they...passe*) results in a more accurate rendering of the Latin second infinitive in an oblique narration. This is the kind of minute correction which is typical of the 'reviser's' work. (ii) line (5) *Led against honour with vnhonest lust*, though containing a slight expansion, has, perhaps, a certain Surrey-ring. (iii) line (4) *In foule delight forgetting charge of reigne* contains an echo of Douglas's *In fowll delyte ibund by Cupid King* which, if it points to anyone, points to the author. It is by no means clear, therefore, though it is possible, that one explanation covers (*a*) and (*b*).

One example (*c*) may be given now where D. and H. apparently concur in the omission of a line (in T.), but where D. prints no Latin.

(*c*) Virg. 628–9. *litora litoribus contraria...arma armis; pugnent ipsique nepotesque.*

T. 840–3. Our costes to them contrary be for aye,

. . . . . .

Armes unto armes; and offspring of eche race
With mortall warr eche other may fordoe!

D. and H. have nothing to correspond to the last line of this. Each ends the speech and the paragraph at *ofspringe of ech race* (H.). The only part of the Latin actually omitted, however, being the predicate *pugnent*, Owen clearly did not consider this an occasion for printing the Latin. That the line he prints and leaves slightly wrests Virgil's construction was to him immaterial. It brings *ofspringe* into the same construction as *armes unto armes* all elliptically depending on the last predicate (*contrary be*). The addition in T. marks the recognition of Virgil's new predicate. It would thus point to the 'reviser[1].'

There is another very similar case (*d*) where D. and H. apparently concur in telescoping T.'s reading by the omission of two half-lines.

(*d*) Virg. 227 seq. *non illum...sed fore...*

D. H. 289.	T. 290.
His faire mother behight him not to us	*like* D. H.
Such one to be, ne therfor twise him savde	*like* D. H.
From Greekishe armes, but Italie to rule	From Grekish arms, *but such a one*
Dreddful in armes & chargde with seigniorie.	*As mete might seme* great Italie to rule
	Dréedfull in arms, chárgèd with seignorie.

[1] It is of course a somewhat over-full translation for one Latin verb, but what will seem to many readers its particularly clumsy feature—the use of *may*, with no inversion to translate the jussive or optative subjunctive—can be paralleled from authentic lines of the same speech.

The correct explanation is, of course, that in T. we have an expansion, the object of which is to represent more fully the force of the Latin *non illum...talem* balanced by *sed fore qui* with the generic subjunctive. T.'s reading is also a stylistic improvement upon the strained ellipsis in D. H. Metrically, the slight change in its last line, by which the initial trochee is balanced by a second after the caesura, is an improvement upon the smoother reading of H. Everything here points to the assumed 'reviser.'

(*e*) Of very similar significance is T.'s translation of Virg. 261 seq.—the passage describing Æneas' appearance when greeted by Mercury.

D. H. Gyrt with a sworde of iasper, starrie bright;	T. 336. (1) *like* D. H.
Of Tyrian purple hynge his showldres downe	(2) A shining parel, flameed with stately eie
His shininge pawle of mightie Didos gifte,	(3) Of Tirian purple hong his shoulders downe,
Striped throwgh out with a thinn threde of golde.	(4) The gift and work of wealthy Didoes hand.
	(5) *like* D. H.

These three points emerge from a comparison: (i) T.'s expansion and re-arrangement in l. (2) remove the strained inversion in D. H. l. (2). (ii) T.'s *gift and work* brings in both *munera* and *fecerat* in the Latin, and marks a typical departure from Gavin Douglas who supplied the earlier reading (*Of mychty Didois gift wrocht al his wedis*). (iii) T.'s *wealthy* is obviously a more suitable adjective than *mightie* to translate *dives*. All this is consistent with the methods of the 'reviser.'

There remain two cases of real or apparent omission which differ from each other and from those already given.

In all the cases quoted so far D. and H. clearly stand together as against T. On one occasion (*f*) however, D. quotes the Latin, as if there was a gap, where both T. *and H.* are complete. This is a passage very unsatisfactory in style and metre translating Virg. 300–303. In the first place Surrey has allowed Douglas to lead him into an 'indecorum,' an unfortunate expression of a type rare with him but destined to become common later on. Dido *whisketh through the towne like Bachus nunne* T. 389. That Surrey wrote this there can be no doubt. All three texts agree and the expression is merely Douglas' verbiage condensed. After this D. prints three lines of Virgil (301–303) for which the following translation, identical except for minor variations, is supplied in T. and H.

T. 390. As Thias stirres the sacred rites begon,
And when the wonted third yeres sacrifice
Doth prick her fourth, hering Bachus name hallowed,
And that the festful night of Citheron
Doth call her fourth with noyes of dauncing.

The sense of this is near enough to the Latin, but both wording and metre are ugly. The names and allusions would supply an easy explanation of why the passage should have been omitted in the first place. Surrey consistently omits or simplifies such as were not readily understandable by the ordinary educated reader of his day. What is difficult of explanation is how this translation should occur in both T. and H. when it was clearly not present in any of the MSS. which Owen had before him. If, in the previous part of this section, as example was added to example, any tendency seemed to be shaping itself, any theory forming as to the relation of T. to D. H. and to Surrey himself, this passage must take the theorizer back to his initial uncertainty.

It is not, of course, the only instance in which H. resembles T. more closely than it does D. There are a few others which may well be worked into the argument here, although they are not concerned with omissions:

(i) H. and T. regularly use *Cinders* (= *cineres*) for the remains of the dead. D. uses *Dust*.

(ii) T. and H. agree in their translation of Virg. 21 *sparsos fraterna caede* as *with brothers slaughter staind*. D. renders *with brothers fewde defiled*.

(iii) H. is closer to T.'s reading in l. 174.

T. Awayted with great train. H. awayted with a train. D. backed with a grete rout.

(iv) T. H. 177. Knotted in golde.	D. Wounde up in golde (Douglas, envolupit...and wound).
[1](v) T. H. 548. The streming sailes abiding but for winde (H. abyden).	D. The strayned sayle abideth but for winde.

It is clear that these are due to more than one cause. Some have the appearance of being corrections common to T. and H. and would therefore be parallel to the *Bachus nunne* passage. The last has at first sight the appearance of a correction (it is not the *strayned*, but the *streming*, or flapping, sail which waits for the wind) but *strayned* has probably arisen by a copyist's differentiation from *streming* followed by an editorial guess. *Dust* for the un-English *cinders* was perhaps a substitution of Owen's. Even those which appear to be corrections are more easily susceptible of other explanations than the disputed passage. For one thing they are all slight points, involving at most no more than three words at a time. It must be remembered that D. was printed from three MSS. When the reading of the copy of Surrey's autograph was illegible by reason of its 'spedy writing,' Owen had recourse to the other two, which he considered inferior as having passed through more hands with the usual consequences. They would contain many minor deviations, some of which, through the illegibility of the main.

[1] To these may be added some of the examples quoted (*ante*) under Vocabulary.

MS. (which may be styled D.′) passed into D.'s text. We may take (ii) as an example. Surrey may never have written anything but *slaughter staind.* These words, however, being unreadable or corrupted in D.′ Owen took an inferior reading from another MS.—inferior, because *fewde* has a special limited sense in English which Virgil's *caede* does not connote. These examples of common readings in T. and H. do not, therefore, shed much light upon the more important passage in question. The further discussion of this will be reserved until the summing up of all the evidence provided by this section. The final example (*g*) to be quoted here is, unlike the preceding, clear and conclusive.

(*g*) Virg. 484. [*sacerdos...*] *Hesperidum templi custos, epulasque draconi quae dabat.*

D.[1]H. [A nunne] Of thesperian sisters temple (old)
The garden that gives the dragon foode.

T. 641. [A nunne] That of thesperian sisters temple old
And of their goodly garden keper was
That gives unto the dragon eke his foode.

At first glance, so natural seems the allusion to the garden of the Hesperides, it might appear as if D. and H. concurred in a clumsy abridgment of T., but the Latin contains no reference to *garden*, and Surrey (if we may trust the *Certain Bokes*) set his face rigidly against unwarrantable expansion. That Douglas should mention here the *gardingis hecht Hesperida* makes no difference. Surrey rejects all his amplifications. The word (*wardane*) used by Douglas to translate *custos*, however, gives us the clue. There can be no doubt that Surrey wrote its doublet *gard(i)en*[2] in apposition with *nunne*, exactly as *custos* is in apposition with *sacerdos*. Except for the metrical expletive *old* (present only in H.) the Latin is thus closely translated. The ambiguous spelling *garden* misled T.'s 'editor,' to whom as to everyone else the 'garden of the Hesperides' was a more familiar idea than that in the text; the passage appeared to him corrupt and he accordingly 'emended' it. The line in T. *And...keper was* is certainly, as the earlier *And whiles...swarm about* (*a*) is probably, spurious.

A brief summary may now be given of the evidence so far collected. There are four points the certainty of which appears to be established. (1) T.'s text like D.′ and H. has been subjected to a certain amount of 'editing,' i.e. as the term is used here, to an occasional rather uninspired 'cooking,' the result of which is sometimes a misrepresentation of the

[1] This passage is quoted from D. as illustrating more clearly the explanation to be given.

[2] This explanation was partly anticipated by Imelmann, *op. cit.*

original Latin and the original English version. Examples (*a*) and (*g*) show this[1]. (2) T.'s text has also been subjected to a closer and more careful overhauling to which the name of 'revision' has been given. This was carried out by one who was a good Latin scholar, sensitive to the fine shades of Virgil's construction and style, and himself a poet, thoroughly in tune with Surrey's manner and sympathetic towards his masculine and mature conception of blank verse rhythm. Several examples, varying from correction of obvious errors to minute moves in the direction of greater accuracy, have been quoted to illustrate the 'reviser's' work. (3) From all the examples it is clear that T. represents a later version than D. H., though the actually latest text (H.) will naturally contain some innovations that are later even than T. (4) Further proof of the authenticity of D. H. can in many cases be supplied by a comparison with Gavin Douglas.

It has been assumed that H. represents a version which had developed independently of the printed editions which came into circulation some years before it was written down. This view is in accordance with the ascertainable relationship between MS. and printed book in the sixteenth century (see *Part I*). But the fact remains that the owner of H., or a predecessor, could, if he wished, refer to both D. and T. If it could be shown that he had done so to any considerable extent, then H. would be a text of far less independent authority than has been assumed for it in this study. The only passage, however, which points disturbingly in this direction is (*f*) *As Thias stirres*, etc. The fact that these lines correspond to Latin lines in D. (testifying to a gap in all Owen's MSS.) reinforced by the poorness of their style and metre, would seem to point to T.'s 'editor,' who was, as has been seen, a blundering person. If T.'s 'editor' is responsible for them then they passed from T. to H.[2],

[1] The hand of this same 'editor' is probably to be traced in at least one other passage:

Virg. 177. [*Fama*].....*ingrediturque solo.*
D. H. Per(e)cing the erthe. T. Stayeth on earth.

D. H. makes no sense at all. T. makes fair sense, but not Virgil's sense. Yet *ingreditur* is a common, obvious verb. The writer suggests tentatively that Surrey wrote '*Pacing* the erthe.' The *verb* 'pace' is first recorded from Douglas's *Æneid* (*N.E.D.*). It does not occur in this context, but Surrey's familiarity with Douglas's vocabulary may have prompted him to have used the verb here as an exact translation of 'in*gred*itur.' As a neologism it may have easily been corrupted into 'perce,' a common verb in Surrey. Even if correctly, though possibly not clearly, written in T.', T.'s 'editor' may have been puzzled by it and have 'emended' as in the text.

[2] Space and the demands of clarity alike render it impossible to include in the text all the stages and complexities of textual change, for which, however, allowance should continually be made. Thus it is not to be understood that this passage necessarily went direct from the printed T. to H. as we have it. There may have been intermediate MS. stages. Indeed, this is rendered highly probable by the slight variations in H., which would seem to show that the scribe was not copying T.

together with, it may be, one or two other T. H. readings. But the debt of H. to T., even if this view be accepted, amounts to very little. Its independence as an authority can scarcely be considered infringed. The question, however, may fairly be asked: Why, if the person responsible for H. had this gap filled in from T., did he not also fill in the previous gaps? The most obvious explanation is that in this case the greater length of the omission led, in the first place, to its being noticed, and, in the second, to the feeling that it ought to be filled in. The others were passed over.

Though, on the whole, probability points to T.'s 'editor' as responsible for these lines, this should not be too hastily assumed. There is no reason why all the editing should belong to one stage. The greater prominence of this omission may have prompted some earlier owner of a Surrey MS. to fill it in, and his attempt may have passed into several MSS. Nor can the ugliness of the style and harshness of the metre be held conclusive proof of another hand than Surrey's. These three lines follow immediately upon that in which Dido *'whisketh through the towne like Bachus nunne*, the authenticity of which is proved up to the hilt. If Surrey, himself, carried the poem through more than one stage, he may have felt that the length and obviousness of this gap were unsatisfactory and have filled it in more hastily than successfully, leaving the lines to be polished at some future time. It is the longest omission, and was therefore filled in before the other minor gaps. If there was more than one *authentic* version of the poem, then H. in possessing this and a few other readings, shows a stage intermediate between D.′ and T.′

This brings the argument to the point where it is necessary to consider the possibility of author's revision, particularly with reference to T.

The nature of the 'revision' which the poem has undergone as a translation has already been illustrated. This revision stands in such marked antithesis to the 'editing' of which indubitable examples have also been cited, that it must appear more than doubtful if we can ascribe both to the same hand. The editing is easily accounted for. Some omission, ambiguity or difficulty lies at the back of each example. Surrey's text was 'emended' as Shakespeare's has been in later days. The 'revision' is a different matter—how different can only be appreciated when the general level of poetry, scholarship and culture in the period 1540–1557 is kept in mind. For the numerical majority of the alterations are made in lines and passages which, to the average editor, or even poet, of the mid-sixteenth century, would appear adequate in sense and style. Nor do the alterations betray only a scholarly working over

of the translation. To the examples of the reviser's method already quoted under different headings may be added others dictated by a poet's reasons. In most by a slight change a line or phrase is lifted from mediocrity and clumsiness to something, perhaps a little clumsy and halting still, but not mediocre. In every case it is a poet's touch.

For D.'s clumsy 'Dido loves and burnes, the rage her boones doth perse,' T. substitutes 'Dido doth burne with loue; rage *fretes* her bones'; for D.'s weak 'a maryed man' (*uxorius*) the more forceful and original 'a *wife-bound* man.' T. removes the prosaic and metrically barely adequate *hyer* and writes (808) 'Amid the rocks thy *guerdon* shalt thou find.' Sometimes there is scarcely a shade of difference of meaning to account for the change—merely a question of the value of syllables. For this reason only, apparently, the earlier line 'If Cartage turrettes thee, *of Phenis land*' is changed into the far more sonorous 'If Cartage turrettes thee, *Phenician borne*.' Of a similar nature, combined with a definite improvement in metre, is the substitution of *ungraued* for *unburyed* which results in the fine alexandrine (832) 'But fall before his time *ungraued* amid the sandes.' Sometimes the removal of repeating words or syllables is the object aimed at:

T. 609. And oft the owl with rufull song complained,
From the housetoppe drawing long *doleful* tunes.

D. and H. use *playning*, excellent for the sense, but in sound repeating the stem of the verb which closed the preceding line. Sometimes T. gets rid of a tautology and says more in the same space:

D. H. Whereas the Sonne descendeth and declynes.

T. 636. Where as the *wandring* sun discendeth hence[1].

The reviser must have been a poet, like Surrey, of a naturally classical bent, not, of course, a scholar as Erasmus was a scholar, but of the right scholarly habit of mind, and with a certain gift of succinct and sinewy style, capable of occasional grave music and occasional austere grace.

These mental and stylistic considerations would by themselves make it natural to equate author and reviser. In this way T. would be able to maintain its unique readings except in a few instances, and the value of the whole of the *Certain Bokes* as evidence of Surrey's standards and methods would be enhanced. For if some of the finer touches in Book IV were shown to be from another hand, doubt would naturally be thrown on lines of the same quality in Book II for which Tottel is our only

[1] The reviser, more especially if he were Surrey, would probably consider that both *wandring* and *discendeth* were contained in the Lat. *cadentem* (Virg. I. 480). This is the term frequently employed by Virgil to describe the passage of the stars across and down the sky, without any explicit reference to their setting.

authority. There are, however, some textual difficulties which oppose themselves to any such simple equation. Nevertheless, the nature and quality of the alterations are such as to render it desirable to examine carefully what evidence may be brought forward in favour of author's revision.

(i) There is nothing inherently improbable in the idea of such revision on the part of Surrey, experimenter and innovator as he was. What interested him mainly in the beginning was the new Italian form; for the translation he was content to use Douglas as something more than guide. It is not difficult to imagine that he kept a copy of the poem by him and tinkered with it occasionally, with the natural result that as his taste matured, and his standard of scholarship and expression grew higher, the poem moves away from Douglas and nearer to the Latin. This supposition may be strengthened by reference to the MS. habits of the period. Surrey was, we need not doubt, frequently called upon to make copies for his friends. Owen's words in his preface do not imply that he thought of the autograph MS. from which D.′ was copied as the only one—rather the reverse[1]. When Surrey wrote out a copy of his poem, he would, as author, feel free to make any alterations he thought fit—to embody in it any improvements which had recently occurred to him. In this way different authentic versions would grow up, of which H.′ would represent a stage a little later than D.′ and considerably earlier than T.′

(ii) There is nothing in the nature or style of the alterations which conflicts with the impression of Surrey derived from D. H. and from the lyrical and miscellaneous work. The literary personality displayed in these is definite and clear-cut. The revisions in T. reveal no discrepancy[2]. Surrey's Virgilian translations cannot be claimed as great poetry, but they are the work of a true poet whose marks are an austere distinction, a rigid economy, a certain uncompromising and sinewy stiffness occasionally softening into grace. There is a sort of Miltonism in Surrey's work —of the *Samson Agonistes* rather than of the *Comus* order—and this is frequently increased in the characteristic alterations, e.g. *If Cartage turrettes thee, Phenician borne*[3].

[1] '...my copye, although it were taken of one written with the authors own hande ...it shall be an occasion (to others) yf they have a better copye to publyshe the same.'

[2] The occasions when the 'reviser' expands might appear to be exceptions to this statement. But they are expansions of D. H., not of Virgil's Latin. The 'Saxonising' tendency noticeable in T. (see *ante* under Vocabulary) might also appear to belong to a later period and a different order. Some examples may well be the work of the 'editor.' In some cases, however, the evidence of H. goes to support T.'s reading.

[3] As an example of this 'Miltonism' from the lyrical work may be quoted the first two lines of the sonnet;

> The greate Macedon that out of Persy chased
> Darius, of whose huge powre all Asia range.

(iii) There were not many poets of the necessary calibre between 1547 and 1557 whom we can equate with the 'reviser.' It is too early for Sackville were there any likelihood that he would undertake such a task. It would be natural to look for the 'reviser' in the *Miscellany* circle, and the name of Nicholas Grimald suggests itself, since a vague tradition assigns him the position of editor of *Tottel's Miscellany*. Apart from the fact that Tottel printed his translation of Cicero's *De Officiis* in the preceding year, this tradition rests (somewhat oddly) on the suppression of a large number of Grimald's poems, and on the reduction of his name to the initials *N. G.*, in the second edition. It is a more natural explanation to suppose that it was felt that, in the first edition, too much space and prominence had been given to one who was not a member of the order of courtly makers who contributed the bulk of the poems. That Grimald ever acted as supervisor for Tottel is, therefore, more than doubtful. A certain connexion between Grimald and the work of Surrey is, however, established by the former's interest in the new epic metre, an interest to which two pieces in the *Miscellany* bear witness: *The Death of Zoroas* and *Marcus Tullius Ciceroes Death*. These are brief experiments in the heroic manner and the new heroic metre, published in the same year as the *Certain Bokes*. Some comparison with these is thus necessary before the question of Grimald's possible connexion with this publication can be finally answered.

Grimald shares one stylistic trait with Surrey—a love of succinctness. But a straining after an un-English condensation is also to be traced in the work of Wyatt, and, indeed, in most of the *Miscellany* poets, and stands in strong contrast with the more homely English manner of the *Mirror for Magistrates* and other succeeding work. In Grimald's blank verse pieces the determination to be terse reaches a climax of harsh, crabbed, elliptical expression. It has been shown that the 'reviser' is less averse from necessary expansion than the author of D. H. The blank verse of these pieces is, on the whole, of the Surrey order, as might be expected. That is, it shows some realization of the far-reaching difference between blank verse and rhymed verse, which was forgotten by Gascoigne and his immediate successors. But as Grimald handles it, it is strained and jerky in the extreme and leans to a more regular, though sharp and restless, movement. But it is the diction of these *Miscellany* pieces which seems to show conclusively that Grimald had nothing to do with the *Certain Bokes*. It is of a quite unmistakable brand, forced and even eccentric, marked by a lavish use of compounds, in themselves frequently unusual (*dartthirling*, etc.), and of somewhat ugly, blustering words.

The vocabulary of the *Certain Bokes*, more than the syntax, represents undeniably the purest and most natural English of the day.

We are thus thrown back upon some unknown poet, with a more exacting standard than Surrey himself, lavishing a minute attention to detail upon another man's work. But the motives and the results of such an action are not easy to account for. The revision is palpably something more radical than the touching-up which a friend of the dead poet's might give to the poem to make it presentable for the press. It must spring from a generally higher standard and a desire to make the poem conform to it. This deliberation would seem to involve as its consequence consistency and thoroughness. Yet the effect of the *Certain Bokes* as a whole is still uneven and unfinished. There remain passages which cry out for stylistic revision. In other words, the revision, though not casual, is somewhat unsystematic. The total effect is consistent with a prolonged but spasmodic process of correction interrupted by death. It is consistent with the circumstances in which Surrey must have composed and corrected (if he ever did so) his poems.

(iv) A little shadowy evidence of a more external character can be brought to bear upon this question. T.'s Book IV cannot be considered altogether apart from Book II. It has been hinted already (*Part I*) that Book II possibly did not circulate in MS. The evidence for this is the absence of all allusion to it. So far as the writer knows, no one of the few sixteenth century poets and critics who refer to Surrey's blank verse experiment, speaks of it as embracing two books. The definite references use the singular in speaking of the work and the vaguer are all compatible with knowledge of it in single-book form, i.e. D. or more probably one of the D. H. family of MSS.[1] From this it would be reasonable to argue that Surrey translated IV first. Italian precedent would also support this view[2]. Book II represents slightly later, more ambitious, work, which, if it passed into circulation at all, did so tardily and to a limited extent. The appearance of the T. version of IV together with II lends a certain strength to the supposition that it also represents later, maturer work. To complete this slender chain of probabilities, we may further suppose that the *Certain Bokes* is an answer to Owen's challenge at the end of his preface to anyone who might 'have a better copye to publyshe the same.' Some friend of Surrey's, acting as informal literary executor, having in his possession, or knowing there to be, a later, improved version

[1] Cf. Ascham, *Scholemaster*, Cambridge English Classics, p. 291, 'The noble lord... first of all Englishmen in translating the *Fourth Book* of Virgil.' See also Barnabe Googe, *Epitaphe on Master Phaer*; Webbe, *Discourse of English poetrie*, p. 71.

[2] For the opposite point of view see Padelford, *op. cit.*, Notes to Book IV.

of IV as well as an unpublished II, got both books published together by the printer of the *Miscellany*.

These latter suppositions are in themselves too shadowy to be much insisted upon, but the addition of them to the points which precede them establishes a certain preponderance of probability in favour of author's revision in T. But the strength of a chain is the strength of its weakest link, and it may be confessed that one or two pieces of textual evidence are the weak links in any chain by which the authenticity of T. may be supported. The reference is particularly to those cases of 'editing' in T. corresponding to blunders and corruptions in D. H. All those which have been noted have been discussed in the course of this article. Each by itself is susceptible of an explanation not finally damaging to the authenticity of T. *minus* the 'editing,' but the occurrence of three or four such examples must throw a certain doubt upon any other theory than that there was one authentic Surrey type which early developed certain corruptions and contained gaps which the author never filled in. The divergencies between the three texts would thus remain a glaring commentary on the 'textual morality' of publishers, editors and virtuosi in the mid-sixteenth century. Even so, the literary interest of the 'reviser's' work would not be lost, but the text would have to consist of the common readings of D. and H. and, where these differ, of the result of a careful weighing of D.'s earlier date and closeness to Surrey's autograph against the generally greater intelligence and accuracy of H.

The whole problem of the relationship between these three texts has necessarily been imperfectly dealt with in this short space. Illustration has been cut down to a minimum. The discussion of individual examples is far from complete. There remain many knotty points for those to whom textual emendation is a fascinating pursuit. An analysis like this opens a window upon the processes and conditions antecedent to the appearance of a sixteenth century poem in print. It shows (with disturbing thoroughness if the possibility of author's revision be ruled out) how rapidly an author may be removed several stages from his work. Above all, it shows how easy it is to go astray in literary judgments if these textual conditions are not kept continually in mind. Much of what has, until recently, been said about Surrey's style, and still more, about his metre, needs revision in the light of what a study of the text has to teach us.

GLADYS D. WILLCOCK.

ENGLEFIELD GREEN.

PIERRE DE RONSARD'S 'HYMNE DE LA MORT' AND PLUTARCH'S 'CONSOLATIO AD APOLLONIUM.'

THE *Hymne of Death* of Pierre de Ronsard, contained in the 1555 edition of the *Hymnes*, is one of the finest works and perhaps the most humane of the great French poet. It can be considered as representative of the spirit which animated the Pléiade school, in that it blends pagan and Christian elements in a creation of artistic perfection. The question arises: Is this poem the embodiment of Ronsard's humanistic training, a spontaneous fruit of his genius, fertilized by the ideals of classical antiquity, or did he have a definite literary model, which he followed, faithful to the doctrine of imitation propounded by him and his school? As far as I am aware, the question has neither been put nor treated in any of the works dealing with that period of French literary history. And yet there can be little doubt that Ronsard, when writing the *Hymne*, was under the influence of Plutarch's *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, which he appears to have imitated consciously, though by no means slavishly.

It is true, Ronsard himself says, toward the beginning of his poem[1],

> Et suiuant mon esprit, à nul des vieux antiques,
> Larron, ie ne déuray mes chansons poëtiques:
> Car il me plaist pour toy, de faire ici ramer
> Mes propres auirons dessus ma propre mer...

shall see in the following pages to what extent this assertion is ırmed by the facts.

Ronsard addresses the *Hymne* to his friend Louis Des Masures, and ₃ by complaining of the impossibility of inventing any new argu- ₃ have not already been used by the ancients. He will turn still hidden and sing a new song, not borrowed from the mn of Death. Death is a great goddess who relieves man ries of this life and unites him with God. Therefore we r mother, and rejoice that it delivers us from the human hly body. Just as a prisoner who sees himself released ity delights in his new freedom, so should man look ır of death. The same conception of Death as a great

ard, p. p. Ch. Marty-Laveaux, Paris, Lemerre, 1891, IV, p. 365.

liberator forms the subject-matter of the thirteenth chapter of Plutarch's *Consolatio*[1].

Ronsard goes on to say that not only men are slaves of hardship, but also sun, moon and the stars of heaven accomplishing their revolutions, the sea rising and falling twice a day, the earth bringing forth her fruit with pain and labour. Therefore the man who is afraid of death is very foolish in truth. The latter thought is found in the same chapter of Plutarch's treatise, in a quotation from Socrates.

Indeed, the poet says, we should make fun of the prize-fighter who, once in the arena and facing his enemy, should falter before having struck a blow. And what should we think of the merchant who has to go on a perilous voyage, but does not set out, preferring to stay on shore? While the metaphor of the prize-fighter is not found in the Greek text, that of the traveller does occur in the twenty-third chapter of the *Consolatio*.

Ronsard then contrasts the long and painful road of life with the short and easy road of death. Man should also remember that the greatest were not exempt from death: Achilles and Ajax, Alexander and Caesar, all had to depart from this life. The idea of the common fate for mankind is brought out in chapters IX and XV of the Greek work. In chapter IX Plutarch relates the anecdote of the poet Antimachus who, after the death of his wife Lyde, wrote an elegy on the misfortunes of others, for his own consolation. In chapter XV, the Greek author mentions Hercules, Croesus and Xerxes among the great of this world who could not escape death.

Many, Ronsard continues, are so much afraid of Death, whom they consider a black monster, as to forget that they are children of our Heavenly Father. They think with horror of the worms which will devour our 'mortal coil,' forgetting that after death the body will feel no more pain, will react to neither good nor evil, just as it had felt nothing before it was conceived in its mother's womb. The same idea is expressed in the fifteenth chapter of the *Consolatio*. The French poet exemplifies his statement by mentioning Telephus, Achilles, Bacchus, Paris, Hector and Troilus. The names of Achilles, Hector and Troilus are cited for a similar purpose in the twenty-fourth chapter of Plutarch.

What may suffer, the poet insists, is not the body but the immortal soul, which may be treated according to its merits. This idea, however essentially Christian it may appear, is not absent in the treatise of the

[1] For this study I use the following edition: *Plutarchi Opera omnia*, Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1885, III, pp. 121–145.

ancient writer, who brings it out in the thirty-fourth chapter. In Ronsard's opinion, the body is the servant of the soul and its mortal shrine:

> Brutal, impatient, de nature maline,
> Et qui tousiours repugne à la raison diuine.

Therefore we have no need to tremble for its sake. On the other hand, we must be on our guard against the passing and deceitful pleasures which last but a quarter of an hour and which leave only bitter remorse in those who indulge in them. This passage appears to have been taken from the thirteenth chapter of the *Consolatio*, where we meet with a similar argumentation.

Man must beware, Ronsard says, of the deceits of Circe which would transform him into a beast, so that he would not see again the heavenly Ithaca. To reach the city of God, he must divest himself of his pride and assume hope, poverty and patience. This metaphor does not occur in Plutarch.

Man, the author of the *Hymne* continues, is but animated earth—a living shadow. Homer likens him to the wintry leaf which falls from the tree. Mortals are but a powerless and fragile crowd suffering from a thousand evils. In the sixth chapter of the *Consolatio*, Plutarch quotes Pindar, who likens man to the dream of a shadow, a metaphor which probably suggested to Ronsard that of the living shadow. In the same chapter, Plutarch cites the passage of Homer quoted in the *Hymne*.

The French poet expresses his astonishment at the words of Achilles, who is credited with having said that he would prefer to be a slave on earth rather than king in Hades. He must have lost his grudge against Agamemnon, and forgotten Briseis and Patroclus. Also, he cannot have heard one of the sages who said that man, in his life, is but a prey to Time and the plaything of Fortune. This sage appears to be Crantor, quoted by Plutarch in the sixth chapter.

Ronsard then brings out an objection not found in Plutarch: that life is the only good which may be lost without any hope of recovery
ting. He continues to speak of old people who, though decrepit
werless, still weep at the approach of death and would prefer to
their departure. In the fifteenth chapter, Plutarch brands this
ardice in the face of death.
ollowing section of the *Hymne* is full of reminiscences of
ntiquity. The poet speaks of the ferryman Charon, Cerberus,
isyphus, the Harpies, and Ixion. In this he is independent
k model, however. This passage, entirely pagan in form, is

based on the Christian doctrine of redemption by the blood of Christ, and, better than any other in the poem, shows the blending in the great Pléiade poet of Christian faith with Renaissance ideals.

If any worldly good were more than temporal, Ronsard goes on to say, it would be a pleasure to live to old age, but all earthly things are inconstant; there is no lasting good. This thought, which would seem of a quaintly mediaeval cast and which reminds one of the *Vie de Saint Alexis*, goes back to the fifth and sixth chapters of the *Consolatio*.

Man is miserable from his birth; he weeps as soon as he is born as though he foresaw his future misery. For this reason the Thracians used to weep whenever a child was born, and to call him happy who was lying dead on the bier.

This anecdote incidentally goes back to Herodotus[1]. It must be noted however that, although Plutarch does not mention it in the *Consolatio*, in the twenty-seventh chapter he relates the well-known story of King Midas and Silenus, which has the same portent, but which Ronsard does not take over, probably because it is too long.

As children we are weak; at maturity we are swayed by all sorts of desires and passions. But in vain are all our efforts: old age pursues us which destroys youth in less than a day, so that no more trace is left of it than of a flower in the autumn.

The description of human desires and ambitions appears to be influenced by the thirteenth chapter of the *Consolatio*, where Plutarch quotes a passage from Plato to the same effect. The trend of thought on the futility of human passions recurs in the sixth chapter, which contains a number of citations from Greek poets comparing the life of man with the growth and decay of vegetation. The metaphor of Death as a creditor urging payment of the debt man owes him goes back to the tenth chapter of the *Consolatio*.

For this reason, Ronsard asserts, the comic poet Menander said that Jupiter sends an early death to those whom he likes best, while he gives a long life to those whom he does not favour.

The same thought, and a quotation from Menander in support of it, is expressed in the thirty-fourth chapter of Plutarch's work.

For the same reason, the Frenchman writes—linking again pagan and Christian thought—Saint Paul wished to be divested of his mortal body and to live with Christ. Then follows a description of the Golden Age with Death non-existent and the mortals imploring the gods for relief from their never-ending sorrows; Jupiter, listening to their prayers,

[1] *Hist.* v, 4.

sends them Death in the form of a goddess bearing a scythe, with noiseless steps, blind, deaf and without a heart, so as to be pitiless and *unmoved by human misery.*

This description is probably the most grandiose. There is nothing in Plutarch's work with which it can be compared. Yet, there are passages which are very likely to have shaped Ronsard's conceptions. First there is, in the seventh chapter, a quotation from Hesiod, describing the mission of Pandora on earth and which is not altogether devoid of all resemblance to the passage of the *Hymne* which we have just discussed. The idea of death as a reward granted by the gods to man is sufficiently emphasized in chapter XIV, where Plutarch dwells upon it, exemplifying it by the stories of Biton and Cleobis, of Agamedes, and of Trophonius and Euthymous. The poet does not take over any of these examples, probably because they would lead him too far.

Ronsard refutes the thought that the good die young. Then he dwells on the metaphor of Death and Sleep being brothers, and he mentions the law of God under which no harm should be done to a sleeping person. Plutarch brings out the same idea and mentions the same law in the twelfth chapter of his work.

The French poet devotes a few lines to the paradisaic state of the soul in eternal bliss. It is a Christian paradise which he depicts, and which takes the place of the somewhat material and sensuous one described by Pindar in verses quoted in the thirty-fifth chapter of Plutarch's treatise.

Ronsard covers the pagan doctrines of transformation, re-birth and metempsychosis, doctrines which would subtract from the idea of death all its horrors and consolatory power. Death, however, is unable to [illegible] as new generations are born while old ones die: [illegible] generation as wave upon wave. It is a process of [illegible] nothing new is created. The body changes [illegible] transformation of the physical body, [illegible] and never perishes.

A similar [illegible] in the tenth chapter of the *Consolatio*.

The [illegible] with a reproach of the poet for an [illegible] his king and his country [illegible] and physical [illegible] in the tenth chapter of [illegible]

[illegible] the Roman was moulding his

poem after the latter. While it would be possible, of course, that a number of the thoughts came to him from sources used also by Plutarch —sources such as Homer, the tragic poets, Pindar and others—it is utterly unlikely that he should accidentally have drawn on those works which happen to be quoted in Plutarch's *Consolatio ad Apollonium*. Furthermore, we have seen that a number of ideas have been borrowed not from the citations given by Plutarch, but from the text of the *Consolatio* itself. There can be no doubt, then, as to the deliberate and conscious imitation of Plutarch's work by the Pléiade poet. That he hides his indebtedness to his ancient model need not surprise us: this was the common practice of poets and writers of that period, as is shown in the case of Du Bellay, Brantôme and the Italian Sebastiano Erizzo.

While these facts must be stated, it is only fair to say that Ronsard is by no means a slavish or unskilful imitator. From the foregoing analysis of the *Hymne*, it is clear that he arranged his subject-matter differently from Plutarch. Moreover, the blending of pagan and Christian elements, which makes the poem typically one of the French Renaissance, is due entirely to Ronsard. The climax of the *Hymne*, the creation and description of Death, is his conception, as he used only a few suggestions given him by his model. Above all, the beauty of form, the adaptation of ancient ideas to the philosophical and religious thought of the sixteenth century, and the impression which is imparted upon any reader of the *Hymne* that he listens to the outpourings of the poet's innermost soul, will always give the work the value of a masterpiece, penned by a poet in the truest sense of the word.

In parallel columns I give a few examples of the dependency of Ronsard upon Plutarch, though not all those mentioned in the study, as that would require too much space to be justified.

Ronsard, p. 366	Plutarch, p. 129
Pource l'homme est bien sot, ainçois bien malheureux Qui a peur de mourir, & mesmement à l'heure Qu'il ne peut resister que soudain il ne meure.	*Τὸ γὰρ δεδιέναι, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὸν θάνατον οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ δοκεῖν σοφὸν εἶναι μὴ ὄντα.*
p. 367	p. 131
Chetif, apres la mort le corps ne sent plus rien: En vain tu es peureux, il ne sent mal ny bien Non plus qu'il faisoit lors que le germe à ton pere N'auoit enflé de toy le ventre de ta mere.	*Ἀναισθησία γάρ τις κατ' αὐτὸν γίνεται, καὶ πάσης ἀπαλλαγὴ λύπης καὶ φροντίδος.* *Εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν οὖν τάξιν οἱ τελευτήσαντες καθίστανται τῇ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως.* *Ὥσπερ οὖν οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἦν πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως οὔτ' ἀγαθὸν οὔτε κακόν, οὕτως οὐδὲ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν, καὶ καθάπερ τὰ πρὸ ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἦν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οὕτως οὐδὲ τὰ μεθ' ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ἔσται πρὸς ἡμᾶς.*

p. 368

O que d'estre ja morts nous seroit vn grand bien,
Si nous considerions que nous ne sommes rien
Qu'vne terre animée & qu'vne viuante ombre,

Non pour autre raison Homere nous égale
A la fueille d'Hyuer qui des arbres deuale,
Tant nous sommes chetifs & pauures iournaliers,
Receuans sans repos maux sur maux à milliers
Comme faits d'vne masse impuissante & debile.

p. 371

Pour-ce à bon droit disoit le Comique Menandre,
'Que tousiours Iupiter en ieunesse veut prendre
Ceux qu'il aime le mieux, & ceux qu'il n'aime pas,
Les laisse en cheveux blancs long tems viure çà-bas.'

p. 374

Ie te salue heureuse & profitable mort,
Des extremes douleurs medecin & confort.

p. 124

Ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος ἐν ἄλλοις
Τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὔτις; σκιᾶς ὄναρ ἄνθρωπος
ἐμφαντικῶς σφόδρα καὶ φιλοτέχνως ὑπερβολῇ χρησάμενος, τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον ἐδήλωσε.
Τί γὰρ σκιᾶς ἀσθενέστερον; τὸ δὲ ταύτης ὄναρ οὐδ' ἂν ἐκφράσαι τις ἕτερος δυνηθείη σαφῶς.

p. 125

Ταύτῃ δ' ὅτι καλῶς ἐχρήσατο τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου βίου, δῆλον, ἐξ ὧν ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ φησὶν οὕτω,
Βροτῶν δ' ἕνεκα πτολεμίζειν
δειλῶν, οἳ φύλλοισιν ἐοικότες, ἄλλοτε μέν τε
ζαφλεγέες τελέθουσιν ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδοντες,
ἄλλοτέ τε φθινύθουσιν ἀκήριοι,
οὐδέ τις ἀλκή.

p. 143

Ὅτι γὰρ οἱ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς διενεγκόντες ὡς θεοφιλεῖς νέοι μετέστησαν πρὸς τὸ χρεών, καὶ πάλαι μὲν διὰ τῶν πρόσθεν ὑπέμνησα λόγων, καὶ νῦν δὲ πειράσομαι διὰ βραχυτάτων ἐπιδραμεῖν, προσμαρτυρήσας τῷ καλῶς ὑπὸ Μενάνδρου ῥηθέντι τούτῳ,
Ὃν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν, ἀποθνήσκει νέος.

p. 127

Ὁ δ' Αἰσχύλος καλῶς ἔοικεν ἐπιπλήττειν τοῖς νομίζουσι τὸν θάνατον εἶναι κακόν, λέγων ὧδε,
Ὡς οἱ δικαίως θάνατον ἔχθουσιν βροτοί,
ὅστερ μέγιστον ῥῆμα τῶν πολλῶν κακῶν.
Τούτων γὰρ ἀπεμμήσατο καὶ ὁ εἰπὼν,
Ὦ θνητοὶ παιὰν ἰατρὸς μόλοις.
Λιμὴν γὰρ ὄντως ἀδὲς ἀνιῶν.

A. H. Krappe.

Iowa, U.S.A.

ACHIM VON ARNIM AND SCOTLAND.

It is not surprising to find Achim von Arnim and his brother finishing off their 'grand tour' with a flying visit to Scotland. For, ever since the days of the 'Sturm und Drang,' the home of Ossian had been surrounded with a glamour of romance sufficient to attract one who had already shown himself to be heir of Herder's enthusiasm for folk-lore. And if he required further incentive there was the newly published *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* the appearance of which he notices in his first London letter to Brentano, adding: 'ich will daraus ein Englisch lernen, das kein Mensch verstehen soll, damit ich mich an den Engländern räche, und ihnen beweise, dass sie eigentlich gar keine Sprache reden[1].' We find Arnim presenting Henriette Schubart with a copy of the same book when visiting her in Weimar and later he reviewed her translation of it[2].

There does not appear to be any definite record of the actual itinerary pursued—the impressions received not being sufficiently lasting to find a place in the reminiscences[3] of either brother. Steig dismisses (p. 103) the whole experience in two sentences and indeed, to judge from the time spent—the Arnims were absent from London only some three months, and they made a détour through Wales—we conclude that their visit to Scotland was an excursion rather than a sojourn. Although we have no first-hand record of the journey, we can, however, gather some interesting data from Arnim's works. Steig mentions *Die Ehenschmiede* and the poem, *Der Wilddieb*, as the sole literary products of the Scottish trip, but the earliest reminiscences come in that curious medley of northern and southern impressions, *Elegie aus einem Reisetagebuch in Schottland*, which first appeared in *Die Zeitung für Einsiedler*[4] for April 1808, to be inserted later in *Gräfin Dolores*. In it we have a picture of a somewhat home-sick youth travelling as the professional man of letters:

> Liege am Felsen gestrecket mit zierlich gebundenem Tagbuch
> Und verlange vom Geist, dass er was Gutes bescheert!

[1] R. Steig, *A. v. Arnim und Clemens Brentano*, p. 95.
[2] *Unbekannte Aufsätze* (1892).
[3] *Erinnerungen eines Reisenden*, in *Berlinische Blätter für deutsche Frauen*, vol. IX, pt. 2, *Flüchtige Bemerkungen eines flüchtig Reisenden*, 1838–45 (C. O. L. v. Arnim).
[4] Edited by F. Pfaff (1883), p. 79.

and he brings it present itself with which he comes back to earth in the especially romantic manner were invisible very real in the one

> *Frage und Frage in rot' etwas, man ein [illegible] in Heimatland...*
> *Hier verlassen sie Arthurs, [illegible] der Sommer [illegible] ein.*
> *Hier nur schlachten ein Lamm, [illegible] das [illegible] Stück.*
> *Dort von Kater es sich nur [illegible] zum Bruder in [illegible]*
> *[illegible] wilden [illegible] nehmen [illegible] tiefige Schmerz...*
> *Gehe nun [illegible], O Mond, durch deine gerundete Scheibe.*
> *Schmerzlich [illegible] und Trauer, was ich nur wünsche das Glück.*

When Arnim got back to London about Christmas 1803, we find from Auerbach his own time in a letter to Brentano: 'Ich bin drei Monate herumgehetzt worden wie ein Wildbieb',[1] and he closes the letter, according to the fashion of the period, with a fantasy in the stanzas called *Der Wilddieb*. The 'Romanze' of the same name, to which we have already referred, appears in the collected edition of his poems, undated; but it must have been composed about this time. Like the preceding Romanze, *Der Förster*, it treats the kind of traditional ballad subject with which Arnim had become familiar through Scott's *Minstrelsy*, but it is rendered with a matter-of-fact detail which reduces it almost to the level of an anecdote told by sportsmen gossiping together after a good day on the moors. Arnim's poacher might have been Edward or Lord Randal himself, staggering home as he does, in the grey of the morning, laden with his tragic burden. But the poet makes no attempt to create a tense atmosphere by an exchange of question and answer between the waiting mother and her son, who has been driven to kill his father to save him from the shame of capture. The closing scene in the wood is described in words that rob it of horror:

> Des Vaters Ehr' bedenkt der Sohn,
> Dass ihn nicht fressen Raben,
> Dass ihn die Fremden nicht mit Hohn
> In Kirchhofseck begraben:
> Er sackt ihn ein und hebt ihn auf
> Und eilt nach Haus in schnellem Lauf.

So we get back to the opening scene and to the son's brutal greeting:

> Spart auf den Wein zum Todtenmahl,
> Das Kihlett macht zur Bahre,
> Wascht Vatern rein vom blut'gen Strahl,
> Dass keiner es erfahre,

and in the end he goes out to collect his friends and to set things straight by milking the gamekeepers.

We also see in Arnim's account of the '45, which appears as the title Abend of the *Wintergarten* (1809), a fruit of his interest in ballad. This last luckless adventure of the Stuarts did as much as

[1] Steig, p. 108

McPherson's *Ossian* to turn the attention of Europe to Scotland, and Arnim must have taken back as a souvenir one of the most popular panegyrics of Prince Charlie, *Ascanius*, a little book published by an Edinburgh firm in 1804 and re-published as recently as 1890. Several books of this name, compiled from contemporary documents, were written both in English and French in the years immediately following the Rebellion, but the Edinburgh edition is the only one which opens with the same summary of the fortunes of the Stuart line that we find in Arnim. The use he makes of this source, which has not hitherto been noticed, is straightforward and consistent, and his own contributions would scarcely fill a page. Towards the end of the recital of the Prince's many escapes, Arnim indicates his use of *Ascanius* in a sentence which reminds us at the same time of the literary movement to which he belonged:

> Es ergreift uns eine namenlose Ungeduld, dass kein neues Hinderniss diese nahe Hoffnung wieder vernichtet und die Namen der Mitgenommenen und der Zurückgelassenen entschwinden selbst dem Gedächtnisse unsrer sonst so ausführlichen Geschichtschreiber.

He was writing what he called a 'Novelle' and in all the more vivid passages we have a close word for word translation. Thus the recital of the melancholy end of the leaders of the Rebellion, and the pathetic encounters of the vagrant hero with his faithful dependants are accurately reproduced, as may be seen from the following extract:

Ascanius, p. 102.	*Wintergarten*, p. 173.
Having delivered the paper to the sheriff, he (Lord Balmerino) called for the executioner, and being about to ask his Lordship's pardon, he said, 'Friend, you need not ask me forgiveness; the execution of your duty is commendable.' On which his Lordship gave him three guineas, saying, 'Friend, I never was rich, this is all the money I have now; I wish it were more, and I am sorry I can add nothing to it but my coat and my waistcoat'; which he then took off together with his neckcloth and threw them on his coffin: putting on a flannel waistcoat which had been provided for the purpose, and then, taking a plaid cap out of his pocket he put it on his head saying, 'he died a Scotsman.'	Das Blatt gab er dem Sherif; dann rief er den Scharfrichter, der nach alter Sitte ihn um Verzeihung bitten wollte, dem er aber in die Rede fiel: 'Freund, was wollt ihr mich um Verzeihung bitten, die Erfüllung eurer Pflicht ist ja lobenswerth.' Darauf gab er ihm 3 Guineen und sprach: 'Freund, ich war niemals reich, das ist alles Geld, was ich noch habe, ich wünschte es wäre mehr und es thut mir leid, dass ich nichts als Rock und Weste zufügen kann.' Dabei zog er beides aus und legte es mit seinem Halstuche auf seinen Sarg, setzte eine gestreifte Mütze auf, und meinte, so sterbe er als ein Schotte.

The foot-notes of the original are incorporated in the German version, and wherever the Prince is mentioned as singing to encourage his weary companions, Arnim supplies suitable songs no more original than the text in which they are inserted, two of them (pp. 191, 204) having

already appeared in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, while another (p. 205) is a variation of one of the ballads in Scott's *Minstrelsy*. In a foot-note, Arnim comments, as he may well do, on the resemblance between this last poem and H. Schubart's translation of the common original. *Das Lied von der Jugend*, the swan-song of the whole expedition, is a translation of two Ossian poems, *The War of Inisthona* and *Berrathon*, the latter being considerably abridged.

Any discrepancies in figures or dates are doubtless mere slips; thus when Arnim dates Culloden April 26 instead of 16, it would not seem to be due to a confusion of Old and New Style. In the descriptions of battles and sieges, he always abridges the detailed account of the original and his own contribution consists in the addition of literary flourishes at dramatic moments. At the end of every act he brings his hero to doff his bonnet to the audience with a gesture now trite, now tragic. 'So mussten viele fliehen, damit einer aufrecht stehen konnte'—that is the comment on Prestonpans and that on the fall of Stirling is equally common-place: 'er [der Prinz] sah jetzt, dass Jugendkraft eines grossen Menschen mehr als der Menschen gemischte Menge leisten kann.' After the catastrophe of Culloden, the hero strikes an attitude of despair not without a certain dignity: 'Der Zukunft warf er seine Krone zu.' The tale of the Prince's departure is soon told by the author of *Ascanius*: 'The Prince, seeing his friends put first on board the ships, then embarked himself and immediately set sail for France.' But Arnim allows him time to bow himself off the stage in a more appropriate manner:

> Der Prinz liess erst seine Freunde ins Schiff steigen, dann küsste er den Boden seiner Väter und seiner Noth, bestieg das Schiff und sah sein untergangenes Reich, das sein Muth gegen den Willen und das Schicksal einer Welt für kurze Zeit wieder aus dem Meer gehoben, allmälig darin untersinken—noch auf dem Felsenspitzen weilten seine Augen. Seinen Feinden entkam er, aber sein Reich sah er nie wieder und seine Thaten waren geendet, so wenig er damals noch glauben mochte. Wir lassen ihm die Sterne und die Erinnerung andrer grosser Thaten, die auch verschwunden, trostreich aufgehen, während ein frischer, günstiger Wind sein Schiff an die rettende Küste Frankreichs gefahrlos und schnell hintreibt.

The same tendency to bring out the romantic side of the story is seen in the emphasis Arnim lays on the episode of Flora Macdonald, an episode which finds baldest expression in the English. Throughout there is an appreciation of historically interesting scenes—such, for instance, is the picture of Holyrood, 'wo jedes Zimmer gewaltsamer Tage Gedächtniss trägt,' and of Charles crossing 'die kleine Tweed, die so lang grosse Nationen geschieden.' It was partly this talent for seizing the significance of historical association which made *Die Kronenwächter* possible, and Arnim possessed it before the days of *Waverley*.

Apart from these formal expansions, there are two additions in the book directly reminiscent of Arnim's visit to Scotland. He breaks into his description of the Prince's arrival at a crofter's cottage with the personal 'Ich kann aus meiner eigenen Erfahrung hinzufügen,' and proceeds to testify to his own experience of Highland hospitality and customs.

A more important comment, which is worth quoting, occurs earlier in the account of the Prince's wanderings when Arnim stops to consider the effect of the '45 on the clan system and the state of the Highlands generally.

> Das innere Gesetz, das die Herren mit ihren Stämmen verbunden, die Ehre der Gewalt über Menschen, mit denen sie bis dahin wie die Könige alter Zeit, als Häupter der Familien verbunden, verschwand; es blieb nur noch der Reiz des Eigenthums, die Herren massten sich den Besitzwerth des Bodens an, den sie bis dahin wie Fürsten geschützt hatten: sie suchten jetzt die Vortheile eigener Ökonomie, um in London ihr Glück auf anderm Boden zu machen. Die Einführung der Schafsucht bedurfte weniger Hirten, als die bis dahin gewohnte Rindviehszucht, grosse Parks besetzten grosse Weiden, die armen Hochländer mussten aus dem Lande wandern.

If Arnim had troubled to study the Rebellion seriously, he would have recognised that clan government was dead before the Pretender ever set foot in Scotland, and that the Act of 1748 suppressing hereditary jurisdiction was merely the last nail in the coffin. If, moreover, he had spent more time in the Highlands he might not have made the too common mistake of attributing emigration from these parts to the introduction of sheep-runs. It is more than probable that this false impression was no result of first-hand experience, though, as emigration was at its height during Arnim's visit to Great Britain, he could scarcely have helped hearing it discussed. Many of the English travellers who were forced by continental disturbances to make the Highlands their play-ground, air a little amateur rural economy in their journals, and Arnim could not have read one of the guide-books of the period without getting the impression of avaricious landlordism[1]. The gloomiest of all accounts Arnim may have read before leaving Germany in Kosegarten's translation of Dr Garnett's *Tour* published in 1802. That he did use such guide-books to supplement his personal experience may be seen from the foot-notes to *Owen Tudor*, where he quotes from Hutton's *Remarks upon North Wales*. The whole question of Highland emigration has been treated in recent articles in the *Scottish Historical Review*[2], and however Arnim may have acquired his impression, it was sufficiently lasting for him to reproduce it some years later in *Die Ehenschmiede*. Here, indeed,

[1] E.g., Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*, 1769–71, Vol. 2, pp. 281–3; *Scots Magazine* for 1803.
[2] By Miss M. I. Adam, June 1919, Jan. 1920.

one may be less critical, as this is more obviously an effort of imagination than the work that has just been discussed; and it is more picturesque to be evicted in order to make room for sheep-runs than simply to drift the way of all surplus population.

Die Ehenschmiede appears to have been published only posthumously, but we gather from a foot-note on the first page that it was written at a time when Scott had already created a reputation for the scenery of his own land. It probably belongs to the period of Arnim's greatest activity, 1818–20. It has been re-published as one of Meyer's 'Volksbücher,' but it is too much a burlesque to be popular to-day. On the modern reader it has something of the effect of an indifferent cinema-film. Authentically Scottish pictures are occasionally thrown on the screen, as at the beginning, where we have probably a reminiscence:

> Es war mein Glück, dass ich einer Schaar Hochländer begegnete: der Weg, welchen mir der Laird als den im Hochlande gerühmt hatte, fand sich von Bergwässern durchschnitten, auf einzelnen Felsstücken durch Sümpfe fortgeführt, oft in Büschen versteckt, als ob er einst zum Irreleiten eindringender Feinde abgesteckt worden.

Just such a road was the Inveraray-Dalmally one described by Dr Garnett, who also quotes similar encounters with emigrating Highlanders. It seems probable, too, that the details of the scene of action come from memory. The position of the castle, the exploits on the loch, and the description of the comfortable inn all suggest Inveraray which Arnim must have visited on his way to Staffa. Contemporary travellers[1] agree in pronouncing it one of the best hostelries in the Highlands, and the delight of the German naturalist who narrates the story, at finding, not the traditional fare of 'hard oat-cakes and scraggy mutton and roast beef tasting of peat-smoke,' but good English food and excellent Bordeaux wine, is the kind of detail that would come straight from the travelling student's note-book. The Corinthian pillars and marble statues of the castle gardens are literary eclecticisms, and romantic is the reference to the view of the castle by moon-light: 'weil nun einmal Sitte ist, alle Fremden im Mondschein nach der Aussicht zu führen, seit der berühmte Naturdichter Macprumpengregor Crelly sie in Mondscheinbeleuchtung besungen hat.' Arnim's Duke has borrowed certain traits from the contemporary head of the Clan Campbell, whose rural policy was sufficiently enlightened to attract comment from most travellers[2]. The evicted crofters of this story, one of whom, Daura, bears the name of a Kotzebue personage[3], admit that their landlord offered to establish them in the

[1] E.g., Spencer, *Journal of a Tour through Scotland*, 1816.
[2] Cf. Kosegarten's translation of Dr Garnett, p. 93.
[3] *Graf Gustav von Sternberg und Daura*, in *Er und Sie*, 1781.

recently organised fishing industry, and the Duchess gives a truer statement of things in the Highlands than that which has been quoted from the *Wintergarten*:

> Seit der Herzog die Vertheidigung dieser Küste übernommen, findet er ohnehin, dass diese Bergbewohner ihm nützlicher sind als alle dieser Städter, Fischer und Ackerleute, in welche er einen Theil verwandelt hat, aus der guten Absicht, sie aus der gewohnten Noth in eine ihnen freilich ungewohnte Thätigkeit, und durch diese in einen dauernden Wohlstand, wie er England beglückt, zu versetzen.

Here Arnim seems to put his finger on one of the real causes of emigration.

There are other details which give Arnim's local colour a precision utterly lacking, for example, in the work of his contemporary Luise Brachmann (*Die Herberge im schottischen Hochlande*, 1812). Such are his personal impressions of national costume and of the physique of Scotswomen. The fear of French invasion, too, which is all the time in the background, shows that he was drawing on memories of 1803–4 when that fear was at its strongest. The dénouement of the story with its orgy of marriages at Gretna Green is also a reminiscence of what would be a stage in Arnim's journey. All travellers[1] who enter Scotland by this western route, comment upon a spot which, since the passing of Lord Pelham's Act of 1753, forbidding Fleet marriages, was as interesting to the romantic mind as it has been, for very different reasons, to the patriot of recent years. 'Hymen's Caledonian altar' or the 'altar of Baal,' it is called, according to the writer's point of view and the coiner of the first epithet adds: 'I cannot help thinking that some of our superior novelists would not be ill employed in possessing themselves of the leading characters and events which have distinguished the more remarkable of these rash connections.' He had not long to wait, for the 'blacksmith' of Gretna and the rascally postillions of Carlisle soon became familiar to all readers of fiction and are now part of the recognised 'make-up' of the period. Arnim's conclusion—his ceremonies are performed by a goldsmith—show that he was familiar with the corrections of the gazetteers of the time, where we find it repeated that neither the original 'parson,' Joe Paisley, nor his notorious son-in-law, whose memoirs are a perfect mine of melodrama, were ever connected with a forge[2]. Arnim's sign-board, too: 'Ehe von Fremden für 10 Guineen,' is correct, for his goldsmith charges five guineas less than his rival and the official figure

[1] *Cf.* Pennant, *Travellers' Guide*, Vol. I, p. 44.

[2] 'The greater part of the trade is monopolised by a tobacconist and not a blacksmith as is generally believed: a fellow without literature, without principles, without religion and without manners. It is truly a disgrace to permit such irregularities to be practised with impunity and it is no small reflection on the good sense of the people of England to suffer themselves to be duped and their pockets picked by such impostors' (*Travellers' Guide*, 1798, repeated in *Gazette of Scotland*, 1803).

is fifteen guineas, a sum which was reduced afterwards as low as 'half-a-crown a pair.' The Rev. John Roddick's statement that 'parties have been known to betake themselves hither from the north of Scotland itself' shows that Arnim's ending by hustling all his characters from the Highlands to Gretna Green is not so ridiculous as it appears, and as, no doubt, he meant it to be.

Part of the farcical effect of the ridiculous story to which these Scottish reminiscences form a setting, lies, for us, in the recurrence of literary allusions. We find them on almost every page; they even overflow into the footnotes. It seems impossible for anyone to go to bed in Scotland without dwelling on Macbeth's soliloquy, which adorns the walls of the ducal bedrooms. Daura has already been mentioned, and she is supported by 'die naive Gurli,' the popular heroine of *Die Indianer in England*, who appears with startling suddenness on the coast of Scotland, having survived the wreck of the ship which was bringing La Peyrouse[1] home. The Highland Duke recites passages from Aristophanes and Ovid at a domestic crisis, while his ghillies show a surprising familiarity with *Hamlet*. Love scenes are conducted, too, in the language of *Romeo and Juliet*. The whole story is meant to caricature certain features of the time—social extravagances such as the duel, and literary weaknesses arising from the cult of Kotzebue. But these fashions have changed and their caricature has merely an antiquarian interest.

Scherer, in a warm eulogy, says of Arnim as a traveller: 'Er hatte überall scharf beobachtet[2].' As far as his journey in Scotland went, we find that he travelled rather with a journalist's 'flair' for good copy than with the probing eye of the observant tourist. If he did use Ossian as Baedeker, he was certainly not alone in this[3], and his own interests as a landowner as well as his love for the historical kept him from following his guide blindfolded.

He comes almost mid-way between Herder and Fontane, and it seems to us that his interpretation of Scotland, if it be more prosaic than that of his literary superiors, is also more precise.

MARGARET D. HOWIE.

LONDON.

[1] *La Peyrouse*, also by Kotzebue, staged in 1798.
[2] *Kleine Schriften*, II, p. 10.
[3] E.g., Mrs Grant of Laggan.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Additions to the Supplement of the Bosworth-Toller 'Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.'

The following additions to the supplement of the Dictionary are taken mostly from a collection of passages under A—E made by Cockayne, and by an unfortunate oversight not utilized for the Supplement. In the case of words already recorded these passages give meanings or constructions little or not at all illustrated: words hitherto unrecorded are marked with an asterisk.

á-bídan *with clause*:—Wé ábidon, þæt þú cóme *expectavimus, ut venires*, Gr. D. 148, 32.

á-bregdan *with dat.*:—Hé his sweorde ábræd *educens gladium*, Mk. 14, 47.

*ác-stybb *an oak-stump*:—On ðone ácstyb, C. D. iv. 75, 1.

æcer; II. *as a measure of breadth*, v. Ors. 160, 25 (*given under* brædu).

æht; I c:—Æht healdan *to keep cattle*, Gen. 973. II:—On æht begitan *lucrari*, Lk. 9, 25.

*ælmes-penig *an alms-penny*:—Gebyrað æt gyrde .xii. penegas and .iiii. ælmespenegas, C. D. iii. 450, 25; cf. sulh-ælmesse.

ærist; *n.*:—Þæt ðryfealde ærist synfullra sáwla, Hml. Th. i. 496, 4.

æst = ærest, C. D. ii. 133, 23: Ors. 124, 8: 174, 2.

ágendlíce *properly*; proprie:—Ecclesiastes...is ágendlíce on Ænglisc rihtraciend geháten *ecclesiastes proprie concionator dicitur*, Gr. D. 264, 26.

ágnung; II:—C. D. vi. 81, 11. II a:—C. D. vi. 127, 31.

*angsumlic *troublesome*:—Þæt þe ær earfoðe and ancsumlic þúhte, R. Ben. 5, 19.

*ár-óm? *copperas*, Lch. ii. 192, 22, *the MS. has* sár óm.

á-sellan:—Hé nolde ðæt ðæt land mid ealle út áseald wære, C. D. vi. 154, 25.

á-settan *to lay up, store*:—Þú hæfst mycele gód ásette (*posita*), Lk. 12, 19.

á-singan; I:—Lch. ii. 112, 27: Shrn. 134, 17.

*á-stæppan *to imprint* a footstep:—Fótlæsta...on þissere flóre ástapene (cf. geðýde, Hml. Th. i. 506, 12), Nap. 80, 1.

á-worpennes *a casting out*:—Áworpennesse (*eiectionem*) Ismahelis, Bd. Sch. 696, 8.

be-cirran *to turn round*:—Ðá becyrde se Hǽlend and beseah tó Petre, Hml. Th. ii. 248, 33.

be-geótan; II:—Hé þone hláf on wæter bedypte, and his mǽge on þone múð begeát, Hml. Th. ii. 150, 10.

be-hegian *to set a hedge about*:—Sum híredes ealdor hét settan wíngeard and hine behegian (*vineam pastinare et circumdare saepem*, Mk. 12, 1), Wanl. Cat. 118 a.

*be-hleótan *to assign by lot*:—Þá behluton hí hit sóna tó Iónan, MS. Cleop. B. xiii. 51 b.

beorht (*of voice*):—Hé mid beorhtre stemne clypode, Hml. i. 422, 5.

be-swician = be-swícan, Ors. 146, 10.

be-wrigennes *a covering*; velatio, Wynfr. 280 b (v. Wanl. Cat. 212 a. The MS., Cott. Otho C 1, has since been bound in two volumes, v. Hml. Ass. 266-7).

*biddend *one who seeks to obtain, a petitioner*:—Hrædlícur tó béne déma byþ gebíged gif fram þwyrnesse his biddend (*petitor*) byð geþreád, Scint. 32, 3.

*bring-ádl (?):—Wið micclum líce and bringcádl, Lch. iii. 38, 24.

*bróc-ríþ *a small stream running into a larger* (?):—Eást tó ðére brócríðe; ðæt norð andlang bróces tó ðére ríðe ðe scýt eást, C. D. v. 194, 37.

byrn-hama *a corslet*:—Ðeáh þe láðra fela ðínne byrnhomon billum heówun, Vald. 1, 17.

calan (*for construction* cf. hyngr(i)an):—Se þearfa bemǽnde þæt him þearle cól, Hml. S. 31, 911. (*This passage is wrongly given to* cól; *adj.*) Hé wreáh ðá nacodan þearfan þæt mé ne cóle on þisse worulde, Archiv 91, 380, 18.

calu (*of a hill*), C. D. iii. 263, 21: 264, 6.

*cwealm-lic *deadly*, Wynfr. 281 b (v. be-wrigennes).

*drúpung *drooping, dejection*:—Yc eom drúpung and sleacnis, Wynfr. 280 a (v. be-wrigennes).

ealdordómlicnes *authority*:—Ealdordómlicnyss (= ? ealdordóm 7 ealdorlicnyss) *auctoritas*, R. Ben. I. 68, 12.

ymb-faran *to go about, travel over* a country:—Hé ymbefór ealle Egipta rícu *circuivit omnes regiones Aegypti*, Gen. 41, 46. Hé hæfde ealle eorðan ymbfaren, Hml. A. 181, 13.

ymb-irnan *to surround*:—Seó stów wæs ymburnen mid sǽs streámum, Shrn. 82, 12.

T. N. Toller.

Manchester.

The Authorship of 'The Costelie Whore.'

As already demonstrated by me in a note on 'The King's Revels Players of 1619–1623' in *The Modern Language Review*, XIV, No. 4, 1919, p. 416, an anonymous play called *The Costelie Whore*, first published in quarto in 1633, had been originally produced by the Company of the Revels at the Red Bull *circa* 1622. Since its attribution by Phillips through an erroneous interpretation of an entry in Kirkman's Catalogue to Thomas Mead (b. 1616), no one has made any attempt to determine its authorship. Light on the subject now comes from an unexpected source. In a catalogue of second-hand books issued by Mr L. Kashnor in 1920 I find included:

'*Free Parliament Quaeries, proposed to Tender Consciences, and published for the use of Members now Elected*, by Alazonomastix Philalethes... Printed in the Year of our Redemption, 1600.'

Appended is the following bookseller's note:

'Many of the public characters of the period are held up to ridicule in a rather free manner, as in the following: "Whether that Comodie, called The Costly Whore, was not intended for the life of the Lady Sands, and was written by Henry Martin".'

Doubtless we have an indication of the identity of the woman referred to in Chamberlain's letter to Dudley Carleton of January 23, 1618–9 (S. P. Dom. Ser. 1619, p. 8), wherein it is conveyed that 'Lady Sandys whose husband was hanged for robbery has herself turned thief.' To my mind we have also some clue to the period of the play's production in the entry in the Stationers Register on January 31, 1621–2 for H. Gosson of 'a book called *The Common Whore* by John Taylor.' The antithetical title of the Water Poet's effusion would appear to have been inspired by the success of Martin's play.

Like the farmer and his claret, however, all this brings us 'no forrader.' Who was Henry Martin? Surely not the Sir Henry Marten who was Judge of the Admiralty in and about 1619. There was a Henry Martin, Sergeant Trumpeter to the King, a reduced gentleman, who, according to a petition preserved among the State Papers and made in the year just mentioned had been compelled to dispose of his inheritance at Hampton in Arden. He might have been the man.

The Costelie Whore, it may be as well to remind scholars, was reprinted by Bullen in Vol. IV of his *Old English Plays*.

Relative to my former note on 'The King's Revels Players,' I take occasion to add that the organisation evidently dated from February 24,

1619–20, when a license was issued to Robert Lee and Nicholas Long, permitting them and their associates to continue acting. (Malone Society *Collections*, I, 283 verso, appendix.) Both were then principal players in the Red Bull Company but Long withdrew before 1622.

W. J. LAWRENCE.

DUBLIN.

MILTON AND THE MYTH OF ISIS.

In the absence of direct and documentary evidence on Milton's observation and appreciation of Italian art, modern critics seem gradually to have dropped a subject on which only conjecture and fancy can play. Earlier critics did not scruple to trace in various passages, especially of *Paradise Lost*, the influence of Michael Angelo, of Raphael, or of Salvator Rosa. Mr Alden Sampson[1] has recently revived the idea by giving expression to the conviction, which must be shared by many, that Milton had observed the masterpieces of Italian art, and had felt the affinity of his genius with that of Michael Angelo.

It is perhaps temerity to add to the conjectures on this subject, but one more coincidence seems sufficiently striking to warrant attention. One of the most unusual passages in *Areopagitica*, which was written within five years of Milton's return from Italy, is the famous comparison of the search for Truth to the gathering by Isis of the scattered limbs of Osiris, slain by his brother Typhon. The source of the fable is Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris*, and of this, as of the identification of the Egyptian Typhon with the Greek monster Typhœus[2], Milton was no doubt perfectly cognisant. In his own generation, Selden[3] had studied and expounded the Apis-Osiris myth, although he had neglected the moon-goddess Isis. Literary originals, then, are present, yet the detail and beauty of Milton's simile suggest a pictorial rather than a literary prototype; such a pictured representation it is possible that he may have seen.

In the Borgia Apartments of the Vatican, decorated by Pintoricchio, in the hall known from its mural frescoes as the Hall of Saints, the subject of the ceiling frescoes is unusual and incongruous. It is the story of Isis, Osiris and Apis, depicted in eight paintings that fill the triangular divisions of the vaulted ceiling. In the first three, 'the good Osiris' is seen teaching men to plough, and to plant vines and apple-trees; then appears the marriage of Isis and Osiris; this is followed by

[1] *Studies in Milton*, 1914, pp. 38–47.
[2] *Ovidi Met.* v, 318–331.
[3] *De Dis Syriis* (1617) *Syntagma* I, c. iv.

the murder of Osiris at the hands of Typhon and his myrmidons. The most important picture for the present purpose is the next, which depicts the discovery of the body of Osiris; Isis appears clasping in her hands the head of her lord whose mangled trunk and limbs are seen in the foreground; beside the goddess stands an old man with hands joined as in pity and adoration; as the decorative centre of the composition, there appears a small and ornate shrine, containing the mitre symbolic of the bull Apis, and bearing on its base the inscription: *Uxor ejus membra discerpta tandem invenit quibus sepulcrum constituit.* The two last frescoes depict the apotheosis of Osiris, and the triumphal procession of the bull Apis.

There is unfortunately no definite proof that Milton visited the Borgia Apartments; but his letter to Lucas Holstenius, one of the Librarians of the Vatican, shows that he was indebted to the latter for personally-conducted visits to the Library, and for an introduction to Cardinal Barberini[1]. It seems then a fair assumption that Milton saw these famous apartments, which in the seventeenth century were already falling into disuse, but were sometimes allotted for occupation by some cardinal[2]. If Milton stood in this hall, his Puritan eye would surely be attracted, less by the mural paintings of such saints as St Barbara and St Sebastian, and more by the ceiling pictures; these 'ressortent d'une manière très brillante sur fond bleu'[3], and their unusual subject would at once attract the attention, especially of the author of the *Nativity Ode.* Doubtless the apparent incongruity of the subject would be explained to the spectator—the Borgia family, whose bull crest is to be seen everywhere in the apartments, was here flattered by the painter's choice of the legend of the divine bull Apis.

It is indeed probable that to the seventeenth century mind, there was no great incongruity in such a medley of Christian hagiology and mystical Egyptian myth. Mr Reginald Hine[4] has recently pointed out that Isis had been almost Christianised, and that Spenser saw no irreverence in letting his maiden-knight Britomart worship in the 'Church' of Isis, who with Osiris symbolises Justice and Equity. Mr Hine also quotes from Monmouth's diary a most interesting charm against pain, in which the sufferer, holding up the image of the goddess, invokes the 'great God of Salvation' by virtue of the sixth psalm, and

[1] Masson, *Life of Milton*, I, pp. 802–3.
[2] Lafenestre et Richtenberger, *La Peinture en Europe: Rome*, p. 81. Cf. also pp. 103–107 for a description of the frescoes.
[3] *ib.* p. 96.
[4] *Cream of Curiosity*, p. 234.

of His 'Saint Isis'! It is noticeable that Milton's other references[1] to 'the brutish gods of Nile' are harsh and unsympathetic, whether in earlier or in later work. In *Areopagitica* alone does he appreciate the symbolism of the Osiris-Isis myth, and heighten it with added beauty and tenderness.

M. E. SEATON.

LONDON.

'LE MYSTÈRE D'ADAM,' 63.

This line reads in the MS.:

A petit vus soit qui vus porte envie.

Professor Studer in his recent edition (Manchester University Press, 1918), adopting an emendation suggested by Professor Baker, corrects the line as follows:

A petit ues seit qui vus porte envie.

The necessity for this emendation is not apparent and, unfortunately, the editor does not indicate in his notes what is actually wrong with the line. It should be pointed out that, like a good many other adjectives in O.Fr., *petit* is occasionally used as a noun and then has the meaning: *quantité négligeable, chose de peu de valeur*, as a reference to Godefroy will confirm.

In Benoît's *Chronique des ducs de Normandie* I have come across the following passage:

A desdeig vos seit et a gros
Que unques fussent sa gent si os
Que ceo li oserent loer; (ed. Michel II, 445–47)

where we meet with the construction *être à gros* + dativus personae, and *gros* is a substantive. Again, in the *Roman de Renard* we read:

Molt par *est a Renart petit*
De trestot ce que li rois dit,
N'en dorroit pas un esperon (ed. Martin XI, 2679)

where the absence of *à* before *petit* may be ascribed to haplology. *Être* ·t has, in this instance, an impersonal construction accompanied by ıs personae + genetivus rei.

instances quoted lead me to suggest that the construction n line 63 of the *Mystère* is not an unusual one and that the ; in this place should therefore be allowed to stand.

I. N. RAAMSDONK.

TASMANIA.

Nativity Ode, stt. 23–25. *P.L.* I, 476 ff. *P.R.* III, 416–7.

Ein Goethe-Brief.

Nach einem Eintrage in seinem Tagebuche (WA. IV, 34, 416) schickte Goethe am 20. Januar 1821 einen Brief an J. H. F. Schütz mit seinem 'Dank für übersendete Trüffeln.' Der Brief schien verloren, ist aber vor kurzem bei einem Antiquar in London aufgetaucht und von mir erworben worden. Er ist auf einer Seite eines vergilbten Quartoblattes mit deutschen Buchstaben in einer sauberen und sorgfältigen Schreiberhand (von Kräuter oder John?) geschrieben, aber von Goethe eigenhändig unterzeichnet. Ein Stempel auf der Rückseite des Blattes zeigt, dass es der Handschriften-Sammlung von Adolph Meyerdiercks in Hamburg angehört hat. Der Brief lautet:

'Sie haben, mein Werthester Herr Inspector, durch die übersendeten unterirdischen Früchte, uns allen viel Vergnügen gemacht, und wird uns diese schmackhafte Speise nur noch besser schmecken und bekommen, da sie uns zugleich ein Zeugniss Ihres Andenkens verleiht.

'Ich wünsche schöne und beständige Tage um auch wieder einmal das gelobte Berka und die dortigen Freunde besuchen zu können. Versäumen Sie indessen nicht manchmal bey uns einzusprechen. Viele Grüsse an die liebe Gattin! und gedenken unserer öfter auf der Trüffeljagd

ergebenst

Weimar
den 20. *Jan.*
1821.

J. W. v. Goethe.'

Johann Heinrich Friedrich Schütz (1779–1829), Bade-Inspector und Organist in Berka, zählte zu Goethes geschätztesten Freunden. In den *Tag- und Jahresheften* (WA. I, 36, 89) spricht Goethe von der 'musikalischen Aufmunterung,' die er während seines Aufenthaltes in Berka im Juni 1814 'durch Inspector Schützens Vortrag der Bachischen Sonaten' erfuhr, und in einem Briefe an Zelter (WA. IV, 31, 45) erwähnt er, dass ihm der Inspector drei Wochen lang, 'täglich drey bis vier Stunden vorspielte' und zwar 'auf Ersuchen, nach historischer Reihe: von Sebastian Bach bis zu Beethoven, durch Philipp Emanuel, Händel, Mozart, Haydn durch, auch Dusseck und dergleichen mehr.'

Als Schütz im April 1816 einen grossen Teil seiner Noten, 'seine Bache und Händel,' beim Brande seines Hauses verlor, wandte sich Goethe sofort an Zelter mit der Anfrage (WA. IV, 27, 7), ob er neue Exemplare bei Härtels in Leipzig oder sonstwo finden könne, 'weil er dem Organisten gern von dieser Seite etwas Erfreuliches entgegenbringen möchte,' und fügte hinzu: 'Gott segne Kupfer, Druck und

jedes andere vervielfältigende Mittel, sodass das Gute, was einmal da war, nicht wieder zu Grunde gehen kann.' Noch ehe Zelter die gewünschten Noten besorgen konnte, meldete ihm Goethe (WA. IV, 31, 45): 'Nun habe ich das wohltemperirte Clavier, so wie die Bachischen Chorale gekauft und dem Inspector zum Weihnachten verehrt, womit er mich denn bei seinen hiesigen Besuchen erquicken und, wenn ich wieder zu ihm ziehe, auferbauen wird.' Als Goethe wenige Tage nachher hörte, dass Zelter ein Exemplar des wohltemperirten Claviers abgeschickt hatte, schrieb er (WA. IV, 31, 66): 'Das wohltemperirte Clavier soll, wenn es ankommt, auch in duplo willkommen seyn, so behalte ich ein Exemplar in der Stadt und der gute Inspector braucht das seinige nicht immer von Berka hereinzuschleppen.' In demselben Briefe 'vermeldete' Goethe, dass er den Inspector Schütze 'ausdrücklich hereinholen' und sich von ihm Zelters eben eingetroffene Kompositionen der 'Ballade' und des 'Klaggesangs' vorspielen liess.

Aus anderen Briefstellen sehen wir, dass Schütz auch unerwartet bei Goethe vorsprechend mit 'grossem Vergnügen' empfangen wurde (WA. IV, 28, 53), und dass Goethe noch in hohem Alter Ausflüge nach Berka plante und ausführte, um mit Schütz 'nach alter Weise einen guten Tag zuzubringen' (WA. IV, 41, 188. Siehe auch Eckermanns *Gespräche*, I, 24. Sept. 1827).

Nach C. Rulands Mitteilungen 'Aus dem Goethe-National-Museum' (*Weim. Zeitung*, 26. Nov. 1890) fand Goethe so viel Gefallen an Schützes Musik und Gesellschaft, dass er ihn wiederholt mit Herder, Schiller und Wieland zum Mittagsmahl im vertrautesten und auserlesensten Kreise einlud.

Der Eindruck, den Schützes Vortrag Bachischer Werke auf ihn gemacht hatte, blieb Goethe unvergesslich. Wenn andere ihm ähnliche Stücke vorspielten, zog er im Stillen Vergleiche mit dem Spiele des Berkaer 'Badekönigs' (WA. IV, 25, 41), und noch im Jahre 1827 erinnerte sich der greise Dichter voll Dankbarkeit an seinen ersten Besuch bei dem 'guten Organisten' und bekannte, dass ihm damals zuerst 'bey vollkommener Gemüthsruhe und ohne äussere Zerstreuung' ein Begriff von der Kunst des 'Grossmeisters Bach' geworden sei (WA. IV, 42, 376).

In der Weimar Ausgabe ist nur *ein* Brief von Goethe an Schütz abgedruckt (IV, 41, 188) und auch dieser nur aus dem Konzept. Briefe von Schütz an Goethe wurden von Hans Gerhard Gräf veröffentlicht in seinem Buche *Goethe in Berka a. d. Ilm*, Weimar 1911. Unsern Brief Goethes an Schütz kennt Gräf nicht. Der von Goedeke (*Grundriss*[3], IV, 4, 57) angeführte Aufsatz 'Der Badekönig von Berka' in der *B. Z. am*

Mittag vom 2. Juni 1911 ist nur eine Besprechung von Gräfs Schrift und trägt den Untertitel 'Ungedruckte Briefe *an* Goethe,' und nicht, wie Goedeke angibt, 'Ungedruckte Briefe *von* Goethe.'

H. G. FIEDLER.

OXFORD.

LESSING'S 'PHILOTAS' AND CRÉBILLON.

Lessing's *Philotas* has been brought into connection with his Plautine studies, has been regarded as an imitation of the Greek drama, as a consequence of literary rivalry with Cronegk, and has been discussed as a reflection of the military spirit of the age, but it has not hitherto been considered in the light of the French *tragédie classique*. In Crébillon's *Idoménée*, written in 1703, we find a son who kills himself to save his father. The hero's attitude to life and death is that of Philotas to the exclusion, however, of the love-element; Lessing's boy-hero being too young for its introduction. In both plays the young prince dies in triumph with the consciousness of having brought peace to his father; and in both the setting of the final scene is similar: a prince about to die justifies his action to a king who is at first angry and then deplores his son's tragic end. There are few witnesses; in *Philotas* the old general Strato, in *Idoménée* the statesman Sophronyme and a confidant with guards in the background. This French play might also be brought into connection with Lessing's fragment, *Kleonnis*, which depicts the tender affection of a father for his son and his grief at the thought of possibly losing him.

Crébillon's *Pyrrhus* (1726) is the story of a similar attempted sacrifice, not on behalf of a father, but of a foster-father, the conflict being brought to a happy conclusion this time by the heroism of Pyrrhus. In this play we find a prince in each of the camps of the warring kings, and the one can only be freed by the surrender of the other. The question of exchange is not, however, so simple as in *Philotas*, for in delivering up Pyrrhus, Glaucus would not merely liberate an enemy, but also destroy a friend. Pyrrhus himself, as impetuous as Philotas and as contemptuous of death, goes out to meet his end; and like Philotas, he does not hesitate to express his opinion of his enemy's policy. In the French play, however, the love-motive adds fresh complications. That Lessing was under any indebtedness to Crébillon it would be difficult to prove; but the plot of his *Philotas* marks it out as distinctly analogous to the type of tragedy cultivated by the French poet.

ALICE A. SCOTT.

LEEDS.

REVIEWS.

The Works of Shakespeare, edited for the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press by Sir A. QUILLER-COUCH and J. DOVER WILSON. Vol. I. *The Tempest*. Cambridge: University Press. 1921. Foolscap 8vo. lx + 116 pp. 7*s*. 6*d*.

A new edition of the works of Shakespeare in forty volumes and costing twelve or fifteen pounds may reasonably be asked to justify its existence. The former 'Cambridge Shakespeare' has permanent value as representing the textual methods and labours of the nineteenth century. If now the methods of scholarship are no longer the same, if its labours are directed to somewhat different problems, this is due in no small measure to the thoroughness with which earlier generations of critics used the resources at their disposal and the masterly manner in which their achievements were garnered in the monumental edition mainly associated with the industry and learning of Aldis Wright. To justify itself to-day a text of Shakespeare must reflect in some way or other the new critical outlook that distinguishes the opening of the twentieth century. It may be said at once that, judged by their first volume, the new Cambridge editors have achieved a considerable measure of success in a pioneer task of no ordinary difficulty.

Editorial collaboration may sometimes be an effective, it can never be an easy, method. In the present instance different portions of the work are distinguished by the initials of one or other of the partners in the task. But it follows from the very fact of collaboration that each editor must in some measure share alike the credit and the responsibility for the whole, and I hope I may avoid any invidious personality if I speak throughout of the editors jointly without seeking to specify their individual contributions. I am led to do so partly by the consideration that it is doubtless the fact of collaboration rather than the eccentricity of either editor that is responsible for a certain confusion or lack of co-ordination from which the present volume seems to suffer.

This defect shows itself materially in a somewhat awkward arrangement of parts. We are offered first a General Introduction and then a Textual Introduction to the whole edition; next a special Introduction to *The Tempest*, followed by a Note on Punctuation, which presumably refers to the whole; then comes the Text, followed by a facsimile and transcript from *Sir Thomas More*, and the Notes; next a section on the Stage-History of *The Tempest* (by Mr Harold Child), and last of all a Glossary. Considering that this first volume will have to be used for reference in connexion with later members of the series, one would have thought that the desirability of separating the particular from the general would have been obvious, while I can assure the editors that

the irritation caused by perpetually pitching into the Stage-History when seeking the Notes or the Glossary puts a reviewer into anything but a favourable temper.

Another grumble that a critic may be allowed is that he is put to a lot of wholly unnecessary trouble through the editors' refusal to number their lines (only the first on each page is numbered). However unauthoritative, in the editors' opinion, may be the division into acts and scenes, the traditional mode of reference cannot be evaded and had best be frankly accepted. For plays not yet issued in this edition the references are to the 'Globe' numbering. Is it too much to ask the editors to make their own numeration (in the margin) accord with the generally accepted standard? For the most part a little ingenuity will readily bring them into accord, and in cases of serious divergence the numbering might be treated as purely conventional since its only object is to provide a system of reference.

Unfortunately the lack of co-ordination noted above shows itself less superficially in a want of unity of purpose that somewhat obscures the real significance of the work. For the General Introduction I can see no excuse. It is a modern fashion—and a bad one—to preface a scholar's work with an essay by some more or less distinguished literator. Apparently it was thought necessary to follow fashion in the present instance. The essay is supplied by one of the editors in a quite adequate though in no wise superlative manner, but from the point of view of the serious justification of the new edition its popular elegancies are wholly and irritatingly irrelevant. Nor can much more be said for the special Introduction to *The Tempest*. We are told that Caliban has been over-philosophised, that many critics have lost their hearts to Miranda, and that Prospero is perhaps Destiny itself—we are nowhere told how much of the play the editors believe to be Shakespeare's. All this is the more deplorable in view of complaints elsewhere that the limits of space forbid the full exposition of the most fundamental critical problems involved.

The orientation of recent thought is well expounded in the Textual Introduction and I cannot do better, with a view to illustrating the significance and importance of this new Shakespeare, than follow the editors' analysis of the position and show the manner in which it has affected their own work.

The textual study of Shakespeare has been revolutionized by what the editors term 'three distinct though closely related discoveries.' These are of course (i) the establishment by Prof. A. W. Pollard of the bibliographical foundations of the text in the copy used by the printer, (ii) Mr Percy Simpson's investigations into the significance of Shakespearian punctuation, and (iii) Sir E. Maunde Thompson's attempted proof that we possess in the *More* manuscript three pages of writing in Shakespeare's own hand, which (if true) affords a basis for emendation that has been lacking hitherto. In close connexion with this last I should add a scarcely less important fourth 'discovery,' which the editors' modesty has prevented their including, namely Mr Dover

Wilson's own (unpublished) analysis of the misprints and anomalous spellings found in those Quartos which bibliographical considerations suggest stand at no great remove from Shakespeare's autograph.

(i) Of these new critical data by far the most important is the first, which opens up almost unlimited fields of interest, though it may affect the narrower domain of text construction less profoundly than the others. It modifies our views mainly in two ways, namely (*a*) by ascribing to the majority of early texts a much higher degree of authority than in the past orthodox criticism has been willing to admit, and (*b*) by forcing us in each particular case to enquire, and suggesting the means of discovering, what had been the precise history of the material manuscript that formed the printer's copy. The first of these, for any given play, is textually a constant factor; it always conditions and in most cases severely limits the scope and admissibility of conjectural alteration. The second is far more complicated in its operation. Primarily its interest is for the critic rather than the textual editor. The complex fortunes of a play are matter of history, they cannot be represented textually. The editor has perforce to confine himself to some particular moment in the history of the text, and endeavour to make his edition reflect that moment. For instance, in the case of *The Tempest* the new Cambridge editors have tried to represent the first folio copy before it had been prepared for press by the introduction of the (to them) arbitrary and irrelevant division into acts and scenes. Yet this was a late moment in the history of the play, and whatever moment be chosen, the choice must rest on the view taken of the history. Moreover, though it be the task of the literary historian to reconstruct the fortunes of the text, his reconstruction, once formulated in detail, affects the work of the textual editor in an often profound though variable manner. It may help him to restore metre by proving a particular passage to be a marginal insertion, it may prevent his trying by violent emendation to make verse of a botcher's suture, it may enable him to explain and remedy the occurrence of alternative passages, and save him from making Shakespearian emendations in non-Shakespearian work. Its textual operation, however, will lie less in the fabric than in the accidentals of the text; the surgical operations it justifies may be violent, but they will probably be few and irregular.

Thus the success or otherwise of an editor's application of bibliographical methods of reconstruction will manifest itself in his treatment of textual problems. At the same time we usually expect of an editor something beyond mere text construction: particularly, when he has had to play the part of literary historian (or detective) himself, we naturally wish to be favoured with the results of his investigation. It is here that I find the present edition of *The Tempest* rather disappointing. It is true that the reader is offered some highly interesting speculations as to the possible adventures that may have befallen the text, but nowhere do the editors venture on any detailed reconstruction of its history. They remark indeed that, since their main purpose is 'to bring new textual facts to light rather than to formulate theories' they will attempt no

'hypothetical history of the *Tempest* MS.' This may be held a wise caution, but I am disposed to doubt the value of the bibliographical method unless it is consistently carried through. Of course it would be foolish to expect a minute history that should account in all detail for the observed phenomena of text, but it must never be forgotten that the criterion by which the bibliographical interpretation of a text should be judged is just its power to account for these phenomena in general, and to combine their alleged causes into a plausible and consistent history. No doubt the editors have more definite views on the point than they vouchsafe their readers, for the 'textual editor' informs us that 'it will not always be possible, within the limits of his space, to give a complete account of the faith that is in him.' Such economy in the foundations of the work is, I repeat, deplorable, and I sincerely hope that when 'at the conclusion of the edition, an exposition of the results of the survey' is attempted, an account of every play will be forthcoming adequate to satisfy critical requirements. It is largely upon the serious facing of this problem that the justification of the edition as a whole will depend.

In a valuable note on 'The copy used for *The Tempest*, 1623,' the editors come to grips with the bibliographical problem, and their treatment of it merits close attention. The first point dealt with is the possibility of *The Tempest* being based upon and preserving fossilized remains of an earlier play, whether Shakespearian or not there seems no evidence to show. The editors point to certain traces of rimed couplets in the extant text of Act III, but it is questionable whether they are other than accidental. In careful writing they would of course be avoided, but the editors themselves draw attention to frequent verbal echoes as signs of haste. The evidence is weak, but the speculation is legitimate in view of a further consideration. For it is tolerably certain that *The Tempest* bears some relation to an earlier lost play, which for its part was either the original or an imitation of Jakob Ayrer's *Schöne Sidea*. The latter affords a considerable set of parallels to the plot of *The Tempest* and the editors point out some curious points of contact in detail. When therefore they elsewhere dismiss the resemblances as the mere common stuff of folk tales they seem to be gratuitously stultifying their own methods.

That, putting aside all question of source, our *Tempest* bears evidence of extensive revision seems evident on the face of style and composition. The editors mention a number of interesting points—Antonio's son, Francisco, jester Trinculo—but these, though certainly evidence of alteration, are less clearly evidence of abridgement, or rather point to a type of abridgement that may consist with actual expansion; they do not prove that *The Tempest* as a whole was ever longer than we find it. An important item is the presence of broken lines, i.e. lines of less than the normal length. These often point to cuts, but may also arise from insertion: also such evidence requires delicate handling. For I suppose we may accept the orthodox view that Shakespeare, at least in his later plays, occasionally wrote such lines intentionally, and the editors assume at least one instance in *The Tempest*. This makes broken lines unreliable

as evidence of revision, unless, as sometimes happens, they occur in conjunction with anomalous punctuation surviving apparently from the original text, when they may supply very interesting clues. (But why is v. i. 221 printed as two broken lines?)

Farther reaching are the considerations suggested by an argument in favour of revision based on the colossal scene of exposition, I. ii. 'The threefold difficulty is tackled by Shakespeare with consummate skill: but the expositions are there, and they tell their own tale. At some stage of its evolution *The Tempest* was in all likelihood a loosely constructed drama' of a narrative type. I confess that I do not follow this argument. Given the story, the exposition is necessary, however it is managed. Presumably the editors were influenced in their deduction by the fact that parts of the exposition bear marks of drastic cutting; but even so the original must have been exposition and not presentation. The fact points to revision but not to any fundamental change of construction. This is one of the indications that the editors' refusal to formulate a complete textual history has betrayed them into basing arguments on insufficient analysis.

This refusal is the more unfortunate since *The Tempest* appears to offer unusual opportunities for such reconstruction, and it is to be regretted that the editors were hampered with respect to the external evidence by an apparently unwarranted distrust of Mr Ernest Law's vindication of the Revels' accounts. In view of the importance of the problem and the hope that the editors may return to it in their final survey I am tempted to offer a few remarks on the two most important revisional passages in the play, the Ariel dialogue in I. ii and the Masque in IV. i. In the former, ll. 252–6 seem to run too smoothly to allow of a [illegible] after 258, the alteration is probably more considerable and 'Thrice much to tread the ooze of the salt deep' may be an original [illegible] has also I fancy been alteration in ll. 248–9 and not [illegible] a point to which I shall return. The cuts at ll. 253 [illegible] are [illegible] treated in the notes. The cruxes of the passage [illegible] and 258–260, which are clearly unoriginal, but can hardly [illegible] as the editors assume. If the section 'Then was this [illegible] be omitted, 'the context flows straight on' [illegible] The editors suggest that the lines are [illegible] elsewhere because it is necessary to [illegible] editors. The need is there, but for their [illegible] incredibly clumsy and the explanation [illegible] In the second case the repetition of the prefix [illegible] to revert to the original text. But to omit [illegible] passage [illegible] Within indigence leaves a broken line. [illegible] satisfied. The insertion is rather confused. [illegible] make it appear. Do so, and after two [illegible] reduce it to verse one would have to [illegible] the rest we may require one singing [illegible] arrangement

Go make thyself like *to* a nymph o'th' sea;
Be subject to no sight but thine and mine,
Invisible to every eye-ball else:
Go take this shape and hither come in't...go...
Hence with diligence.

I fail to see why the second of these lines is 'absurd.' The 'crudely theatrical' motive of the insertion may be as supposed, but it seems possible that the passage once had more significance than now appears.

I do not think that the editors express any view as to whether Shakespeare wrote the Masque. It seems to me pretty clearly the work of a writer with a very distinctive style quite different from Shakespeare's, and it is most interesting to learn that here the punctuation 'is noticeably less careful than that of the rest of the play.' But it was Shakespeare who worked the Masque into its place in spite of the clumsiness of some of the botching. This cannot have been before the autumn of 1612, and the editors make the pleasant suggestion that the final revision 'may therefore have been carried through in his study at New Place,' which would account for the unusual fullness of the stage directions. But if Shakespeare was working away from London he is unlikely to have had the detailed cast of the play before him. This renders improbable the inference, which seems to me anyhow illegitimate, that because Ariel says that he presented Ceres, the parts were in fact doubled. Some doubling may be assumed, and so far as the editors rely on bibliographical evidence for the arrangements that made it possible, their conclusions seem plausible enough, but the starting point of their argument is surely a dramatic and not a theatrical datum. It certainly appears likely that at some stage in the development at least one of the dances was present without the Masque; also that there is botching both before and after seems probable, though it is less clear that insertions have been made to allow of changes of costume. The addition at the end is glaringly obvious in the utter irrelevance of the superb lines—perhaps the last that flowed from Shakespeare's pen—with which Prospero dismisses the revels. But the extent of the insertion is not proved, and mere insertion it is not. The editors notice 'that ll. 158–60 are a direct rejoinder to Ferdinand's words at 143–4, and that "Sir, I am vexed" *completes* the line "That works him strongly."' But Ferdinand's words are not addressed to Prospero, and the line 'That works him strongly. Sir I am vexed,' though perhaps not metrically impossible is at least very unusual. Moreover, ll. 146–7 are admittedly absurd as they stand. There has unquestionably been alteration as well as insertion. The extent of this is of course doubtful, but we may perhaps conjecture that the original ran:

Ferd. You do look, my *lord*, in a moved sort,
As if you were dismayed.
Pros. Sir, I am vexed.

This leaves the famous purple patch as an insertion and the words 'be cheerful, sir' as a connecting link. The lines 118–27, which form a break in the Masque, were also inserted, presumably at the same time as

the later passage with which they are to some extent linked. The question of alteration before the Masque is much more obscure. I agree that originally the dance probably followed close on Ariel's jingle. But I find it very hard to believe that if Shakespeare had been required to give time here for a change of costume he would have merely duplicated the chastity-injunction, or that these lines (50–9), which are even flatter than the previous sermon, were written at the same sitting as 'Our revels now are ended.' Whatever the alterations, the former lines are I think original in a sense in which the latter are not. Nevertheless they do not appear to belong to a very early stratum, for they seem in some way connected with the Masque. At least a comparison of the curious and rather offensive warnings of ll. 13–32 (note l. 12 broken) and ll. 51–6 with the allusions to Venus' 'wanton charm' and 'the very end of harvest' (defined by the 'sicklemen, of August weary') suggest some curious speculations on the occasion of the performance. The date of the marriage was 14 February 1613.

So much for the light thrown by critical bibliography on the problem of textual history. There remains the question of the bearing of the new method on textual criticism. The editors, largely influenced by the excellent punctuation (see below), have come to the conclusion that the copy used for *The Tempest* in the folio was none other than the autograph manuscript—however altered—of Shakespeare himself. Perhaps only those who have been through the textual grind have the right to express an opinion on this point, but I have found nothing to make me dissent from their optimistic view—unless it be that I sometimes suspect corruption to be deeper than they allow. It follows that the folio text should be treated with the profoundest respect, and while admitting that no two critics will ever agree upon the exact extent of necessary alteration, I should myself have adopted a distinctly more conservative line than even the new Cambridge editors have ventured on.

Among the points that support the authority of the text are the stage directions, which 'possess a beauty and elaboration without parallel in the canon.' Of these the editors have made full use, retaining many of the original directions in inverted commas. This however leaves it vague how far the rest are based on the original and how far they are pure editorial imagination. May I suggest that in future wherever the editors depart in any way from the original, the exact form of the direction should be given in the notes? Closely connected with the stage directions is the division into acts and scenes. This is not the place to enter on a discussion of the principles and significance of Elizabethan play-divisions, but it may be doubted whether the editors are altogether justified in their scorn of them. In point of fact every fresh scene in *The Tempest* marks a change of locality and a break in the action except v. i, and here, because of the continuity of characters also, the editors postulate the loss of a scene. It is not quite certain whether this is legitimate. We are told that 'this is the only occasion, apparently, in the whole canon where speakers who have concluded one scene appear again at the opening of the next.' But something of the sort occurs in

A Midsummer-Night's Dream where the characters 'sleepe all the Act.' If there really was an interval there would be no objection to the reappearance of characters, though it would not be permissible within the act. Then there is the evidence of the 'plots.' The editors remark that 'some of the extant "plots," most of which belonged to the Admiral's men, prove that act-pauses were a recognised feature at certain theatres in Shakespeare's day.' This is seriously misleading in the apparent suggestion (which I suppose is unintentional) that act-pauses may have been peculiar to the Admiral's men. The fact is that of seven known 'plots' the two belonging to Shakespeare's company both mark act divisions, while of the five belonging to the Admiral's company only two clearly mark them and one certainly and two probably do not. To judge from *The Tempest* alone there is nothing to suggest that Shakespeare did not follow the apparent practice of his company in dividing his plays into both acts and scenes; but the absence of all such division from the early quartos is certainly a bibliographical fact of the first importance.

The spelling of course is modernized, as it needs must be in any text of Shakespeare intended for general reading. No great harm is done so long as the editors distinguish, as they have tried to do, between mere spellings and variant forms. But if they retain 'salvage,' 'goss' and 'boresprit,' it seems absurd to alter 'vild' into 'vile' (I. ii. 359). Such tampering is as reprehensible as the old Cambridge editors' substitution of 'chorister' for 'quirister.' Upon the still-vexed question of abbreviations the editors seem inclined to hedge. Thus they print:

Which now's upon us: without the which, this story [I. ii. 137; folio: upon's]
Which end of the beam sh'ould bow....We have lost your son, [II. i. 130; folio: o'th']

and in the second instance they do not even note the change. Yet upon their own principles there can hardly be a doubt that Shakespeare both wrote and intended the contracted forms. Nor can I doubt that Shakespeare wrote (V. i. 220):

That swear'st grace ore-boord, not an oath on shore?

where to substitute 'overboard' makes rather difficult rhythm and quite alters the emphasis of the line. In two other instances I think the folio rhythm, though slightly irregular, more effective than the editors', namely in:

Which thou tak'st from me: when thou cam'st first [I. ii. 333; editors: camest]
Curs'd be I that did so....All the charms [I. ii. 340; editors: Curséd].

Shakespeare's Caliban does not talk the language of Browning's, but neither does he speak like Prospero. On the other hand I am sceptical as to whether Caliban's tipsiness is a fair explanation of the textual irregularities in his songs. There are however two lines of which I am suspicious on metrical grounds. One is V. i. 173:

Sweet lord, you play me false. No, my dearest love,

which finds a close parallel in the other, V. i. 269:

Then say if they be true: This mis-shapen knave—

For in the latter I suspect that Shakespeare wrote 'mishapd,' which the compositor (misreading *d* as *e*) altered to 'mishapen,' the folio reading. (It is just conceivable that Shakespeare intended 'mis-happed,' but there is no good authority for the adjectival use.) In the former 'No' and 'my' may have been alternatives, one imperfectly deleted. Two other alterations appear to me required by the sense; namely I. ii. 329–31:

> thou shalt be pinched
> As thick as honeycomb, each pinch more stinging
> Than bees that made 'em—

query 'Than bees *had* made 'em'; and II. i. 248–9:

> We were all sea-swallowed, though some cast again,
> And by that destiny—to perform an act—

surely 'And *that by* destiny.' But there is a very curious point about the latter passage though the editors have failed to notice it. The folio, namely, reads, not 'We were all' but 'We all were.' Possibly the folio proof-reader marked 'by that' for transposition and the compositor made the alteration in the wrong line.

There is one excuse for alteration which the editors are constantly invoking, namely what they call 'compositor's grammar'—mostly false concords. It is of course possible that some of these solecisms, so common in Elizabethan texts, may be printers' errors, but I have little doubt in my own mind that reputable compositors of that time would correct rather than corrupt their authors' grammar, just as they tended to Bayfieldize their authors' contractions. There is an interesting example in Greene's *James IV*, a play which happens to have engaged my attention lately. In the course of a rimed dialogue we meet the lines (785–8):

> What meanes faire Mistres had you in this worke?—
> My needle sir.—In needles then there lurkes,
> Some hidden grace I deeme beyond my reach.

Greene must have written 'lurke,' but the printer would not have it, and sacrificed rime to grammar! Moreover we know from his own rimes that Shakespeare was not particular about concords (there are 'those springs On chaliced flowers that lies'!) and I think that a closer examination of the grammatical licences of *The Tempest* will suggest doubts as to the editors' magisterial methods. In I. ii. 71 'was' is justified by dependence on 'slave,' and the strictly correct 'wast' is objectionable owing to its occurrence in the following line. In V. i. 81 to read 'reasonable shores' seems to me impossible. It is the 'shore of reason' and is followed by a plural verb because it is thought of as a succession of creeks and inlets that the 'approaching tide' of 'understanding' 'Will shortly *fill*.' The tide cannot *fill* open shores. Nor is it necessary to change V. i. 133: 'I do forgive Thy rankest fault—all of them'; Prospero deliberately alters his expression. Still more arbitrary is it in I. ii. 201 to change 'Jove's lightning,' which is collective: in IV. i. 264 the irregularity is explained by the inversion. Surely it is unnecessary to alter I. ii. 455: 'They are both in either's powers,' or V. i. 291: 'This is

a strange thing as e'er I looked on,' in deference to the stricter logic of modern composition. I would even plead for the retention of the difficult folio reading in II. i. 296. To substitute 'thee,' though grammatical, is unsatisfactory since it is not Gonzalo alone that Prospero proposes to save. The proposed palaeographical explanation is not convincing. The break in the train of thought caused by the parenthesis may explain the change of person, but more likely some lines are lost, for there is certainly confusion in what follows. Particularly far fetched seems the invocation of 'compositor's grammar' in connexion with III. iii. 106: 'Now 'gins to bite the spirits:' for there is no grammatical question involved. If, as it may be, 'the spirit:' is the true reading, we may conjecture either (*a*) that Shakespeare originally wrote 'their spirits:' and made an incomplete alteration, or (*b*) that we have to do with an error arising through confusion of ':' with 's' (as seen in *James IV*, l. 2283: 'to learne thy mistresse: mind'). On the other hand there are a few glaring false concords, such as those in III. iii. 2, and V. i. 16, which certainly appear accidental. It is possible that if the edition is meant for popular reading those responsible for it have done wisely in smoothing away metrical and grammatical irregularities, but the claim to be thereby restoring the text of Shakespeare is hardly justified.

Another principle that the editors are fond of invoking is what they term the hypnotic influence of repetition on the compositor, who is credited with a tendency to go on repeating erroneously. This is probably quite a genuine tendency, but it may affect a writer as well as a compositor, and I do not think that it is quite as common as the editors assume. At least many instances seem capable of an alternative explanation, namely a change of intention on the author's part. In II. i. 247 Shakespeare I think intended to continue 'she that,' changed his mind, and completed the line without altering what he had written (unless indeed we suppose something lost). So in I. ii. 248–9 I suspect that Shakespeare may have written:

> Told thee no lies, made thee no mistakings,
> Served without grudge or grumblings—

and then misliking it made an incomplete alteration. The same would account for V. i. 200–1, which may originally have run:

> Let us not burden our remembrances
> With heaviness that's gone.

One such alteration of a minor character seems tolerably certain. In the Masque occurs the line (IV. i. 128):

> You nymphs, called Naiads, of the windring brooks,

on which the editors note that 'either *wandring* or *winding* are possible.' (Is this compositor's grammar?) But the most probable explanation is that the author (not Shakespeare) started to write 'winding,' changed his mind to 'wandring,' and forgot to alter the beginning of the word. Anyhow it seems illegitimate to leave 'windring' in the text, and obviously the final intention is to be preferred. A similar 'portmanteau

word occurs in *James IV*, l. 1074, where 'inconstinence' appears through a change from 'inconstancy' to 'incontinence.'

Lastly I would direct attention to the treatment of a passage in III. ii. On ll. 42–4 the editors note 'F. arranges as prose' (there is a mixture in the scene, which probably points to revision)—and prose they certainly appear to me. The point would not be worth mention had not the editors in l. 56 tried to force verse by altering 'Ile' to 'I will.'

(ii) The second new critical datum which has been made use of in constructing the text is respect for the punctuation of the original. Elizabethan punctuation was not logical like ours, but rhetorical—in Shakespeare's case, dramatic. This the editors have endeavoured to translate into a notation of their own, with, so it seems to me, on the whole very happy results. It will be of the greatest interest to watch the application of the method in future plays, for it is only over a considerable field that it can be thoroughly tested. The punctuation of different plays will probably be found to vary widely and it is probable that in some the editors will have very greatly to limit their reliance on it. I trust they will frankly recognize the necessity, for I feel that there is some danger of their endeavouring to account for merely eccentric pointing by ever greater subtleties of interpretation. Elizabethan punctuation, while in principle rhetorical, was never systematic—it was a matter not of rule but of inspiration. At its best it was able to express fine shades and delicacies far beyond the reach of our humdrum methods, at other times it is merely clumsy and inconsequent, and there is not seldom a doubt in individual cases whether some peculiarity is happy inspiration or bad practice. Meanwhile, reliance on the folio has been fruitful of some interesting results. Ariel's description (I. ii. 212):

> Then all afire with me the king's son, Ferdinand,

is certainly a notable score, which is likely to prove popular with future editors, though it must be admitted that 'Then...then' is a little awkward within a single clause. In I. ii. 343 'sty-me' is certainly effective and might perhaps be retained. But unless I am much mistaken the editors have not had the full courage of their opinion, for there seem to be at least two passages which a reliance on the original punctuation should have saved them from misinterpreting. In Ariel's song (I. ii. 1–9) the folio should be followed:

> Curtsied when you have, and kissed
> The wild waves whist:

ess the symmetric colon be reduced to a comma)—i.e. 'when you e kissed the waves into silence.' The editors' reading 'kissed—' s 'whist' a verb; but, though in the absence of *NED* it is to be certain, I do not think this is possible. In what follows ere to the folio with advantage (dividing one line into two, but their indentation is misleading. The other passage is which in the folio runs:

> A solemne Ayre, and the best comforter,
> To an vnsettled fancie, Cure thy braines
> (Now vseless) boile within thy skull.

Here the editors read: 'cure thy braines—Now useles boil within thy skull,' and note 'Probably Shakespeare intended the second bracket to follow "skull,"' interpreting 'Alonso's brain is but a tumour'! But the difficulty merely arises through the unexpected but not uncommon omission of a relative: 'your brains *that* are uselessly seething in your head.'

According to the editors, points often have the virtue of stage-directions, and these they have liberally supplied. The device is legitimate enough, and though no reader will agree in every case, the practice is undoubtedly effective. The interpretation of 'beauty's canker' in I. ii. 420 is admirable. In II. i. 280 'dagger' should surely be 'sword' (cf. 289).

(iii) The last new method employed in the present edition is connected with the supposed discovery of three pages of Shakespeare's writing and Mr Dover Wilson's own investigations of the misprints and spellings of the 'good' quartos. While the bibliographical data limit in a general way the scope of permissible emendation, these indicate the lines on which legitimate conjecture should proceed. As regards Shakespeare's autograph I think the editors are in a more difficult position than they realize. They admit that Sir E. M. Thompson's thesis is not universally accepted by scholars, but they claim general agreement that the pages are 'in a hand at least of the same class as' Shakespeare's and that 'this is enough to make' them 'an instrument of the highest value for an editor of Shakespeare.' I should like to share this optimistic view, but I cannot. If the pages are autograph, well and good; if not, they tell us nothing that we did not know before and are practically useless for criticism. The editors are, however, perfectly entitled to their belief 'that we know how Shakespeare wrote' and its use in their textual labours. To criticize those labours fairly we must accept their belief —and this I do all the more willingly as, taking everything into account, I think that it is probably correct.

The editors' analysis of possible literal confusions and therefore of probable misprints deserves careful attention. There is unfortunately an initial ambiguity that introduces some confusion. 'In the "English" hand, which Shakespeare wrote,' certain peculiarities are observable. Do they mean 'In the "English" hand, as Shakespeare wrote it'? If so, their analysis depends entirely on the Maunde Thompson hypothesis. Or do they mean 'In the "English" hand, which is the one Shakespeare wrote'? If so, much of their analysis is invalid. While, for instance, *n* and *u* are generally interchangeable, there should normally be no confusion between *w* and *r*. Again it is only in a certain type of English hand that confusion between *e* and *d* is possible, and even in this the resemblance is often only in the final position. Other points will appear anon: here it is sufficient to point out the editors' failure to carry analysis far enough. There is one particular way in which this failure appears to me to vitiate a good deal of the work of emendation, namely the tacit assumption that resemblance is always reciprocal. Because *a* may resemble *n* it does not follow that *n* can resemble *a*, or,

more important, because a badly made *e* tends to resemble *o*, a badly made *o* does not therefore resemble *e* (for I cannot agree that the main distinction is the after link). But, it is urged, a compositor familiar with the possible confusions of a given hand—or class of hands—will be on the look out for them and may assume them wrongly. This is true, but it is a reflex action which can never have the same operative force as direct resemblance. A printer may automatically read 'less' as 'loss' because the *e* has in fact become an *o*, and he may carelessly print 'loss' though it makes nonsense. He will not automatically read 'loss' as 'less,' and it is only if he has some reason for doubting the reading 'loss' that his knowledge of the hand may suggest the possibility of 'less.' (At least this is my own feeling, and, though I may be wrong in the instance chosen, the principle is unaffected.) The argument also applies to spellings. For instance 'thee' may be written 'the' and a careless compositor will print 'the' where 'thee' is required. But his knowledge of this ambiguity would be no inducement to him to print 'thee' for 'the' where the latter satisfied the sense.

I propose to take certain instances from the editors' notes and to show how failure of analysis combines with other causes to invalidate some of their conjectures. (For the most part these are conjectures only and are not admitted into the text.) And I will begin with those involving what I have called reflex action. Thus v. i. 41: '*masters* Hanmer read "ministers," which is a better reading, and if written with a minim short might easily have been mistaken for "maisters."' Here the appeal to principle is legitimate, since, if the word was miswritten, the printer would have to use his ingenuity to guess what was intended. Also I may suggest that if the dot of the first *i* took the form of an acute accent (cf. facsimile, l. 5, 'him') it might look like the head of a tall *a* (cf. l. 1, 'marry'). Certainly 'ministers' is an admirable conjecture and might almost be admitted into the text. Very different is that of 'Troubles thee o'er' (folio 'Trebbles') in II. i. 218. The editors' suggestion is that 'trovbles' was misread 'trebbles,' but 'troubles' is a much more usual word than 'trebbles' and therefore there would be no temptation to the compositor to mistake *o* for *e*. Moreover, though *v* may sometimes resemble *b* the confusion is hardly likely where a *b* follows for comparison. As regards sense, 'Troubles' certainly lends point to what follows, but it hardly fits the immediate context. Of course 'over-trouble' means to trouble too much, but there seems no ground whatever for supposing that 'trouble over' could have the same sense. These are graphic cases: now for spelling. In I. ii. 173 the editors follow Rowe in altering 'Princesse' to 'princes,' noting that 'Shakespeare would spell "princess" as "princes."' I doubt this, but he might. A printer, however, seeing 'princes' would naturally read it as 'princes,' and since 'princes' gives far easier sense than 'princesse' it is illegitimate to invoke reflex action. Again on v. i. 231, 'We were dead of sleep,' they note: 'Pope reads "asleep," which is quite possible, the compositor incorrectly expanding "a" to "of."' It is perfectly true that 'of' was sometimes written 'a,' but to suppose that a printer confronted with such a familiar word as

'asleep,' making most obvious sense, would 'expand' it to 'of sleep' seems fantastic. To my mind, moreover, 'of sleep' is preferable.

Among other graphic emendations is the ingenious treatment of the crux in III. i. 15, 'Most busie lest, when I doe it.' The editors begin by assuming that the sense is expressed by Spedding's reading 'Most busiest when idlest.' They see in 'busie lest' (a compositor's normalized spelling of 'bizzye lest') a misreading and misdivision of 'bizy ydlest,' i.e. busy-idlest. This it will be seen involves the confusion of medial *e* and *d*, the frequency of which it is permissible to doubt. I should not press the objection, however, if the sense were more satisfying. But is it really reasonable to say that one is working hardest at a task when resting from it? Note further that Miranda completes the line, 'Alas, now pray you,' which makes it a foot too long. This raises the suspicion that the whole passage may be revisional and the corruption more than a mere misreading. The suggestion is confirmed by another passage a few lines before which the editors pass over in silence, but which seems to me clearly corrupt: namely ll. 4–6. The first of these is metrically defective; in the others we should expect 'but *that* The mistress.' Further the task is anyhow heavy, the contingent quality is odiousness; consequently sense seems to require 'my task would be as odious as heavy.' We could rewrite the passage:

> Point to rich ends....This my mean task would be
> As odious as heavy to me but that
> The mistress which I serve quickens what's dead.

But if this is anything like correct the corruption can only have occurred through marginal revision.

The same doubt respecting the *e*:*d* confusion makes me just a little sceptical as to the emendation 'eked' ('eekt') for 'decked' in I. ii. 155, though here the unusual spelling and possibly the initial position make it less unlikely. But is emendation needed? Prospero adorned the sea with tears as with pearls. The possibility of misdivision (as in 'bizzye lest') is ingeniously used in V. i. 146 where the resolution of 'supportable' into 'support able,' combined with the substitution of 'less' for 'loss' (a legitimate *e*>*o* misprint aided by hypnotism !) and the retention of the folio 'deere' (='dere' not 'dear'), gives a reading which is admirable—up to a point. But have not the editors overlooked the construction? According to their interpretation both 'support' and 'means' seem to be the object of 'have,' which can hardly be correct. Another divisional emendation is 'Let's all on' for 'Let's alone' in IV. i. 232. I would suggest, however, that the more natural reading is 'Let't alone' (*sc.* the 'luggage')—the confusion of *t* and final *s* being fairly easy.

In II. i. 93 a gallant effort is made to convert the apparently meaningless folio reading '*Gon.* I.' into '*Gonzalo* [*rousing the king*]. Sir!' The trick is done by supposing that the manuscript was written 'gonsir!' and misread 'gonsa I.' But this is impossible since 'I' would be written '*J*,' which bears no resemblance to '!'! Throughout, indeed, the editors appear to me to suggest resemblances between letters in far too light-

hearted a fashion. In v. i. 157, wishing to read 'These' ('Theis') for 'Their' they assert that final *s* (a tall letter) 'might easily be read' as *r*. (This seems really naughty, but it is true that if it is sufficiently badly written, as it sometimes is in the *More* manuscript, final *is* somewhat resembles *r*: thus 'theis' might be read 'ther' and printed 'their.') In the very next note (l. 175) after remarking that 'Yet' and 'Yes' are liable to confusion (which is perfectly true), they go out of their way to suggest that this was probably due to the use of the 'ꝭ'-form. But 'ꝭ' is properly a contraction for *es* and should not be used after *e*—'Yeꝭ' is a monstrosity. Moreover this 'ꝭ' is a tailed letter which could not conceivably be confused with *t*, whereas the ordinary final *s* is a tall letter and, as mentioned above, the confusion is comparatively easy.

A really difficult expression is that in III. iii. 93: 'And his and mine loved darling.' Of course 'mine' for 'my' is common before a vowel, and the absolute form is permissible attributively when separated from the substantive—'hers and mine adultery' illustrates both. Probably, therefore, there has been an accidental inversion and we should read: 'And mine and his loved darling.' The editors suggest that 'and mine' may be an error for 'admired' (cf. III. i. 37–8): 'mine' for 'mird' may be all right, but 'and' for 'ad' seems unlikely. Besides, 'his admired loved darling'—well, one can only hope that Shakespeare did not write it!

On the other hand there are many cases in which the editors make excellent use of the graphic method of emendation. Johnson's 'soil' for 'soule' (I. ii. 29), Dryden's 'mind' for 'mad' (I. ii. 209), Staunton's 'blear-eyed' for 'blew-eyed' (I. ii. 269) all receive notable support. 'Sophy' for 'folly' in III. ii. 4 is ingenious and sufficiently plausible; so is 'I think thee, Ariel' (folio 'thank') in IV. i. 64; in IV. i. 184 'sweat' for 'feet' is brilliant. Special mention must be made of the very interesting endeavour to clear up the difficult passage, I. ii. 99–102:

> like one
> Who having into truth, by telling of it,
> Made such a sinner of his memory,
> To credit his own lie.

Here the editors propose to read 'minted' for 'into,' when the lines are at once seen to be a metaphor from coining. The conjecture is palmary and is supported by an actual quotation (of 1664): 'Though it were in our power to mint Truth as we please.' When, however, they come to the graphic explanation they falter. Shakespeare is supposed to have written the word 'minted' a minim short, and the compositor to have read it 'inntoe.' I cannot believe that such a word as 'inntoe' would ever have entered the compositor's imagination: it is not a possible spelling. But I am not so certain that each half alone is impossible, and if Shakespeare wrote 'mn ted' I think it just conceivable that the compositor may have read it 'inn toe' and so printed 'into.' The further conjecture of 'finer' for 'sinner' is also ingenious and has good graphic and orthographic support. It bears out the metaphor neatly, but I am not sure that it improves the sense.

One specious alteration, ultimately dependent on writing, I rather

doubt. In II. i. 62–3 Gonzalo says that their drenched garments retain 'their freshnesse and glosses, being rather new dy'de then stain'd with salte water.' The editors print 'gloss, as being,' remarking that 'The emendation seems self-evident.' This is a somewhat discredited ground of acceptance. Moreover, the emendation 'involves the alteration of the comma, a serious point in this carefully punctuated text'! and the graphic explanation is difficult. On the editors' assumption Shakespeare must have written either 'glos as' or 'gloffe as' and the difference between medial and final *s* should have prevented the compositor from reading either as 'gloffes.' Really no alteration is needed. The garments could have but one 'freshness' but each material could have its several 'gloss,' and the sentence is just as well without the 'as': 'salt water having rather new dyed than stained them.' On the other hand I am tempted to read 'verity' for 'verily' in II. i. 318, the confusion being an easy one.

Lastly I come to emendations dependent not on writing but on spelling. Good use is made throughout of Mr Dover Wilson's investigations into Shakespearian orthography and I will only call attention to a few points of possible criticism. A neat use of this evidence is seen in the first word of the play: 'Bos'n!' The folio prints the word fourteen times as 'Bote-swaine' but once (l. 12) inadvertently betrays Shakespeare's spelling 'Boson.' The editors therefore print the shortened form throughout, except once where 'Boatswain' is kept 'as befitting the speech of a king.' This seems a pity—is it more necessary for a king than a duke? In II. i. 124 the folio reads: 'But rather loose her to an Affrican.' Here 'loose' may stand equally well for 'loose' or 'lose.' The editors prefer the former as 'more forcible and appropriate to the speaker'—Sebastian. But surely such speech is intolerably coarse. At II. i. 185 on 'laugh me asleep' they note that 'laugh' and 'luff' were commonly spelt and pronounced alike 'loffe,' and that 'to luff asleep' means to stop a boat by drawing into the wind. The supposed pun seems however rather far fetched. True, Shakespeare was an inveterate punster, but the editors are a little inclined to trade on his weakness. In II. i. 240 the folio reads: 'But doubt discovery there.' Shakespeare would probably write 'dout' which is an ambiguous spelling standing equally for 'doubt' and 'dout' (=do out). Since the folio makes no sense the editors choose the latter meaning. But they are constrained to alter it to 'douts,' and even so it is not clear that the passage will bear the proposed interpretation. In IV. i. 9 the editors regard the folio reading 'her of' as 'compositor's misdivision of Shakespearian spelling "herof."' This is very plausible and infinitely preferable to the absurd second-folio reading 'her off,' followed by most editors. But one would perhaps rather expect 'thereof,' and it is possible that a line may have been lost. In IV. i. 90 the editors make the extraordinary suggestion that 'scandalled' is 'possibly an obsolete spelling of "sandalled,"' for which they compare the curious and apparently Shakespearian spelling 'scilens' for 'silence.' But the latter is only possible because it makes no difference to the pronunciation: *sc* could not possibly replace *s* before *a*.

Besides 'scandalled' gives far better sense. Lastly on v. i. 63, which they print:

> Mine eyes, e'en sociable to the show of thine,

the editors note: 'F. "ev'n," an unusual contraction, and possibly a misprint for "eü," i.e. "ever," which would give better sense.' But, though perhaps unusual, 'ev'n' is not without parallel, while I doubt whether 'eü' is a possible contraction at all—it certainly could not stand for 'ever.' Possibly it was intended to print 'eü,' but this would hardly have been mistaken for 'even.' Nor can I see any ground of sense for questioning 'even'—but it should be printed 'ev'n' not 'e'en.'

There are a hundred and one or two other points on which I should like to comment were space unbounded. I have confined myself to matters bearing on the new textual principles employed, and if I have appeared rather to criticize the use made of them, this is mainly because it seemed that in questioning lay the best chance of assisting future work.

The appearance of the new Cambridge Shakespeare is an event of considerable significance in the history of Shakespearian studies, and the present instalment is certainly the most interesting edition of any part of the canon that has appeared for a long while. Of the actual importance of the venture it is yet too soon to speak. To me it seems that the editors will have to choose between producing a popular edition—for which the notes and glossary should be fuller—and a work of serious scholarship. If they will only take themselves seriously, and insist on the publishers allowing them adequate space and opportunity to treat their task seriously, they should be able to produce a work, which, if not itself definitive for the new criticism—that is not to be looked for at the moment—will at least be recognized in the future as having pointed the way. At worst the edition remains a gallant and sporting adventure.

POSTSCRIPT. Since writing the above I have had the opportunity of examining the second volume of the series—*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. The main features of the folio text in this as in *The Merry Wives* [illegible] that follows it are the complete absence of stage directions and the fact that each scene is headed with the full list of the characters appearing in it, whether they enter at the beginning or [illegible] These [illegible] clearly require explanation. The editors [illegible] in the absence of the prompt copy, [illegible] together with the help of the 'pirated' [illegible] interesting theory with considerable [illegible] to judge from the [illegible] that the assumed origin will [illegible] The points of course give [illegible] nevertheless nearly [illegible] that some [illegible] N [illegible] of stage

directions. The only one extant has: 'dragges him in,' 'here he harkens,' 'A. begins to weepe,' '*currunt*,' '*pugnant N. victus*,' and the like. There is also the following significant point. It was the custom to relieve the actors' memories by giving them actual written letters to read on the stage, and such letters did not appear in their parts. If therefore a text was made up from parts, any letter had to be otherwise supplied, and the speaker's name would probably be prefixed as in fact we find it in many early texts. But Silvia's letter which the Duke reads in III. i, though printed in italic, has no separate prefix. I do not, of course, suggest that these considerations disprove the editors' theory, but only that they should be carefully weighed before it is finally accepted.

W. W. GREG.

LONDON.

Recherches Philologiques Romanes. Par G. G. NICHOLSON. Paris: H. Champion. 1921. xii + 255 pp. 30 fr.

This remarkable series of studies consists of 102 etymological articles and of two new suggested readings of notoriously obscure passages in the *Strasbourg Oaths* and the *Cantilène de Sainte Eulalie*. A glance at the table of contents shows that the author, who is Professor of French at the University of Sydney, is not lacking in courage, for, among the words tackled will be found a large number of the stock problems which have hitherto been the despair of scholars. Such are *trouver, trop, maint, vite, joli, tôt,* O.F. *gaif, gai,* O.F. *eneveis,* O.F. *estovoir, sortir, aire, tirer, sot, aller, harnais, vernir, barre, ôter,* with their Romance cognates. Not satisfied with assailing positions hitherto impregnable, Professor Nicholson finds time to demolish theories which have won pretty general acceptance, e.g. the longest article is devoted to disproving Thomas' well-known etymology of F. *aise*, which, admittedly, will not account for all the Romance cognates. In another article he demolishes the equation *jusque* = *de usque*, and suggests classical L. *eo usque*.

It may be said at once that Professor Nicholson's work shows extraordinary insight and acuteness, together with an imaginative power which is somewhat lacking in most etymologists. He realizes that words have meanings, and he puts forward no etymology without an elaborate investigation of the sense-history of the word concerned. It must not, however, be imagined that he inclines chiefly to the semantic method. On the contrary, his contempt for unphonetic etymologies is almost ferocious. In his own words, 'J'ai eu toujours le ferme propos de n'approuver que les étymologies qui se conforment parfaitement aux lois de la phonétique, aux exigences du sens commun et aux faits connus ou vraisemblables de la civilisation latine et romane' (*Avant-propos*, p. ix).

A close study of these *Recherches* suggests that Professor Nicholson has arrived at two general conclusions, which, though nowhere expressly formulated in his book, appear to be as follows:

(i) There existed in pre-documentary times a large and unrecorded

Gallo-Roman vocabulary, which had something of the prestige of medieval French, and was extensively drawn upon, not only by the other Romance languages, but also by Germanic.

(ii) This vocabulary included many compound verbs from which modern forms are back-formations, such back-formations, in conformity with new phonetic laws stated on pp. 57, 82, often resulting in modern doublets and even triplets or quadruplets.

The first of these may be illustrated by his etymology of *joli*, OF. *jolif*, V.L. **diabolivus*. I think that most Romance etymologists would, on the strength of the semi-learned *diaule* (*Eulalie*), which Professor Nicholson quotes, and the Welsh *diawl*, which he might have quoted, admit the very strong probability of O.F. **jol*, with which also, via V.L. **co-ad-diabolare*, he connects F. *cajoler*. If this is granted, the sense-history of *jolif*, elaborately traced by Professor Nicholson, presents no difficulty, its parallelism with that of *devilish* being oddly exemplified in such a modernism as *jolly good hiding*. But when Professor Nicholson, rightly rejecting the traditional etymology of *jolif* from O.N. *jōl*, proceeds paradoxically to explain the latter word as from Gr. διαβολή, which he conjectures to have been used in the sense of διάβασις, 'passing (from one season to another),' one feels the same reluctance to follow him which is evoked by his etymology of *pretty* and its Teutonic cognates from O.F. *apert* or *espert*. The same applies to his attempt to derive Ger. *schwatzen* and Dutch *zwetsen* from O.F. *esquachier*. *En passant* it may be remarked that he has not used the 1916 edition of Kluge.

As an example of the second principle alluded to above, we may take Professor Nicholson's etymology of *trouver*, which he regards as a back-formation from O.F. *entrover*, V.L. *interrógare*. This would be a doublet of the more usual *enterver*, which exceptionally preserves the classical accent. The sense-development is ingeniously traced and the phonetics are justified by O.F. *rover*, L. *rogare*; *corrovee*, L. *corrogata*.

But the majority of the writer's conjectural compounds are those in which *a-* is prefixed to a verb with initial *v-* or *f-*, in connection with which the two following new laws are stated.

(i) 'Dans le domaine français, *f* initiale, devenue intervocalique dans un composé, se change en *h* si elle est suivie d'une voyelle labiale; cette *h* s'efface si elle se trouve entre deux voyelles labiales et se maintient dans les autres cas' (p. 57).

(ii) 'Entre deux voyelles identiques en latin vulgaire, *f* et *v* (même s'ils ont été initiaux à l'origine) passent (*v* par l'intermédiaire de *f*) en gallo-roman à *h* qui disparaît si les deux voyelles restent identiques ou sont labiales, et qui se maintient dans les autres cas' (p. 82).

The second of these two laws may be illustrated by Professor Nicholson's treatment of V.L. **avallare*, from which he derives both *aller* (originally transitive, as in *Alexis*, xix. 4) and *haler* (via **ahaler*), as well as *avaler* and the nautical *affaler*, O.H.G. *halōn* and Icel. *hala* being regarded by him as early borrowings from O.F. If the working of this phonetic law is accepted, the identity of *aller* and *avaler* is

semantically established by the numerous parallel examples given. It. *andare* and Sp. *andar* he derives from L. (*se*) *ante dare*, while Prov. *anar* is V.L. **ante-minare*, all three verbs having been originally transitive. From V.L. *afact-* come, according to Professor Nicholson, O.F. *ahatir*, *aatir*, whence also *hait*, *ait* (in *a ait*) and *attirer*, and F. *attifer* (via **atif*, L. **afactivus*). The much discussed *aire* is a doublet of *affaire*, and *air*, manner, is a reduced form of *aire*. Professor Nicholson quotes copious O.F. examples of *de bon* (*povre*, *grant*, etc.) *afaire* used in the sense of *aire*. It is almost bewildering to find him deriving *hère* (in *pauvre hère*) and *haire* from the same source, the current meaning of the latter (hair-shirt) being, in his opinion, due to O.F. *haire*, difficulty, distress (=*affaire*), with the same transition from the abstract to the concrete as in *discipline*, scourge.

I have selected the above examples as illustrations of the rather disconcerting variations that Professor Nicholson can play on a single theme. Here are a few simple examples which illustrate his method—*tromper*, back-formation from L. *interrumpere*; *trancher*, back-formation from V.L. **interinsecare*; *trop*, back-formation from V.L. **introppo*, for *intra oppidum*, replacing adv. *oppido-* (= *certe*, *valde*); *tresser*, back-formation from V.L. *strictiare* (cf. *stringit vitta comas*, Lucan, v, 143); *trousser*, back-formation from V.L. **struxare* (cf. *un gaillard bien troussé*); *maint*, back-formation from O.F. *mainz*, L. *magnus* (cf. O.F. *tamaint* and Sp. *tamaño*, L. *tam magnus*); *vite*, O.F. *viste*, V.L. **vivacitus* (Professor Nicholson might have quoted the semantic parallel of *quick*); *fou*, *fol*, back-formation from O.F. *foler*, L. *fabulare*; *tôt*, O.F. *tost*, back-formation from *tantost*, V.L. **tantopost*; *motte*, back-formation from O.F. *moter*, V.L. **movitare*. These etymologies, which occur in the first forty to fifty pages, will, I think, strike most Romance scholars as worthy of serious consideration. Here are a few others which I have found especially interesting. *Vernir*, O.Sax. *wernjan*, to defend, 'garnish,' O.F. *verniz* being recorded both of the plating (apparently) of a shield and in the sense of weir. That *harness* is a triplet of *garnish* and *varnish* seems to me less probable, though the semantic arguments for it are very strong. Professor Nicholson goes a little astray in deriving *veneer* directly from *vernir* (the *-eer* and the earlier *fineer* make this impossible), though I like his suggestion that Ger. *furnieren*, to veneer, is folk-etymology for **firnieren*, F. *vernir* (cf. Ger. *firnis*, varnish, with early variant *fürnis*). But the assumption in the same article that *scrinium vermiculatum* for *fournierter schrank* in Weber's *Ger.-L. Dict.* (1770) 'est évidemment une graphie fautive pour *verniculatum*' is absurd, *vermiculatus* being well established in the sense of chequered, inlaid, etc. *Vrai*, O.F. *verai*, from *verus* followed, as it frequently is, by *ac*, e.g. *verum ac rectum*, with which cf. M.E. *verray right*. O.F. *gaif*, waif, L. *vacuus*, as in *mulier vacua*, spinster (Tacitus). This is certainly more promising than trying, like Skeat and the *N.E.D.*, to derive an O.F. administrative word, regularly coupled with the Romance word *stray*, from O.N. *veifa*, to wave, brandish. But the further assumption that *gai* is practically a back-formation from *gaif* (pl. *gais*) seems un-

justified. The adjective in *cheval gai* (= L. *equus vacuus*, unharnessed and unmounted), or *hareng gai*, shotten herring, no doubt belongs to *gaif*, but can hardly be identical with *gai*, jocund.

Professor Nicholson also has a little group of compounds of *sub-*, in which he assumes the same contraction as in *sombre*, L. *sub umbra*. Such are *soigner*, V.L. **sufungare*, for **sufungi*; *saur* (in *hareng saur*), back-formation from *saurer*, L. **subaurare* (cf. *subauratus*, Petronius); *sonder*, V.L. **sufundare*; *sorner*, L. *subornare*; *souiller*, V.L. **sub-fodiculare*, etc.

I have touched on only a small proportion of the problems handled in this fascinating volume, and have not space to discuss Professor Nicholson's emendations of the *Oaths* and *Eulalie*. Though I disagree with many of his etymological conclusions, and prefer to await the verdict of more able critics on others, I feel that these bold, original and stimulating *Recherches* deserve the serious attention of all Romance scholars. The two points most open to criticism are a too great readiness to assume that forms in the other Romance languages are borrowed from O.F., and a too frequent use of such confident expressions as 'incontestable,' 'sans aucun doute,' 'le doute n'est plus possible,' etc.

E. WEEKLEY.

NOTTINGHAM.

Chansons Satiriques et Bachiques du XIIIe siècle. Éd. par A. JEANROY et A. LÅNGFORS (*Classiques français du moyen âge*, XXIII). xiv+145 pp. 7 fr. 50.

Les Chansons de Conon de Béthune. Éd. par A. WALLENSKÖLD (même série, XXIV). xxiii+39 pp. 3 fr. Paris: H. Champion. 1921.

Les deux derniers tomes de l'excellente collection publiée sous la direction de Monsieur Marie Roques sont consacrés à la poésie lyrique. Sous le titre de *Chansons Satiriques et Bachiques*, MM. A. Jeanroy et A. Långfors ont réuni 45 chansons françaises rentrant dans le genre de la satire générale; ils ont provisoirement laissé de côté les chansons relatives à des événements ou personnages déterminés qu'ils se reservent de publier dans un autre recueil. Quelques-unes des chansons incluses dans le tome XXIII des *Classiques français* ne sont pas plus bachiques que satiriques; mais on serait mal venu de faire ressortir le côté artificiel du classement auquel se sont arrêtés les auteurs quand les auteurs mêmes ont eu à cœur de le signaler eux-mêmes (cf. p. ix, dernier paragraphe).

Des 45 pièces qui forment le recueil 24 sont anonymes, ou 25, si l'attribution du no. VI (*Bien mostre Dieus apertement Que n'ovron mie a son plaisir*) au trouvère Moniot n'a aucune valeur. Les autres chansons sont dues à Jacques de Cysoing, Gontier de Soignies, Aubertin d'Araines, Rutebeuf, Bestourné, Gilles de Vieux-Maisons, Pierre de Molaines, Richart de Fournival, Baude de la Quarrière, Robert de Reims dit La Chèvre, Jehan de Grieviler, Simon d'Authie, Mahieu le Juif, Jacques de Hesdin, Jaquemin de la Vente, Jehan d'Auxerre, Gobin de Reims. Les

chansons satiriques comprennent les pièces dirigées (*a*) contre le siècle (I–V); (*b*) contre le clergé, les ordres monastiques et les médisants (VI–X); (*c*) contre l'Amour (XI–XXIII); (*d*) contre les femmes (XXIV–XXXVIII). Les chansons bachiques sont au nombre de sept et non de cinq (comme il est dit par distraction p. XII, 4 lignes avant la fin) nos. XXXIX–XLV.

L'Introduction traite de la langue, des auteurs, des sujets, des genres. C'est un modèle de netteté et de concision. Le texte est établi avec beaucoup de soin; les auteurs sont parvenus à résoudre presque toutes les difficultés d'un texte parfois extrêmement obscur. Celles dont ils n'ont pu se rendre maîtres paraissent vraiment désespérées, comme c'est le cas pour les vers 49–52 de la chanson XL.

Ce recueil sera accueilli avec satisfaction par tous les curieux de la poèsie lyrique française du moyen âge; d'abord beaucoup des pièces qu'il contient sont remarquables par leur caractère individuel et personnel et ensuite trois chansons, les nos. XXXIX–XLI, ont très probablement comme auteur Colin Muset, ou, en tout cas, elles ont l'esprit, la bonhomie et le charme qui caractérisent les productions du cointe et candide jongleur.

Le tome XXIV, *Chansons de Conon de Béthune*, est dû à Monsieur Axel Wallensköld. Le savant philologue de Helsingfors avait déjà publié en 1891 une édition des chansons de ce trouvère; elle lui avait servi de thèse de doctorat. L'édition actuelle a conservé tous les mérites de celle de 1891: elle est à la fois plus concise et plus précise en ce qui concerne la biographie du poète, la filiation des manuscrits et l'attribution des chansons. En outre il a renoncé à cet exercice artificiel, mis à la mode par certains romanistes d'antan, qui consistait à 'reconstruire' la langue littéraire d'un écrivain, à 'normaliser' les textes, à faire suivre aux auteurs médiévaux, qui n'en pouvaient mais, les règles élaborées avec plus ou moins de méthode dans les 'séminaires' de philologie; et il s'en est tenu, tout simplement, à l'orthographe des manuscrits qu'il prenait pour base. Il a enfin serré de plus près la question si délicate de la langue de Conon de Béthune et il est arrivé à une conclusion qui est un peu compliquée mais, somme toute, acceptable. Les poètes courtois, comme Gaston Paris l'avait indiqué dès 1889, 'avaient appris à ne pas mettre dans leurs chansons de formes provinciales, mais à parler le français de Pontoise' (*Romania*, XVIII, p. 570). Monsieur Wallensköld reconnaît que Conon de Béthune s'est servi d'un langage 'qui tenait le milieu entre le francien et le dialecte picard prononcé' (cette expression 'prononcé' n'est pas très heureuse), 'donc probablement *l'artésien*, mitigé peut-être par des traits franciens.' ('Peut-être' est vraiment superflu.)

Le texte est établi avec beaucoup de soin; le glossaire donne l'explication des difficultés qui sont résolues de façon très satisfaisante. La bibliographie est complète. Il est dommage que l'auteur n'ait pas pensé à y ajouter une liste des comptes-rendus dont son édition de 1891 a été l'objet.

LOUIS BRANDIN.

LONDON.

Mystères et Moralités du Manuscrit 617 de Chantilly. Publiés pour la première fois et précédés d'une étude linguistique et littéraire. Par GUSTAVE COHEN. Paris: H. Champion. 1920. cxlix + 134 pp. 30 fr.

None of the five poems published by Dr Cohen in this volume has hitherto seen the light in its present form, though the last of them (*Le Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine*) is known to students of Old French literature in a French version by Guillaume de Digulleville, edited for the Roxburghe Club by M. Stürzinger in 1893. They are listed in the library catalogue simply as 'Cinq Jeux.' The first two are 'Jeux de la Nativité' (the second unfortunately fragmentary), the remaining three deal with more abstract subjects and are thus described: 'Li Jeux des VII pechié morteil et des VII vertus'; 'Unc Jeux a VI personage (L'Alliance de Foy et Loyalté)'; 'Le Jeux de Pèlerinage humaine.' All five are written in Walloon, or, more precisely, in Liègeois, of the fourteenth century, and it is chiefly to a study of their forms and vocabulary that Dr Cohen has devoted the 149 pages of his Introduction, thus making a further contribution to the growing body of literature dealing with the Walloon language.

The literary value of these Mysteries and Moralities cannot be said to be very great, though they possess a certain distinction in having apparently been copied by a woman and written for 'un couvent de femmes.' But their linguistic interest is considerable, especially in the case of the last one, where the existence of the French source enables a detailed comparison of French and Walloon forms to be made. This comparison Dr Cohen has carried out at great length in his Introduction, but his work is rendered very diffuse and a little confusing at times by the fact that, in spite of the archaic form of the poems, he takes modern French and modern Liègeois as his *point de départ*. Hence many forms and developments are tabulated (sometimes several times over, as each poem receives individual attention), which are absolutely normal in Old French and do not seem to call for remark in a work of this kind. Such constructions as *por eaux convertire*, subjunctive without *que*, imperfect subjunctive with the value of a conditional, hardly call for notice except in a treatise on Old French syntax. In fact as regards syntax and morphology the poems present very little that is exceptional from the point of view of the French of that epoch. But the phonetic side is necessarily the most important portion of any work dealing with such pronounced dialectal forms. Dr Cohen makes a detailed study of the poems from this point of view and [illegible] able to amplify and, in a certain measure, rectify recent researches [illegible] his subject—as for instance in the case of the treatment of [illegible] fix *-ellum* [illegible] modern Liègeois. The section [illegible] with [illegible] many points of interest, but [illegible] two points. For example [illegible] Dr Cohen tells us: 'Là [illegible] à l'initiale, notre man[illegible]

such as *aweur* (> agurium, O.Fr. eür) and *pawour* (> pavorem, O.Fr. peëur), which support his thesis, the words *samayne*, *astoit* (= estoit), *ramembreir* and *machine* (= meschine), where surely the modification or 'altération' is in the Walloon and not in the French form. Again, Section V is anything but clear. What have the words *ángele*, *órdene*, *apóstele* to do with the 'loi de Darmesteter' and the *protonique non-initiale non en position*?

Chapters IV and V of the Introduction deal with the nature and literary value of the five pieces. Dr Cohen is inclined to regard the first Nativité as the earliest in date; its identity with the liturgical drama is more pronounced, a more archaic form of versification is employed and the comic element is entirely absent. There is a rustic simplicity in the scene where shepherds bring their gifts, one a basket of apples and nuts, one a flute 'por consoleir le pitit enfan,' which has a distinct charm. The second Nativité also shares this character of *naïveté*. St Anne and her two daughters come to adore the infant Jesus, and the mother of the Virgin introduces herself and her two daughters with simple directness:

> Et moy, poure creature,...
> Suy vostre indigne grandame
> Et vechi mes II fille qui sont vos ante.

Several leaves of this part of the manuscript are unfortunately missing, and the fragment consists of only 306 lines. The three Moralities are long and tedious and full of the personifications and allegory which bore the modern reader to extinction in the works of the fourteenth century. As Dr Cohen remarks: 'le lecteur d'aujourd'hui, et plus encore le spectateur, en supporteraient difficilement l'ennui,' but he consoles himself with the thought that we may be grateful to these and other such Moralities 'd'avoir gardé le théâtre pour des fins très hautes et qui intéressent la destinée même de l'homme,' and he considers that it is the Morality, even more than the Mystery, which paved the way for the classic drama.

JESSIE CROSLAND.

LONDON.

Die Umschreibungen des Begriffes 'Hunger' im Italienischen. Stilistisch-onomasiologische Studie. Von LEO SPITZER. (*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Beiheft LXVIII.) Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1921. 345 pp. 42 M.

An effort is required from the readers who wish to appreciate Dr Spitzer's massive book. They must still in their hearts the voice of suffering humanity. It is repulsive at first to watch this 'Leiter einer der fünf Zensurgruppen' (p. 5) inspecting the letters and cards written by Italian prisoners in Austria to their homes not merely with the detachment of a censor who is called upon to perform a painful duty, but with the glee of the philologist who gloats upon the data of a

welcome experiment[1], the experiment arising from the starving of thousands of fellow creatures. Dr Spitzer does not even allow his readers to forget the picture of these self-satisfied 'intellectual' censors, whom we visualize safely ensconced in a warm room and glorying in the ability and method by which they succeed in suppressing any but the discoloured representations of the needs of the prisoners (pp. 2, 19, 23, 36, 53, 159, 164, 165, 193, 297), even though Dr Spitzer admits himself in guarded sentences that the conditions in the prisoners' camps were worse than they need have been (p. 10). A picture that one sees inset in a larger one representing a crowd of thousands of lean and emaciated prisoners who needed food which the Austrian Government was unable to provide; and which many of them could not get from their relatives because of the cleverness of the censors. The author has felt some compunction in publishing private letters, so much so that he has given precedents for this, which is after all only an infringement of a convention of polite decency; but he does not seem to have felt his fingers scorched by his penholder while he detained the letters in order to copy out the 'Umschreibungen' 'mit möglichster Schnelligkeit' (p. 7). The mass of material he has collected must have been enormous, judging from the 300 pages of quotations he prints, and if ever a mother was kept waiting a day longer than necessary for news of her son in order that this book could be written, that was a crime for which this book or ten such books, however interesting and learned, would fail to be extenuating circumstances.

But now the book has been written and is a convincing proof of the pains Dr Spitzer has taken over it and of his own abilities, the results are well worth considering. The censors were instructed to suppress all allusions to 'hunger' as this was held to be an overstatement of the healthy 'appetite' which the prisoners enjoyed; naturally the prisoners endeavoured to hoodwink the censors, so that there arose an artificial language, or a series of circumlocutory expressions, an 'argot' of a peculiar kind which Dr Spitzer compares under certain aspects with a taboo-language. The documentation of this 'argot' is stupendous in size, mostly well sifted and systematically arranged. It may be questionable whether sufficient allowance was made for the peculiar conditions under which the 'experiment' took place. On p. 298 Dr Spitzer endeavours to explain the interplay between individual and collective contributions to new language expressions; his explanation is clever, but not quite sufficient to do away with a fundamental fact: 'argots' are essentially spoken languages, and have undergone an oral elaboration which the prisoners-language was denied by circumstances; prisoners can but rarely have used 'Umschreibungen' when talking to one another, and then only in a jocular spirit, and they had no means to check the results

[1] Dr Spitzer quotes on p. 1 a sentence of P. Kammerer which will no doubt edify the reader: 'Etwa ein Häuflein gefangener Italiener, vom Sturme des Krieges erfasst und mitten hineinverweht in deutsches oder slawisches Gebiet, gezwungen unter fremdem Klima, zu verkehren gezwungen fremden Nation; welche wunderbare soziale Transp heissende Pfröpfung am Volkskörper!'

of their attempts at deceiving the censors and therefore no standard by which to perfect their language. In spite of this, Dr Spitzer brings out some very interesting points—the simple-mindedness of the prisoners, who mostly seem to call attention to the passages in which any cryptic meaning is conveyed; the uniformity in the 'Umschreibungen,' which fall easily into types; a tendency towards allegorical expression which shows that allegory is more deeply rooted in the people than some investigators would allow (pp. 287 ff.). And even more interesting is the section which deals with the artistic elaboration of the idea of 'hunger' and with the analysis of this process, which cannot be summarized but which students of language as well as critics will do well to read and consider. The whole of Dr Spitzer's 'Schlussfolgerungen' (pp. 252–303) will be taken to be a real contribution to scholarship even by those who will not accept all his conclusions.

He is perhaps inclined to overrate the wealth and the novelty of the circumlocutory expressions which have been used by Italian prisoners. Most of the expressions he has collected could be heard in different classes and provinces in Italy long before the war; little has been written on the subject in Italy, and Dr Spitzer has been led to infer that all that had not been noted before was a new creation due to the prisoners; but metaphorical expressions are used and have been constantly used by all sections of Italians when they talk their dialects; prisoners were naturally impelled to have recourse to such a 'reservoir.' That which M. Dauzat has written for the French (*L'Argot de la guerre*, Paris, 1918): 'Emprunts à part, les créations nouvelles ne sont pas très nombreuses,' seems to be true also of Italians, notwithstanding the contrary opinion which Dr Spitzer favours (pp. 282 ff.). But if that be so, the value of the book is not impaired even though the value of the experiment suffers. The book remains a valuable collection of materials which has been very cleverly analysed.

In such a book there could scarcely have been avoided slight errors and misprints, a few of which are here noted:

p. 13 *osteria dei quattro effe*: the fourth *effe* means *fastidi*, such was the reading on an inn on the lake of Como, near Lecco.

p. 14 *Mailand*: *che la maf. Maf* does not stand for *maffia*, but clearly is an inversion for *fam* = *fame*.

p. 42 *Mailand*: *negra* does not stand for *Negerweib*, but is commonly used in the dialect for dark-haired women, brunette.

p. 43. Reference should be made to the Milanese 'compagnia della liggera.'

p. 46. *Venedig*: *siora Zanze* may refer to the episode in Pellico's *Le mie prigioni*.

p. 50 *Mailand*: *e sapone*. There does not seem to be any second meaning in the sentence. The prisoner was asking for soap, and very likely needed it. It is to be hoped that he was given the benefit of the doubt (see p. 57).

p. 73 *Lodi* (and also p. 83): *batter la frusta* means to ask for something especially by signs, like a cabman for a fare by cracking his whip;

it is generally used in dialect with reference to prostitutes; here the meaning is to lack or to have lacked something.

p. 76 *Alatri*: the reference is to nuts or chestnuts which are beaten down with rods, not to washing.

p. 81 *Nievole*: *solini* are of course 'collars,' not 'cuffs.'

p. 84 *Lecce*: the reference seems to be to insects which ate away the flesh, not to hunger.

p. 85 *Kammelbach*: the passage was clearly meant to be spelt: 'si patisse, se ghe n' à di 'vanzo,' one has more than enough.

p. 88 *Fossalta*, probably di *Portogruaro* rather than *Fortagnano*. *S. Canciano*: *barba* = *che barba* = anything which has become tedious, unbearable through long association; has grown old, hence is bearded.

p. 89 *Como*: *sutati* stands for *sudati*. *Sudato sotto la lingua* is used frequently to mean that no trouble or toil has been endured, so that perspiration could only be detected under the tongue. It is also used to mean that the weather is cold.

p. 90 *faccio voti che*: the description of the running horse is quite straightforward; horses foam at the mouth on account of the bit.

p. 93 *Ponzano Veneto*: *fifa* means *paura* in Lombard dialects.

p. 94 *chiari di luna*: a frequent metaphor for 'under such difficult, unpleasant or dangerous circumstances.' *Sbadigliare* is caused by hunger, without any connection with the moon.

p. 97 *Caino*: *girar le bale* has nothing to do with *pigliar la balla*. It means 'it angers me.' A vulgar expression; *bale* = *testicula*.

p. 98 *Lienz*: it should be mentioned that the words occur in Rodolfo's song in Puccini's *Bohême*, Act I, and should be added to the passages on p. 140.

p. 100 *Katzenau-Triest*: there is no allusion to hunger; a real illness is meant.

p. 104 *Mailand*: *ghirba* is a technical military term for a leather or waterproof bag used to carry water on pack-mules.

p. 107 *Gros-Siegharts*: in the catacombs of the Cappuccini at Palermo as well as at Venzone there are mummified corpses. The reference is to those mummies.

p. 109 *Arzignano*: *nona* is sleeping-sickness.

p. 111 *Juden sind natürlich*: really? It would be easy to mention several generals in the Italian army belonging to the Jewish faith.

p. 136 *Costabissara*: the meaning is 'my ribs look like the strings of a guitar.'

p. 144 *Rho* (not Rhò): the verse is 'Ho freddo, ho fame, Son piccinino.'

p. 155 *Welschtiroler*: the reference is to a children's game called *giuoco dell'oca*.

p. 165 *Trivignano*: *muart di pantiana*. *Pantegana* = *pantiane* is Friulian for rat.

p. 194 *Arlesica*: *scorso* = *scorza* does not refer to 'Montur' but to rind = *pelle*, meaning 'if you wish me to con

p. 287 *Piangipane* will surely have to
known family name *Frangipane*.

Misprints are: p. 32 *Schiò* for *Schio*; p. 54 *Stagliano* = *Staglieno*; pp. 57 and 95 *Val di Pera* = *Pesa*; p. 87 *Misc. Rossis Theiss* = *Rossi*; *Neapel*: *pestusillo* = *pertusillo*; p. 92 *Calasca Ossola Novarra* = *Novara*; p. 107 *Varese*: *altra vita esedo* = *credo*; p. 123 *Monza*: *S. Bartolomeo chc* = *che*; p. 176 Dante, *Inf.* I: *aver* = *aër*; p. 192 *Agardo* (*Belluno*) = *Agordo*; p. 194 *Lupari* = *Lupia*; p. 205 n. *Barile* = *Basile*; p. 300 n. *giugne* = *guigne*; p. 305 *Mortava* = *Mortara*.

C. FOLIGNO.

OXFORD.

The Elder Edda and ancient Scandinavian Drama. By BERTHA S. PHILLPOTTS. Cambridge: University Press. 1920. xi + 216 pp. 21*s*.

Drama, of a sort, is easy to find in the old Northern poetry; perhaps Miss Phillpotts might have said more about earlier critics who have taken something like her view. But her judgment is her own, and does not need references to other writers in order to make it clear. There is much in her estimate which will continue to help the understanding of the poems, whether her opinions be fully accepted or not. She has made it impossible to neglect the dramatic quality of the poems in dialogue; she has marked off the dramatic poems from the poems that use dialogue in support of narrative. The dramatic poems again are plausibly regarded as Norwegian, and as not showing the qualities of Icelandic poetry. Their proper form of verse, *ljóðaháttr*, called 'chant-metre' in this book, is shown to have features of its own, besides those of prosody; a Norwegian gait and demeanour. Miss Phillpotts argues that the Norwegian dramatic poems belong to an old fashion of life, old ritual, old beliefs. 'Divine Protagonists'; 'The Ritual Marriage'; 'The Fertility Drama'—these three headings are significant, and the successive chapters belonging to them are not empty.

Instead of a minute examination which few scholars are able to undertake, may it be permissible for this reviewer to put forward, not cavils or objections, but rather topics and possible considerations, suggested to a fairly attentive and thoroughly grateful reader?

Who are *the people*? The 'flytings' of the *Elder Edda*—such things do not originate with the aristocracy, says our author, but with the people (p. 42): 'It is at least probable that the scurrilous poems of the Edda are no more the product of purely aristocratic circles than is the French *fabliau*.' But what were aristocratic circles in Norway in the year 800 or 900? We know something about them; can we find, then or later, much difference of taste between the king and the yeoman? Did the libellous poem thrive better in the uplands than in the king's hall? 'Flyting' in verse is not in other countries a mere rustic occupation; we need only remember Dunbar and Kennedy and the other Scottish [illegible] The [illegible]self, James VI, in his *Art of Poetry* [illegible] kind. *Loka senna*, the flyting [illegible] is not a vulgar poem. [illegible] les of popular or even

churlish humour; but there are greater villanies extant in the lyrical satire of the most accomplished and courtly artists of the Provençal school.

Is enough attention paid to the form of the Eddic poems which are not dramatic Norwegian dialogues in chant-metre? Some remarks of Miss Phillpotts on the Nibelungen cycle in the *Edda* seem rather hard to justify. The poems dealing with the Nibelungen and Ermanaric cycles are said to owe 'their substance, and therefore possibly their form, to foreign models' (p. 79); 'Poems on borrowed subjects are not likely to give the most faithful reflection of the native form' (p. 82). Does Miss Phillpotts think that the *form* of *Goðrúnarkviða*,

> Ár vas þats Goðrún
> Gerðisk at deyja

owes anything to a Low German poet? Is *Oddrúnargrátr* worked on a Saxon or any other foreign frame? Surely it leaps to the eyes from the *Elder Edda* that the Nibelung story is what the poets choose to make of it, and that there are many poets at work on the story for various poetic ends and aims that have often little to suggest them in the German tradition. The Northern poets were not slower than the Greeks to see how legend might be remodelled in all sorts of ways. From *Grípisspá* to *Hamðismál* is not forty pages in *Codex Regius* as it stands; but what a variety of forms and motives and scale! And we have to reckon in, besides, what we know of the lost poems of the lacuna. There is no less diversity of poetical ideas here than in the Greek tragedians dealing with Orestes and Electra. Some of the Eddic poems are clearly later than others, yet there is everywhere such evidence of poetical craft that one hesitates to put any limit on the possibilities of variation. The poems in chant-metre may be older in fashion than the poems of the griefs of Gudrun, but they need not be taken as absolutely rustic and simple-minded. There is nothing, of course, among them to be compared with the dialogue poem of Bacchylides, which in sixty lines and four stanzas gives the history of the young Theseus, ending in suspense just before he comes to Athens. Yet this wonderful new shaping of an old and well known history does the sort of poetical thing that many Northern poets attempted; working through allusion, bringing large matter into small space, like a convex mirror.

The finest passage in this book is possibly on p. 79, where a difficult, scarcely intelligible strophe in *Hamðismál* is transferred to a context where it is more at home. There is no need to repeat the particulars here. It seems a thoroughly satisfactory procedure.

One small addition may be made to the interesting Danish story of Bovi (p. 123). The Durham book of *Exempla* in which it occurs was edited by Mr A. G. Little some years ago for the Society of Franciscan Studies.

W. P. Ker.

London.

Etymologisk Ordbog over det norrøne Sprog på Shetland. Af JAKOB JAKOBSEN. Udgivet på Carlsbergfondets Bekostning. Copenhagen: V. Prior. 1908–21. 8vo. xlviii + 1032 pp.

Dr Jakob Jakobsen was unfortunately cut off by death before the completion of this monumental dictionary of the 'Norn,' the Old Scandinavian tongue of the Shetland Islands, which practically became obsolete as a spoken language in the eighteenth century. In a prefatory note to the last instalment of the work, to which Jakobsen had devoted so many years of single-hearted zeal, Professor Finnur Jónsson tells us that the manuscript was completed as far as the letter v; only ø (some half-dozen pages) being left to finish. This has been done by Frøken Marie Mikkelsen, who had assisted Jakobsen with the proof-reading. The last part also contains the Introduction. It is our greatest loss that the author was unable to round off his labours in this field with a study of the language, which he had intended should occupy between 200 and 300 pages. All that could be done was to collect, in a little over forty pages, the 'spredte og næppe endelig redigerede småafsnit,' found among his papers. This, as the editor has felt, is a very inadequate substitute; it is fragmentary, ill arranged, and contains occasional repetitions. Some of it had appeared in a more popular form in two articles which Jakobsen contributed to *Tilskueren* in 1896 (*Shetland og Shetlændere*, pp. 721 ff. and 771 ff.); the larger part, however, is taken up with a detailed description of the author's investigations on the islands—mainly in the years 1893–95—and of his indebtedness to local helpers. In 1897 Jakobsen published his doctoral thesis, *De norrøne Sprog på Shetland*, which was frankly put forward as a prelude to the dictionary; and although, no doubt, the work of the years that followed widened the conclusions there arrived at, much of at least the seventh chapter of the thesis—on the 'Lydforhold'—might have been incorporated in the Introduction to the dictionary. We are indemnified, not merely by this thesis, for the lack of Jakobsen's final study of the 'Norn,' but also by the admirable treatise on *Shetlandøernes Stednavne*, which occupies over a hundred pages of vol. XVI (1901) of the *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*. This was preceded by two lectures in English on *The Dialect and Place Names of Shetland*, published at Lerwick in 1897.

Thomas Edmonston's *Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect*—the 'etymological' part of it is of little significance—published by the Philological Society in 1866, contained only some 2000 words; Jakobsen has collected over 10,000 of Scandinavian origin. This *Glossary*, together with a manuscript supplement to it, preserved in the Edinburgh Museum of Antiquities, provided the starting point for the present work. Of Jakobsen's 10,000 words, 'hardly more than half can be said to be in any very general use to-day. The other half falls into two chief groups, (1) words which have only been preserved in single districts or islands, and (2) obsolete words only known to (and partially used by) old people.' The number of the latter is necessarily decreasing very rapidly.

The most valuable part of the Introduction is the beginning it makes to establishing the relations of the 'Norn' to the dialects of southern Norway, and especially of the tract of country lying between Bergen and the Naze. The list which Jakobsen has compiled is, however, only a beginning, and is restricted by our inadequate knowledge of the Norwegian dialects—Aasen's dictionary with Ross's supplement is the chief source, and not very helpful; but the materials are increasing. Is it too much to hope that it might tempt one of our own scholars to pick up the thread where it has been broken in Jakobsen's hand? No point of contact between the peoples of the north and ourselves is more inviting than this.

Jakobsen's work is published with the assistance of the Carlsberg Foundation, which has contributed so liberally and so wisely to the advancement of Scandinavian research in language and literature in recent years. Greater countries than the Scandinavian kingdoms may well look with envious eyes on so admirable and generous a benefactor.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

LONDON.

MINOR NOTICES.

The appearance of a second and revised edition of Professor Jespersen's *Engelsk Fonetik* (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1921, 6 kr. 35) renews one's regret that none of his work on English phonetics is accessible to English students ignorant of German or Danish. He combines in a higher degree than does perhaps any other living phonetician the qualities of scientific accuracy, lively observation and crystal clearness of presentation and there is not a touch of that dryness of manner which tends often to make the best of books on phonetics repellent to the average student. The new edition has been carefully revised; some passages have been omitted, more have been added. The only chapters that have undergone substantial alteration are those on the Breath-organs, in which the author puts forward his new views with regard to stress, and on Tone, in which he pays tribute to the work of Mr Daniel Jones upon this subject.

A. M.

Dr F. S. Boas's reputation as a scholar of very wide literary interests, as an educationalist and as a charming writer is a sufficient guarantee for the excellence and usefulness of his *Introduction to the Reading of Shakspere* (Duckworth, 1920, 72 pp.). To advanced students much of the book is of course familiar ground, though even on familiar ground with a good guide they will see things they had not seen before, and they will find Dr Boas's last chapter 'Shakspere and the Modern Mind' especially fresh and suggestive. The booklet is however designed to help those who are entering for the first time on the serious study of Shakespeare.

G. C. M. S.

Dr J. S. Smart of Queen Margaret's College, Glasgow, has made a great contribution to the study of Milton in his book *The Sonnets of Milton with Introduction and Notes* (Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson and Co., 1921, 7*s.* 6*d.*). His remarkable success is due partly to his command of Italian and of Italian literature, partly to his command of the weapons of biographical research. All of us who have been in the habit of talking on the history and structure of the sonnet have probably something to learn from Dr Smart's 'Introduction,' in which he shows that Milton had Italian authority for his method of carrying over the sentence from the octave into the sestet—his model indeed being not Petrarch, but Della Casa. Watts-Dunton's doctrine of the division of the sonnet into two sections is shown to have no basis beyond a misunderstood passage in Dante. Further, Milton was not an innovator in taking other topics for his sonnets than love. Tasso alone had written 486 'Heroical Sonnets' and these served as models for the sonnets to Cromwell, Vane and Fairfax. As for Milton's Italian sonnets, to each of which Dr Smart has added a translation and a note of topics or phrases in which they are reminiscent of earlier work, he has argued boldly and I think convincingly that they were written long before the poet's Italian journey, probably about 1629, and addressed to a young lady named Emilia. The proof of the last statement is especially ingenious.

The other side of Dr Smart's intellectual activity is seen in the fresh light he has thrown on the persons commemorated in the sonnets—Margaret Ley, Mrs Katharine Thomason (not Thomson as the Cambridge MS. has been wrongly read, but the wife of George Thomason the famous collector of pamphlets), Lawrence (shown to have been with little doubt Edward the elder brother of Henry Lawrence with whom the sonnet has been connected hitherto), Cyriack Skinner and Katharine Woodcock, the poet's second wife. For the first time this lady's family connexions have been brought to light, and the probability that Milton made her acquaintance through her kinsman Sir Thomas Vyner of Hackney. For all this new biographical knowledge Dr Smart gives documentary evidence in an Appendix. It may finally be said that Dr Smart has some suggestive pages on Milton's attitude to Cromwell, which he holds to have been not quite so much one of persistently uncritical admiration as has sometimes been thought.

G. C. M. S.

Dr Allan H. Gilbert of Cornell University is known to readers of this *Review* as a serious student of Milton. In his *Geographical Dictionary of Milton* (Newhaven, Yale University Press: London, H. Milford, 1919, 15*s.*) he has given in alphabetical order the place-names in practically all Milton's works in poetry and prose: and has illustrated the meaning they had for Milton by quotations from works probably known to him. The book will certainly be found valuable.

G. C. M. S.

'Though this book,' says Professor Barrett Wendell in the Introduction to his volume on *The Traditions of European Literature from*

Homer to Dante (London: J. Murray, 1921, x + 669 pp., 28*s.*), 'is intended for general readers, it originated in lectures given at Harvard College between 1904 and 1917. Years of dealing with Harvard students had shown me not only that Americans now know little of the literary traditions of our ancestral Europe, but also that they are seldom aware of the little they know.' But we can hardly think that the Harvard student, or the general reader in America, is at such a disadvantage compared with his counterpart on this side of the ocean, as these words would imply; that he is so ignorant, for instance, of Latin that he has to be supplied with translations of the simplest sentences, even (p. 182) of 'veni, vidi, vici!' Professor Wendell's book is what we should in England call University extension lectures; and regarded as such, it has—the first half at least—many attractive features; in particular we have read with genuine pleasure his vivid characterisation of the great Roman writers. But his title is misleading, for he makes no real attempt to deal with the 'traditions of European literature,' if by this is meant the significance of the classical heritage for the modern world. Beyond a few rather obvious indications of the influence of individual classics on modern, and chiefly English, literature, hardly a beginning is made to estimating the debt of Europe to antiquity. Still more serious is the misuse of the word 'European' in the title: the only European literatures that fall within Professor Wendell's cognisance are those of England and France and, with very restricted scope—restricted almost exclusively to Dante—of Italy. The bibliography will be appreciated by the general reader; but it would have been more helpful, had it aimed at supplementing instead of merely justifying the text of the book.

J. G. R.

We have received the first volume of the Comedias of Lope de Vega in the series of *Clasicos Castellanos*, published by 'La Lectura,' Madrid. It contains *El Remedio en la Desdicha* and that admirable historical drama *El mejor Alcalde, el Rey*, edited with an introduction and brief notes by J. Gómez Ocerín and R. M. Tenreiro. Print and paper are excellent and the price (5 pesetas) is almost a miracle of cheapness in these days. It is perhaps unreasonable to complain of the comparatively small quantity of text that these handsome volumes contain. But the speculation as to the number of volumes to which a complete edition of Lope de Vega would run on this scale is almost terrifying. This is however no more than a defect of the qualities of the series, whose volumes are delightfully light to handle and whose pages are a real pleasure to the eye.

H. E. B.

Professor H. Paul was able, before his death in the past winter, to up his German Grammar (of which the 'Wortbildungslehre' owed in our June number) by issuing new editions of his known works, the *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* and the *Wörterbuch*. The 'Principles' now appear in a fifth edition

(Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1920, 42 M.), a witness to the continued popularity of a work which, originally appearing in the eighties, underwent extensive revision in the second edition of 1886 and fourth of 1909, the latter being provided with a useful index. The present edition is practically a replica of the preceding one, but each new perusal serves to show how perennially fresh and stimulating this work remains despite the rather forbidding 'abstract' treatment followed in the first three chapters. In future editions a list of authors, whose views are discussed, would be welcome. The *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (3rd edition, Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1921, 105 M.) has undergone much more considerable revision. Very wisely Paul has consented to the adoption of Roman type which not only enables him to compress into the same space much additional material, but also to differentiate the quotations from the definitions by means of italics. Each column now contains 72 lines as against 68, a gauge of the growth of the dictionary. Paul has managed to embody much from the latest parts of the big German dictionary; for other suggestions he acknowledges his indebtedness to Dr G. Meier (for Austriacisms), A. Götze and H. von Fischer. Under the letter A alone we note the insertion of additional information, especially of full quotations in lieu of references, in the following articles, words included by Paul for the first time being bracketed: [*Abbau*], *abdachen*, *abfinden*, [*abhold*], *abklingen*, [*abkratzen*], [*ablangen*], [*abmachen*], [*abrüsten*], *Abschlag*, [*abschmieren*], *abstimmen*, [*abstrafen*], *abwürdigen*, *Adel*, *Allod* (new reference), *Almanach*, *Altertum*, *anbrüten*, *aneignen*, [*anfahren*], *angewinnen*, *anheimeln*, *anmachen*, *anschnitzen*, *Apfelsine*, *Argwohn*, [*aufschwelgen*], [*Aufsteigen*], *ausbringen*, [*auskehren*]. The dictionary forms a worthy companion to the ninth edition of Kluge's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. W. E. C.

Deutsche Dramaturgie, I. Band: Von Lessing bis Hebbel, by Robert Petsch (Hamburg: Paul Hartung, 1921, 26 M.), first appeared in O. Walzel's series *Pandora* (No. 11) in 1912, and has been out of print for some years. Its evident popularity is in the main well-deserved. The objections to this type of text-book, if it falls into the hands of the 'idle prentice,' are too obvious to dwell on. One may also feel that some of the extracts are too short to have much value: three and a half pages, for example, scarcely do justice to Tieck. Again, one may disagree with the editor's choice: why should Novalis be included and Hölderlin's deeper aesthetics be passed over? The latter's remarks on the *Oedipus Tyrannus* are surely more worthy of citation than Immermann's generalities about Greek and modern drama. The new pieces also include some 'Aphorismen' of Platen's and a disquisition on the 'Aufgaben des Dramas in der Gegenwart' by an anonymous contributor to the *Hallische Jahrbücher*. The former tells us 'Alles Stümperhafte ist individuell' and the latter remarks 'Goethe hatte nur Interesse an dem Individuellen'...!

The newly revised and slightly expanded introduction affords the student some corrective guidance. On the whole it remains conservative

and, at times, rather one-sided. Plato, the Stoics, Spinoza and Fichte probably deserve as much mention as Jakob Boehme; Schelling's views are less original than they are here made to appear (cf. E. Cassirer's essay on Hölderlin in *Idee und Gestalt*, Berlin, 1921). As the new edition is now described as vol. I the book might well have begun with Opitz, 'Hebbel und seine Zeit' being kept for vol. II, if necessary. The editor could then have included extracts from Gottsched and J. E. Schlegel and discussed more frankly Lessing's debt to the French. At present he seems to underrate the influence of Du Bos. In his treatment of Schiller's relation to the 'Schicksalsdrama' certain facts appear to be overlooked. The bibliographical notes have, in one case at least, been brought down to the year 1921. The book, which is well printed and tolerably well encased in boards, is likely to be of use to many students of the drama: the second volume will be awaited with interest.

M. M.

In *The Principles of Language-Study* (London: G. Harrap, 1921, 6*s*.) Mr H. E. Palmer expounds in non-technical language the essential principles of language study, exhaustively discussed by him in his larger work *The Scientific Study and Teaching of Languages*. Despite a certain prolixity the book is characterized by clearness of grasp and moderation of statement. In especial we commend the author's insistence upon the fact that language-learning as an art is a habit-forming process aiming at automatic reproduction and comprehension, his qualified advocacy of translation as a 'short cut' to meaning or as an occasional exercise, his defence of both 'extensive' and 'intensive' reading and finally his rejection of the *exclusive* use of either the direct or the classical method, as both might well be used 'concurrently, but not in one and the same operation' (p. 167). His warning against the use of the foreign language for the purposes of a vehicular language is apposite. Perhaps Mr Palmer's chief merit lies, however, in his organization of the vocabulary into 'ergons' or working-units—words and word-groups ready for use—graded according to relative frequency, and in his elaboration of the methods of 'substitution' and 'conversion' (pp. 176 ff.). The book should be useful to teachers in school and university.

W. E. C.

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THE MIDDLE ENGLISH PROSE PSALTER OF RICHARD ROLLE OF HAMPOLE.

FROM time to time histories of literature or of Biblical translations have appeared containing brief accounts of Rolle's Translation of the Psalter and the Commentary upon it. Not only do these, as might be expected, deal somewhat inadequately with the work, but several of them contain statements which are misleading. According to the *Cambridge History of English Literature* the Commentary is 'devoid of originality and personal touches,' a mere translation of Peter Lombard's commentary[1]. This view is repeated by J. E. Wells in the *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*[2]. The editors of the Wycliffite Bible find that the numerous copies of the work show only 'a few verbal variations' in the preface, and that none of the versions of the Commentary shows 'any sentiments indicative of the Lollard party'[3].

Two accounts of the work have corrected some of these statements. Miss H. Allen has vindicated Rolle's originality in her monograph *The Authorship of the Prick of Conscience*, and, in the valuable introduction to the 1902 edition of a *Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version*, Miss Paues has refuted some of the statements of Forshall and Madden. A detailed examination of the work from all points of view was, however, outside the scope of these accounts, and there are still a number of problems connected with it which are untouched or have been incompletely dealt with. These can be considered under three headings—the relation of the manuscripts to one another, the sources of Rolle's Translation of the Vulgate, and the purpose and history of the interpolated copies of the work.

THE MANUSCRIPTS.

Thirty-three manuscripts containing Rolle's English Psalter and Commentary with a Prologue by the author are mentioned by Miss Paues[4]. To this list must be added the copy which has been discovered

[1] See Vol. II, pp. 46–47. This statement is based on the conclusions of H. Middendorff, *Studien über R. Rolle von Hampole*, Magdeburg, 1888.

[2] See pp. 401–402.

[3] See Forshall and Madden, *The Wycliffite Versions of the Bible*, Introduction, pp. iv–v.

[4] *A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version*, Introd., pp. xxxiv, xliv (note 2), and li (note 4).

Library and is described by Karl Christ in an article titled 'Zu Richard Rolle von Hampole. Eine vatikanische Handschrift Psalmenkommentars'[1], and one in Lincoln Cathedral Library . 35)[2].

An examination of most of the MSS. existing in Cambridge, Oxford in or near London has confirmed Miss Paues' theory that the MSS. into two main groups, one in which the Commentary appears in its rinal form, and one in which it appears with so many additions, rations and omissions that in some places the work of Rolle has irely disappeared. It has shown also that several of the MSS. hitherto lieved to contain the original Commentary belong to the other group of Psalters and that several subdivisions must be made in this latter group. These facts are demonstrated most clearly by quotations from typical MSS.

Eton College 10 has been chosen to represent the original Commentary, because it is a MS. in which the Northern dialect appears unaltered and the vocabulary retains its Northern character. Passages from different parts of the Psalter are quoted from this MS. and are followed by parallel passages from MSS. showing typical variations:

Eton College 10[3].

Psalm vii. 1, ff. 10b–11.

Lorde my god I hoped in þe: make me safe of all folowande me and deliuere me[4]. A rightwisman preyes þat god deliuere hym of þe deuelle and his lymes and says lorde of all thurgh myght. god of all for all thyng has þou made myne with will and lorde I hopede for to safe me[5] fra all gastely wickednes and vices and syns deliuere me.

2. *Leswhen he refe als a lyoun my saule: to whils nane es þat byes. ne þat makes safe.* Þis lyoun es þe deuell þat sekeþ how he moght wyne man saule. his armes with þe whilke he feghtes ogayn us er syns if crist by noght ne make oure saules safe gifande þe lyfe withouten ende þis lyoun refes þaim till hell.

Psalm xvii. 47, f. 27. [Ps. xviii. 43.]

Þou sal out take me fra þe gayne sayinges of folkes: þou sal set me. in heued of gynge. Þat es þou takes me fra þe jewes and settes me kyng of cristen men also when we er lessed fra þe noyes of thoghtes and þe flyttyng of ill conscience þan god makes us mayster of vices.

[1] See *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, 1917.

[2] My attention was drawn to this by Miss H. Allen. There are, in addition to the MSS. mentioned above, two MSS. containing Wycliffe's translation of the Psalms (Later Version) with versions of Rolle's Prologue to the Psalter: Brit. Mus. Addit. 10,046, and Trin. Coll. Dubl. 1. 10.

[3] In the margin by the side of the first Psalm remarks have been written which are not part of Rolle's original work. At the end of Ps. i. 1 are written the words 'the whiche benemiþ of al travayle' (f. 2); at the end of v. 3 'and goode trees shal be planted in þe londe of lyf þt neuer shal fayle' (f. 3). These remarks are to be found at the end of vv. 1 and 3. Ps. i in an interpolated Psalter such as Reg. 18. D. 1.

[4] The English rendering of the Vulgate is in italics.

[5] This appears differently in some MSS. MS. Sid. Suss. 89 (an early MS.) has 'i hope in þe noght in me. for thi saue me fro....' MS. Univ. Coll. 64 is very like this.

Psalm lxiv. 14, f. 77b. [Ps. lxv. 13.]

Called[1] *er wethers of shepe dalles sal habounde with wete ⁊ þai sal crye for ympne þai sal sey.* Weders of godes folke er appostels and haly men þai er clede in ioying of charite þat us behoues be clede in ⁊ if we wille be saufe and dales þat es mek folke sal habunde wiþ whete þat es fruyte of gude dedes and þai sal cry louande and say ympne of lufe and ioy þis sange es songen in þe office of dede men for it spekes of passyng fra þis world til heuen whider holy men in þair ded taken out of body passes with blis receyuand þe stole of saule til þe resurrexioun þat þai be glorifyde in double stole of body and saule.

Psalm cviii. 29, f. 128b. [Ps. cix. 30.]

I sal shrife til lorde full mykil in my mouthe ⁊ i mydes of many i sal loue hym. Þat es in comon of cristen men and rightwise es þe fader of heuen loued or in þair hertes whar þe lufe es.

In MS. Bodl. 288—a MS. which has hitherto been placed with those containing the original Commentary—the comments on all these passages appear in a different form.

Bodleian 288.

Psalm vi. 1, f. 10. [Ps. vii. 1.]

Lord my god i hopide in þee make me saaf of alle folowynge me ⁊ and delyuere me. A riȝtwis man prieþ god to delyuere him fro þe deuel and of hise lymmes ⁊ and seiþ / lord of alle þoru myȝt ⁊ god of alle / for al þing þou made ⁊ for profiȝt of þi louers / wiþ good wille to loue þee ⁊ i hopide in þee / not in myn owne deedis ⁊ ne in failinge riches / make me saaf lord for þi of alle goostli wickidnes and of vices ⁊ and delyuere me of alle þe priuye disseitis of myn enemyes.

2. *Leste whanne he reue as a lyoun my soule ⁊ þe whilis noon is to aȝenbie . ne þat makiþ saaf.* Þis lyoun is þe deuel þat sekiþ how he may wynne by fals hotynge mennys soulis / his armes wiþ þe whiche he fiȝtiþ aȝens us ⁊ ben synnes to which we assenten wilfully þoru his eggyng / if crist kepe us not ⁊ ne make saaf oure soulis ⁊ ȝeuynge us eendelees liif / þis lioun of raueyn ⁊ raueischiþ hem to eendelees peyne / mykil ouȝte man to loue crist ⁊ þat mai not wiþstonde þis enemy . ne be saaf wiþ outen hym / sey for þi ⁊ and wirke þer aftir mekely.

Psalm xvii. 47, f. 32b. [Ps. xviii. 43.]

Þou schalt outtake me fro þe aȝenseiinge of þe folk ⁊ þou schalt sett me in þe heued of folk. That is god þe fadir takiþ his sone crist ⁊ fro þe false iewis and fro false cristen men . þat contrarien his lawe / and he settiþ him king on trewe cristen men ⁊ sekinge hym and fyndynge him and holdinge him / as who seye whanne we ben losid of þe noise of oure þouȝtis of oure flitynge conscience ⁊ þanne god makiþ us maistris of vicis.

Psalm lxiv. 14, f. 118. [Ps. lxv. 13.]

Cloþed ben weþris of scheep, and valeis schulen abunde wiþ wheete ⁊ þei schulen crie for whi ympne þei schulen seie / Weþris of scheep ben þei ⁊ þat in hiȝ and perfiȝt vertuous lyuyng folowen nexst crist in þe wey of tribulacioun þat he wente / for in feruent charite þei ben cloþid ⁊ and couerid fro lustis of þis liif / and as moost plenteous valeis . þei abounde wiþ wheete of good doctryn of cristis lawe ⁊ for þei ceesse not to crie it in þe eeris of folk / for whi þei schulen seie ympne : þat is in þe wey of her pilgrymagyng . moost delitably þei schulen sey þe preisyng of god.

Psalm cviii. 29. [Ps. cix. 30.]

I schal schriue to þe lord myche in my mouþ ⁊ in myddis of manye I schal preisen him. He þat haþ ben or is in þese myscheuys in bodi and in soule ⁊ schriue to god

[1] Sid. Suss. 89 and Univ. Coll. 64 have 'cled,' translating 'induti.'

n comounte of cristen men / for in þe herte of riȝtwise men where þe
ir of heuen regneþ and ruliþ þat soule in þe riȝt wey of hise comaunde-
tis.

The comments on the earlier passages appear in yet a third form in
a manuscript as Laud 286.

LAUD 286.

Psalm vii. 1, f. 11.

Lord my god i hafe hoped in the make me saufe of all persuyng me and delyuer me.
iȝtwis man preyeþ god to delyuer him of þo deceytis and the wiccodnes of the
l and of his enemyes that bene the deuels lymms and seiþ lord god I haue hoped
he. not in myn own dedis ne in monnes help ne in þe failyng riches of þe worlde
. þerfor lorde make me safe of alle gostly wiccodnes and of vices that my gostly
my be ouercomen and schar

2. *Lest when he rauysches as a lion my soule þe whiles non is to bye aȝeyn ne þat makes saufe.* Þis lyon is þe deuel þat secheþ how he may wynne bi fals bihetyng monnes soule. his armes wiþ þe whiche he fiȝteþ aȝeyns us bene synnes to þe whiche we assenten wilfully þurȝe his desiryng. if crist kepe us not ne make our soules sauf, ȝifyng us endles lif. þis lion of rauyn rauysches hom to peyne. muchel aȝt mon to loue crist siþ he may not wiþstonde þis cruel enemye ne be sauf wiþoute him. seiþ þerfore and worcheþ þeraftyr mekely askyng mercy.

Psalm xvii. 47, f. 34.

Þou schalt delyuer me fro þe aȝeine seyinge of the puple. þou schalt sette me in the heued of puple. That is, god þe fadur delyuerd his oon crist fro the aȝeine seynge of tho fals iwes ande fro alle cristen men that contrarien his lawe. And ordeyned him as kyng and hede and reuleþ ouer cristen men and wymen that mekely and willefullye wolen forsake hur synne ande come to his lawe and be ruled therbye. ffor if we stonde in grace. criste is our hed and we bene his membris as godes lawe seiþ. for as of membris dyuerse is made a hole bodye summe hauynge one office and summe an oþer as hondes to hondel. ene to see ande eres to her and so forth of mony oþer membres. so ys holye chirche here made one bodye of dyuerse degrees and criste þe hed ther of. and so he is no membre þat groweþ not to this bodye. ffor alle men that schulen be saued bene membres of this bodye. alle þauȝe þei bene sumtyme sore wounded. as seint poule and marie magdalene and mony oþer were. and seint petur in tyme of cristus passion hade a sore stroke but he was not cutted alle aweye. for thei that shul be saved. what that euer þei do bene euer more membres growinge to this bodye. ffor god in his forknowynge at the begynnynge. set hem to this bodye. whos settyng may not faile to growe as he haþ ordeyned. alle þoȝe þei be sumtyme letted fro beringe of frute þurȝe his wiccod blastus of weders or defaute of gode gardyners but euer thei haue hur gode growynge of the furst settynge of the wisdome of god. and afturwarde in tyme bring frute forth the more plenteuouslye. but mony seruen to þe chirche that bene not membres þerof. as kyng saule and judas and mony oþer duden ffor.

MS. Reg. 18. C. 26, which contains only Psalms lxxxix–cxvii, differs from any other MS. I have seen. The comment on Ps. cviii. 29 is given so that it may be compared with that comment in the MSS. already quoted.

REG. 18. C. 26.

Psalm cviii. 29, ff. 118b–119.

I shal knowleche ful moche in my mouþ to þe lord ⁊ and þe myddil of manye i shal preyse him. Þe hooly lyuyng of crist and his trewe and charitable techyng. whiche is þe moost acceptable sacrifise to þe fadir of heuene ⁊ is knowe in heuene and in erþe for whilis crist was man lyuynge here in erþe. he was euer moost bu for to

knowleche þe heestis of his fader ⁊ preysynge his naam among alle men / and whanne crist wente oute of þis lijf. he comaundide hise apostlis and by hem alle his prestis to þe worldis eende . þat al her bysynesse shuld be for to studye and seche oute þe vertu of his word ⁊ and to lyue so þeraftir þat þurȝ her goode ensaumple of hooly lyuyng and trewe techyng and pacient suffryng of alle aduersitees . þe peple in euery degree myȝt take of hem ensaumple to loue his heestis and kepe hem / And if for bisye trauel here aboute prestis moun not geet her lyuelode wiþ her hondis . þe lord haþ grauntid to hem necessarye lyuelode of þe peple þat man and wole bere her charge. as crist and his apostlis useden / but forþi þat þer ben many enemys of treuþe whiche dedeynen to bere it . enforcynge hem ful bisily to lett it . and to disese hem þat shewen it . herfore bi ensaumple of him self . crist ordeynede his prestis forto be pore of alle worldly goodis / so þat if þei weren letted and miȝten not profite þere ne þere ⁊ þei shulden go forþ þens and sechen where and to whom þei miȝten profite / And herfore crist comaundid his apostlis . and bi hem alle his oþer prestis þat weren to come aftir hem ⁊ þat þei shulden go forþ in to alle þe worlde forto preche þe gospel / þat is. prestis of crist owen forto enforce hem ful bysyly ⁊ forto seche and knowe where þei mown teche . þe word of god / and þese prestis by goode conseyl and bi oone assent shulden eche sue oþer . and conferme oþir . for þer þurȝ þe trewþe of god is greetly forþerid / and forþi þat þer ben so manye unfeiþful folkis . whos hertis ben fast ficchid / and rotid in pride of lijf and in fals coueitise . which aspyen raþer þe truþ to sclaundre it and to lett it . þan to here it mekely and to do þer aftir ⁊ herefor þe techeris of truþe moten be prudent whanne and where and to whom þei speke . and mouable fro place to place / not fleynge aboute fro drede of bodily persecucioun ⁊ but in entente forto profite as long as þei moun and to whom þat þei moun / for to þis eende crist comaundide his apostlis to flyȝe fro citee to citee whanne þei weren pursued . forto sowe his word / for þus dide crist him silf . and also seynt poule and alle þe apostlis / But siþ þe prestis of crist wyten not where ne whanne þe lord wole þat þei eende his cours þei owen euer to be redy whanne and where þei ben brouȝt to answere ⁊ forto stonde by þe truþe unmouably / boþe for her owne untellable reward ⁊ whiche anoon þei ben to take of crist / and also forto ȝyue goode ensaumple to alle oþer of pacience . schewynge þat it is moor ioyfulnesse þan may now be teeld oute ⁊ forto go fro þis wrecchid lijf . to receyue þe heuenly heritage of crist . among þe glorious company of his moost blissid seyntis and of his hooly aungels / And moost glad we shulden be forto haue a trewe cause and to suffre þerfore martirdom . for þer þurȝ is moost sikir passage hennes / and it is þe moost acceptable sacrifise þat any creature may pleese wiþ þe lord god here in erþe / certis if we han a trewe cause as euery cristen man and womman and specialy eche preest owiþ to haue . and we go þer fro or feyne þer inne for any dreede of bodily deeþ . we shewen here inne þat we han no feiþ in þe fadir of heuene ⁊ neiþer loue to ihesu crist . neþer[1] trust in þe helpe of þe hooly goost / And who þat for ony loue of worldly þing or for drede of any bodily disese forsaken þis heuenly grace whanne it is profrid . þat is euer whanne it may be had ⁊ þei leesen herfore al heuenly loue . and oblishen hem silf to a more feerful eende / for þis þing wite we by wittnessis of byleeue þat no creature may be so redy to suffre for þe loue of crist ⁊ as he is redy to help / and to wyttnesse þis sentence dauiþ seiþ.

It is now possible to classify the MSS. according to these several types.

Group I. MSS. containing Rolle's own Commentary (like Eton Coll. 10).

Oxford. University College 56, 64[2] (some leaves missing).
Laud 448.
Bodl. 467, 953.

[1] = neither.

[2] This is the MS. on which the only edition of Rolle's Psalter is chiefly based. See H. R. Bramley, *The Psalter... by R. Rolle*, Oxford, 1884.

Oxford. Tanner 1 (some leaves missing).
Hatton 12.
Cambridge. Sid. Suss. Coll. 89 (Δ. 5. 3).
Corp. Chr. Coll. 387.
British Museum. Harl. 1806 (Prologue and beginning of Psalm i are missing).
Arundel 158 (ends with Ps. cxxxv. 22).
Worcester Cathedral Library 158.
Aberdeen Univ. Libr. D². 7. 35. (No Prologue.)
Ripley Castle, Yorks. MS. Ingelby[1].

The Northern dialect in which the original was written is best preserved in Univ. Coll. 64, Hatton 12 and Eton Coll. 10. MSS. Sid. Suss. 89 and Harl. 1806 show Northern forms side by side with non-Northern. In the rest there are few traces of the original dialect and even the vocabulary has been altered.

Group II. MSS. containing interpolated Commentaries.

(*a*) MSS. having the same Commentary as Bodl. 288.

Cambridge. Trin. Coll. B. v. 25.
Oxford. Univ. Coll. 74 (Pss. xxii. 4–xli. 3).
Tanner 16 (Pss. i–lxxx. 7).
Brit. Mus. Reg. 18. D. 1 (Pss. i–lxxix. 13).
Lincoln Cath. Libr. 35.

MS. Laud 321 has notes in the margin, written in a different hand from the rest of the text, beside the first few Psalms. These notes correspond to remarks in the interpolated Commentaries of this subdivision. In Pss. vii–ix interpolations appear in the text itself, but before Ps. vii and after Ps. ix the text of the Commentary contains no interpolations and is like that of MSS. of Group I. The MS. ends with Ps. cviii.

MS. Lambeth 34 contains the same interpolations as Bodl. 288 as far as Ps. lxxxiv. From there to Ps. lxxxviii. with which it ends, it differs from all the other MSS. I have seen.

(*b*) MSS. agreeing in the earlier Psalms with Laud 286.

Oxford. Merton Coll. 94 (Pss. i–ix. 8, written on 12 leaves found partly at the beginning, and partly at the end of a volume dating from the 15th century).

[1] This MS. was sold by Sotheby. It was seen by Miss Allen, who declares that [illegible] and commentary and is in the Northern dialect. Miss Paues also [illegible] MSS. Magd. Coll. (Oxford) 52, Phillipps 8884 and [illegible] St. Nicholas, Newcastle, none of which I have been able to [illegible] MS. [illegible] probably be placed in this group, since the passages [illegible] interpolations.

Oxford. Bodl. 877.

Brit. Mus. Reg. 18. B. 21 (Pss. i–viii. 5)[1].

Laud 286 shows no interpolations after Ps. xvii. 53, where a new handwriting begins. From there to the end it belongs to Group I.

It is curious that Bramley, who used this MS. as the basis of his text where Univ. Coll. 64 lacked leaves, should not have noticed that in the earlier parts it differs from that MS. The writer of the Metrical Preface to Rolle's Psalter[2], which appears in this MS. alone, seems to have had no inkling of the fact either. He declares that the Psalter which follows (i.e. the version of Laud 286) is the same 'in all degre' that Rolle 'wrote with his hondes,' and rails against the Lollards who altered Rolle's work.

These remarks in the Metrical Preface might lead to the supposition that Laud 286 and MSS. like it contain the original version of the early part of the Commentary rather than the MSS. of Group I, were it not that some of the latter MSS. are older than any of the former and preserve Rolle's dialect and vocabulary more faithfully. Since Laud 286 and MSS. like it have not preserved the original language as faithfully as some of the MSS. of Group I, it is unlikely that they will have preserved the original version of the early part of the book more faithfully. It may be concluded therefore that Laud 286 contains interpolations in Pss. i–xvii. 53. The Prologue also is interpolated.

Beside Laud 286, the only complete MS. of the group is Bodl. 877, which is unlike the MSS. of Group I throughout. In its latter half it is not unlike Bodl. 288. Its relation to that MS. will be discussed in connection with the problem of the number of writers responsible for the interpolated Psalters.

(*c*) Brit. Mus. Reg. 18. C. 26 (Pss. lxxxix–cxvii)[3].

An account of the MSS. of Rolle's Psalter would be incomplete without some discussion of the Canticles, which, in most of them, follow Psalm cl without a break. They consist of an English version of certain passages from the Old and New Testament and a Commentary upon

[1] This MS. has a second commentary written in the margin at the beginning of almost every verse in the first two Psalms. It is not found after that. In Psalm i. 1 it runs: 'That man is blessed in dede whiche hath not folowed the counsel of theym that lyue withoute any certayn lawe nor accompanied theym which purposly do euell muche lesse hath he bene so farre ouersene that the life of deceauers shulde please him.'

[2] Printed by Bramley, pp. 1, 2.

[3] Miss Paues includes among the MSS. containing an interpolated commentary Phillipps 3849 and Wrest Park 26 which I have not been able to examine. I cannot state, therefore, to which subdivision (*a*, *b* or *c*) they belong. Miss Paues mentions separately the MS. in Trinity Coll., Dublin (No. 71), which contains a Psalter based on the interpolated Psalters, but shortened and 'stripped of all controversial matter.'

them. Evidently they were intended to be read with the Psalter, and, on the face of it, there is no doubt that they are by Rolle. Examination of all the MSS. containing them shows, however, that the question of authenticity is not a simple one. The number of Canticles varies in different MSS.; there are two versions of the commentary on some of the Canticles; some are to be found in MSS. which do not contain Rolle's Psalter.

The seven passages printed in Bramley's edition of the Psalter—the Song of Isaiah (Is. xii), the Song of Hezekiah (Is. xxxviii), the Song of Hannah (I Ki. ii in the Vulgate), the first Song of Moses (Exod. xv), the Prayer of Habakkuk (Hab. iii), the second Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii) and the Magnificat—appear in the following MSS.:

Oxford. Laud 286.
Hatton 12.
Eton College 10.
Worcester Cathedral Library 158.

Univ. Coll. (Oxford) 64 and Tanner 1 contain only six; the end of the Song of Moses II, and the whole of the Magnificat are missing in both. Sid. Suss. 89 contains only six, the Song of Hezekiah being omitted.

In a number of MSS. five other Canticles have been added. These are the Te Deum, Benedictus, Nunc dimittis, Benedicite (called in many MSS. Canticum 3^{m} puerorum) and the Athanasian Creed. They appear with the first seven in the following MSS.:

Oxford. Laud 448.
Bodl. 288, 877, 953 (one leaf missing from the Athanasian Creed).
Univ. Coll. 56.
New Coll. 320 (no comments; only the English rendering).
Magd. Coll. 52.
Brit. Mus. Harl. 1806.
Cambridge. Trin. Coll. B. v. 25 (Athanasian Creed imperfect).
Corp. Chr. Coll. 387.
Lincoln Cathedral Library 35 (end of the Athanasian Creed missing).
Aberdeen Coll. Libr. D^{2}. 7. 35 contains ten Canticles only, the Prayer of Habakkuk and the second Song of Moses being omitted.

In MS. New Coll. 95 only the last five Canticles appear; Canticles I–II appear in Bodl. 554, 11 and 12 in Laud 174, 12 only in Douce 258.

Bodl. 938 and Fairfax 2. None is found in Bodl. 467 which contains however Rolle's complete Psalter.

It is improbable that the last five Canticles and the Commentary on them are by Rolle. The comments have an unmistakable flavour of Lollardry. In the Benedictus, for instance, there is a tirade against the monastic orders:

And oure relegiouse þat seien þat þei suen him (i.e. John the Baptist) gaderen hem in coventis, and lyuen contrarye liif; for in þe stide of innocence þei han chosen flockis; instide of deseert placis þei han chosun citees; instide of greet penaunce aftir þe staat of innocence þei han chosun lustful liif for to feede her flesch. And where þei schulden forsake craftily bildyngis, þei chesun housis and cloistris to huyde þer richessis [1].

The comments are unlike Rolle's comments in the Psalter in other ways also. In the Benedicite there are long explanations dealing with astrology (see Arnold, pp. 63–64), with the origin of springs and wells (p. 67), and the properties of water in different parts of the earth (pp. 67–68). To Rolle all such matters would have seemed irrelevant.

It may safely be concluded, therefore, that these Canticles were not originally part of Rolle's Psalter.

In Bodl. 288, and 877, and Trin. Coll. B. v. 25, the commentary on the first seven Canticles differs from that found in MSS. containing seven only, and in the majority of those containing twelve. The version in these three MSS. again seems to show the hand of a Lollard. In the Prayer of Habakkuk, the comment on v. 6 has a sentence condemning wicked bishops, which is not found in MSS. such as Sid. Suss. 89 or Eton Coll. 10:

Bishopis mytrid wiþ two hornys figuren þat þei schulden þoru good ensaumple putte þe folk fro vicis to virtues, but now þoru pride and covetise þei ben principal ensaumpleris of turnynge fro virtues til vicis [2].

In the Song of Isaiah there are several references to confession which show the Lollard feeling that mere confession to a priest, without change of heart, is of no avail (vv. 1, 4).

This differing version of the first seven Canticles is unlikely to be by Rolle, and is possibly the work of the man who wrote the last five. These last five Canticles appear alone in one MS. (New College 95), and the fact that almost everything else in the MS. is the work of Wycliffe lends some probability to the belief expressed by Bale and others [3], that

[1] From Bodl. 288. The Canticles as found in that MS. are printed by Arnold in Vol. III. pp. 5 ff. of the *Select Works of Wyclif*.

[2] From Bodl. 288.

[3] See Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrium maioris Britanniae...Catalogus*, p. 452; H. Wanley, *Catalogue of the Harleian MSS.*, No. 1806. He however ascribes the whole of MS. 1806, including the uninterpolated Psalter, to Wycliffe. See W. W. Shirley, *Catalogue of the Original Works of John Wyclif*, Oxford, 1865, pp. 36 ff.

they are by Wycliffe himself. It is not possible to make a more definite statement on this point than Arnold's, that they are 'by Wyclif himself, or by his school' (p. 4)[1].

It remains to consider whether the earliest version of the first seven Canticles—that found in Eton Coll. 10, for instance—may be attributed to Rolle.

It has already been stated that in all the MSS. in which they are found they follow the Psalter without a break, so that if they are an addition, they must have been an early one. Rolle was apparently accustomed to think of the Canticles in connection with the Psalter, for he includes the six from the Old Testament (i.e. all those in his English Psalter except the Magnificat) in his Latin Psalter also. The dialect of the Canticles in the earliest MSS. is Northern and like that of the Psalter. The vocabulary is like that of the Psalter, and phrases are used which correspond exactly with those in the Psalter. In the Song of Moses II. 16, the comment runs 'goed men despisys this life & hastis til heuen,' the last part of which has an exact parallel in the comments on Pss. cxxxvii. 6 and cxxviii. 7. In the Song of Hezekiah, v. 13, there is the remark 'for na fayre louynge is in mouth of synful man' corresponding almost word for word to part of the comment on Psalm xxii. 1, 'for there is no faire louynge in a synful mouth.'

Most significant of all are the similarities between the comments on the six Old Testament Canticles and Rolle's Latin Commentary on them. In the Song of Isaiah, v. 2, for instance, the English comment runs:

> All men behaldis . lo god ihū crist is my saueoure, clensand me of syn . and delyuerand me of tourment . now he me safes...traystfully i sall wirke . that is, i sall boldly say . that he sall cum to deme and ȝelde til ilke man eftire his dede....

The Latin comment on the same verse is:

> [Ecce deus?] Iesus Christus vos omnes ad hoc intendite [saluator meus] mundans me a peccato & liberans a tormento, nunc enim saluat...[fiducialiter agam] intrepide dicam eum... venturum ad iudicium, & reddituram unicuique secundum opus suum.

In the Song of Moses II. v. 33, the English comment is:

> He sall se that is he sall make to be sene . that all that ill men dos is noght [illegible] till thare salvacoun . and the kosid in pouste of the deuyl . fayrlid for [illegible] and all the other left and forsakyn of god is distroyd in endles ded.

[illegible] whether they were the work of any of the writers responsible for the [illegible] Psalter itself cannot be answered with any certainty. They [illegible] MSS [illegible] Psalter as well as in those containing interpolated [illegible] same subjects as the comments in the latter, but there [illegible] not in the phraseology strikingly similar.

[illegible] enclosed in square brackets in the Cologne edition [illegible]

The Latin is:

[Videbit] id est, videri faciet [quod infirma sit manus] id est, insufficiens sit reproborum operatio ad salutem obtinendam [clausi quoque] scilicet impii in dæmonum potestate [defecerunt] id est. contabuerunt in tormentis [residuique] id est, omnes relicti a deo [consumpti sunt] morte æterna.

There are many other passages which agree quite as closely as these in the two Commentaries.

These similarities, with the other indications, prove that Rolle was the author of the English rendering of the six Old Testament Canticles and the Commentary on them. It is less easy to make any definite statement with regard to the version of the Magnificat, since the Latin Commentary does not include it. Two of the MSS. of the English Psalter (Tanner I and Univ. Coll. 64) do not include the English version of it, and in several of the MSS. containing twelve Canticles it is separated from the six Old Testament Canticles and appears tenth (Univ. Coll. 56, Bodl. 953) or twelfth (Corp. Chr. Coll. 387, Laud 448).

It is, however, found in Eton Coll. 10, Hatton 12, and Sid. Suss. 89, which are among the oldest MSS. of Rolle's Psalter, and there are two versions of it as of the six Old Testament Canticles, a shorter one (as in Eton Coll. 10), and a slightly longer one (as in Bodl. 288). There is no reason for separating the latter from the revised (Lollard) versions of the six Old Testament Canticles and it is likely therefore that the writer who made them, revised the Magnificat at the same time and found the original of them all in the same MS.—a MS. of Rolle's Psalter. Perhaps the phrase 'pryuelege of brennand luf,' which occurs in v. 2, is characteristic enough to prove Rolle the author of the shorter version of the Magnificat even in the face of the existing difficulties.

DOROTHY EVERETT.

OXFORD.

SOME NEW FACTS ABOUT SHIRLEY.

I.

THE author of a recent exhaustive biography is authority for the statement that 'our certain knowledge of the private life of Shirley is limited, except for an occasional allusion in his dedications, to the contents of five documents: the record of the christening of "James the sonne of James Sharlie" and other entries referring to their family, in the register of St Mary Woolchurch; the probation register of Merchant Taylors' School; the record of the christening of "Mathias, sonne of Mr James Shurley, gentleman" at St Giles without Cripplegate: Shirley's will...; and, finally, the passage in the burial register of St Giles in the Fields for October 29, 1666[1].' It is the purpose of the present paper to record entries from four other documents, which fortunately shed light on one of the more obscure periods of his life. As Nason says, Shirley's life from the time he left 'Merchant Taylors' School in 1612 to the beginning of his dramatic career in 1625, is a subject of which we know with certainty almost nothing—unless we accept as certain the unsupported statements of Anthony à Wood, a generation subsequent to Shirley's death[2].' It may be noted in anticipation that in one case at least the documents here cited confirm Wood's statement.

The passage in Anthony à Wood is brief but explicit:

> Soon after entring into holy Orders, he became a Minister of God's word in, or near to, S. Albans in Hertfordshire. But being then unsetled in his mind, he changed His Religion for that of Rome, left his Living, and taught a Grammar School in the said Town of S. Alban; which employment also he finding uneasie to him, he retired to the Metropolis, lived in Greys inn, and set up for a play-maker[3].

Upon this passage Nason's comment indicates scepticism. He says: 'Of the accuracy of this statement, we cannot judge. Concerning his ministry, we have only what Dyce and other scholars have been pleased to discover in his dramatic works; and concerning his term as pedagogue, we have merely the more or less unauthenticated statements contained in various histories of Hertfordshire.' It is only fair to say

[1] A. H. Nason, *James Shirley, Dramatist: A Biographical and Critical Study*, New York, 1915, pp. 385-6.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 385.
[3] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 1817, III, p. 737; quoted Nason, pp. 31-32.

that he is right in hesitating to accept seemingly unsupported statements such as Wood's; and yet reason is not wholly wanting for placing some credit in the passage. It is to be remembered that on his own statement Wood had been informed of Shirley's birthplace by Shirley's son, 'the Butler of Furnival's inn, in Holbourn, near London', and it would have been strange if he had not taken occasion to obtain other information from the same source. We may wish for further evidence on some of the points, but, at all events, since in one particular Wood's statement now finds confirmation, the rest should not be too hastily dismissed.

One of the histories of Hertfordshire mentioned by Nason is no less an authority than the *Victoria County History*. Leach, writing in one of the volumes on Hertfordshire, says: 'In January, 1621, another distinguished author illuminated the head mastership of St Albans. This was James Shirley.... At St Albans the reign of Shirley, or Sherley as he was called, was signalized by a large expenditure on school building, the roof being renewed with no less than 624 lb. of lead, and by the entry in the account books, not merely of the number but of the names of the boys who paid entrance fees. Eight names were entered in 1622–3 in a most excellent copperplate hand. On 1 July, 1624, Shirley left St Albans, having become a Romanist.... At St Albans Shirley was followed in January, 1625, by John Westerman of Trinity College, Cambridge...[1].'

The facts which concern Shirley as master of St Albans are chiefly derived by Leach from the Corporation records and the school account book, and, except in one instance, are accurate. At the Town Clerk's Office, St Albans, the Court Minute Books have been preserved. Volumes exist for 1612–13, 1619–20, 1628, 1647, etc. Unfortunately the records for the period of Shirley's tenure seem to be temporarily mislaid. At all events, the Town Clerk was unable to locate them when I endeavoured to see them. However, extracts (more or less condensed) have been printed[2]. From these certain pertinent entries may be quoted:

[1] *V.C.H., Herts.* II, p. 63.

[2] In A. E. Gibbs, *Historical Records of St Albans*, St Albans, 1888, and A. E. Gibbs, *Corporation Records of St Albans*, St Albans, 1890. In the latter he says: 'As it would be quite impossible to print the whole of the contents of these books [Court Minute Books], I propose giving a short record of the principal business done at the Courts... Except in a few cases I have not given verbatim extracts, most of the entries being condensed as much as possible to avoid unnecessary verbiage and to save space' (p. 13). He also adds: 'Some unbound bundles of minutes have also been very helpful to me. These date from 1619 to 1721, but they are not continuous.' For additional information on the records of St Albans see H. T. Riley, 'The Manuscripts of the Corporation of St Alban's,' *Hist. MSS Comm.*, 5th Report, Pt. I, pp. 565–8, and W. H. Black, 'On the Town Records of St Alban's,' *Journ. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.* XXVI (1870), pp. 143–9.

1618.

Court held November 2nd.—The Mastership of the Free School was promised to James Sherley, of St Albans, Bachelor of Arts, after the death, relinquishing or departure of Thomas Gibson, gentleman, then schoolmaster[1].

1626.

Court held July 5th.—Mr John Westerman, schoolmaster of the Free School, resigned his office. Mr John Harmer, Master of Arts, was chosen in his stead, all the rights and privileges being given him which belonged to Mr Thomas Gibson, Mr James Sherley, Mr John Westerman, or any other Master of the School[2].

Court held August 4th.—John Harmer took his oath as Master of the Free School. A Constitution was made forbidding the buying and selling the Mastership of the School, negligent and unworthy persons having attained the said place by this means. Complaint was made that more worthy men had thus been hindered from becoming Masters, and the good education of the scholars much prejudiced. All future Masters were to take an oath not to sell their Mastership, a copy of which oath is entered in the Minute Book[3].

It would be easy to speculate upon the passage just quoted. Leach, who cites from this part of the record, says, 'Who was aimed at by this retrospective rebuke does not appear, but probably Shirley and Westerman[4].' At the same time it may have been Steed, whose tenure only lasted about a year.

Gibbs, in *Historical Records of St Albans*, says: 'A board hangs in one of the schoolrooms on which are painted the names of the Headmasters, with the years of their election from the time of Queen Elizabeth till 1845' (p. 34). He then lists among others Thomas Gibson 1603, Thomas Steed 1620, James Sherley 1623, John Westerman 1625, John Harmar 1626, etc., but, as he observes, the list is incomplete and inaccurate.

Further records which have not previously been published, are contained in a volume preserved along with the Corporation records at the Town Clerk's Office and bearing the title 'Book of Accounts belonging to the Free Grammar School in the Borough of St Albans.' The period covered by these accounts extends from 1587 to 1782. The extracts which are here printed include only those which throw light on the period of Shirley's mastership[5].

The acompt of Robert Skelton & Robertt Gillmett, governeres of the free schol of St Albones for the year 1619.

Payd Mr Gibsone ffor one yeares stipent endyng at Michellmas 1619 xxiiij^{li} 13^{s} 4^{d}

Payd to Mr Gibson ffor the vsheres stipent viij^{li}

[1] Gibbs, *Corp. Rec.* p. 64.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 68. For the period between these two entries Gibbs cites from the records for all the intervening years, but his notes contain no reference to the schoolmaster. They concern for the most part simply the annual election of the mayor.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 68. [4] *V.C.H., Herts.* II, p. 63.

[5] They are not printed in F. Wilcox, 'The accounts of St Albans Grammar School,' *Middlesex and Herts. Notes and Queries*, I, pp. 11–15, 39–42, 138–142, II, pp. 40–43, and *Herts. Counties Mag.* XI, pp. 52–54.

The Accompt...beginning at the feast of all S^{ts} 1619 & ending at the sam ffeast 1620.

It: payd to Mr Stede & Mr Carr for there wages the som of xxxij^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Thaccompt...beginninge at the ffeast of all Saintes 1620 & ending at the sam feast 1621.

It: payd Mr Steed & the vsher in January 1620[1] for there wages for on quarter of a yere ended at cristmas last viij^{li} iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Payd to Mr Sherly & his vsher for there wages for iij quarters of a yeere ended at michallmas last xxiiij^{li} x^{s}

The accompt...begining at the feast of All Saintes Anno Domini—1621 & ending at the same feast in Anno dni 1622.

[No entries: rest of page blank.]

The Accompt...begining at the feast of All Saintes Anno Dni 1622 & ending at the same feast in Anno 1623.

Inprimis paid to Mr James Sherley Schoolem^{r} for Christmas quarter vij^{li} iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Itm more paid to him for midsomer quarter vij^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Item more paid vnto Mr James Sherley Schoolem^{r} of the ffree schoole & vnto his Vsher for one other halfe yere xvj^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

[No account for the year 1623–4; blank page reserved for it.]

The Accompt...for twoe whole yeares begininge att the feaste of all Sts A^{o} Dni 1624 and endinge att the same feaste 1626.

Inpr paid to m^{r} John Westerman schoolem^{r} of the free schoole for one quarter of a yeares stipend ended att thannuncyacon 1625 vj^{li} iij^{s} iiij^{d}

The first three entries in the above accounts are quoted because of their bearing upon the record of November 2, 1618, in the Corporation Minutes. Although this record says Shirley was promised the mastership 'after the death, relinquishing or departure of Thomas Gibson, gentleman, then schoolmaster,' it is clear that Shirley did not immediately succeed Gibson. The latter was master only until September 29, 1619; and apparently from then for a year and a quarter, till Christmas 1620, a certain Stede or Steed held the position. Shirley succeeded Steed at the beginning of the next quarter, January 1621. The length of the future dramatist's stay is in some doubt. The last payment to him, it will be noticed, is for the period ending September 19, 1623. But as there is no account for the year 1623–4 and as the next record of a payment to the master is for the term beginning January 1625 (to John Westerman) Shirley's occupancy may have terminated at any time between September 1623 and January 1625. Leach, as quoted above, says Shirley left July 1, 1624, but I am not sure of his evidence. The board with the masters' names painted on it gives 1625 as the date of Westerman's appointment. The date beside Shirley's name on the board, however, is demonstrably wrong and the

[1] 1621, New Style.

list cannot be trusted. By February 26, 1625, the future dramatist was apparently settled in London, for on that date his eldest son Mathias was christened in the parish church of St Giles without Cripplegate.

Certain slight irregularities in the amounts which Shirley received are to be noted. The normal rate of wages for the schoolmaster at this time was £6. 3*s*. 4*d*. per quarter (four quarters per year); and for the usher £2 per quarter. Consequently when the sums recorded under a given year do not correspond to these figures or multiples of them, there is a presumption of error. Thus in 1622–3 Shirley is paid £7. 3*s*. 4*d*. on one occasion when we should expect £6. 3*s*. 4*d*. and on the second payment of the same year was given £7. 13*s*. 4*d*. (instead of 3*s*.). Possibly Shirley received more than the other masters, but the next entry for him and his usher is £16. 6*s*. 8*d*. which represents £4 for the usher and £12. 6*s*. 8*d*. for Shirley for a half year or payments at the regular rate of £6. 3*s*. 4*d*. per quarter. Moreover the subsequent masters all received £6. 3*s*. 4*d*. per quarter. Possibly an error was made in copying these accounts into the account book or, since no usher is mentioned in these two payments, perhaps Shirley was without one at this time and was paid extra because of that fact. The point is of no great importance.

It is interesting to note that Shirley's income was not limited to the amount paid him by the Corporation. At the end of the account book are found the 'Orders concerning the ffree Gram*m*ar School of the Burrough of St Albans devised by the Right Hono^rble^ Sr Nicholas Bacon Kn^t^ Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England the xvij^th^ of May 1570' together with certain later amendments, one of which reads:

> The 13th of June 1602 it was decreed & constituted by the Maior of this Burrough & the more p*a*rt of ye principall Burgesses assembled at a Court holden by them the day & year above written that Mr Thomas Gibson ye p^r^sent Schoolmaster of the ffree School of St Albans as also every one of his Successo^rs^ Masters of ye said School shall receive & have for every Schollar in the ffree School wch shall be under the said Master & Masters for the time being & shall be taught by him & them, So as the Schollars be the Children of such as dwell & inhabite w^th^in ye Limits of this Burrough ffour pence Quarterly to be brought to the Master by every such Schollar or paid by his Parents or friends at the end of every Quarter. Also the s^d^ Schoolmaster & his Successo^rs^ for the time being shall receive & have of every such Schollar under them & taught by them, being the children of such as dwell and inhabite w^th^out this Burrough Twelve pence Quarterly to be paid as aforesaid. [The usher receives the same extra payments.]

One other short quotation from these orders will give some notion of the master's duties. It is apparently one of the original orders drawn up by Sir Nicholas Bacon in 1570, but there is nothing to indicate that it was not still in force in Shirley's day.

> Item the Schoolmaster shall daily every Learning-day from the ffive & Twentieth day of March unto ye Last day of September be at the School by the Stroke of Six

of the Clock in the Morning, & every Learning-day from the Last day of September unto the ffive and Twentieth day of March by the Stroke of Seaven of the Clock in the Morning & there shall continue in teaching untill Eleaven of the Clock; and shall be at the School again by One of the Clock in the After-Noon & shall abid there untill ffive of the Clock in teaching.

II.

From the evidence here produced it is apparent that Shirley's tenure of the St Albans Grammar School did not begin until January 1621. Yet as early as November 1618 the mastership was promised him. Was he already living in St Albans? From the following evidence it seems not unlikely. In the parish register of St Albans Abbey under date of December 27, 1619, is recorded the baptism of 'Marie doughter of Mr James Shurley by Elizabeth his wife[1].' This daughter (by his first wife) is doubtless 'my Daughter Mary' to whom he left in his will two hundred pounds and a silver tankard[2]. Some two years later, May 15, 1622, the birth of a second daughter is recorded: 'Grace the doughter of Mr James Shurley by Elizabeth his wyfe[3].' But the same year she died, for in the list of 'suche as have ben buried in the parish church of St Albanes & St Peters,' under date of December 20, 1622, occurs the entry: 'Grace daughter of Mr James Shurley[4].' Since the other known children of the dramatist were born later, as we know by evidence and inference, those mentioned here are doubtless his eldest.

III.

Still other evidence, though slight, would seem to connect Shirley with St Albans, this time with the church. In a calendar of St Albans records compiled by Mr H. R. W. Hall[5], No. 251 is a mandate of January 16, 1623–4, requiring the clergy of the archdeaconry to elect Proctors in Convocation to meet in St Paul's Cathedral the following month. Accordingly on February 5 twenty-five were elected representing various parishes. However only ten ultimately attended and recorded their votes, three of whose names do not occur in the list of twenty-five. Of these three one is the name of 'James Sherley.' No parish is assigned to him. How his name happens to be here is not clear.

[1] *The Parish Registers of St Albans Abbey*, 1558–1689, transcribed by Wm. Brigg, Harpenden, 1897 (suppl. to *The Herts. Genealogist and Antiquary*), p. 54. 'This Register, supposed to have been burnt in a Fire, which destroyed the St Albans Rectory, A.D. MDCCXLIII, was in MDCCCLXXX discovered by Mr Craggs in a hay loft attached to his house in St Albans, the property of Mr J. Kent, great-grandson of the Mr John Kent who died in MDCCXCVIII, having been for more than half a century clerk to the Abbey...' (Quoted by Brigg, in his preface, from a sheet of paper pasted inside the present binding.)

[2] Printed for the first time by Nason, pp. 158–160.

[3] Register, as cited, p. 57. [4] *Ibid.* p. 209.

[5] H. R. W. Hall, *Records of the Old Archdeaconry of St Albans. A Calendar of Papers* A.D. 1575 *to* A.D. 1637, St Albans, 1908.

It is not unlikely that a search of the records of St Albans described by Mr Hall would shed light on the question, and would very likely yield even other data about the poet. We do not yet know all there is to be known and all that we probably shall some day know about the period of Shirley's life which he spent at St Albans. But I must leave the further investigation of it regretfully to those on the spot. What the document here pointed out tells us is that Shirley was still in St Albans in February 1624 and, whether or not he was still serving as schoolmaster, was somehow connected with the church.

IV.

Finally, one other question can now be answered: the question whether Shirley received a degree from Oxford or Cambridge. Nason, after summarizing previous opinion on the subject, says 'the question whether Shirley actually received even a baccalaureate degree cannot with certainty be answered' and 'until more certain evidence appears, we shall do well to avoid saying that Shirley did or did not receive degrees in arts.' It will be noted, however, that in the passage cited above from the Corporation Minutes for 1618 he is specifically styled 'Bachelor of Arts.' And through the kindness of Professor Moore Smith I am able to add more specific evidence. While the present paper was in his hands he called my attention to an entry in the recent *Book of Matriculations and Degrees...in the University of Cambridge.* This entry duly records Shirley's matriculation as a pensioner in St Catharine's College in the Easter term of 1615 and his graduation as Bachelor of Arts in 1617[1]. The statement in Bancroft's epigram[2], 'Iames, thou and I did spend some precious yeeres At Katherine-Hall,' has a special point when we notice that Bancroft's matriculation in St Catharine's is recorded in the year 1613[3]. Professor Smith adds that perhaps Shirley was prevented from staying three more years for his M.A. by the death of his father, whose burial is recorded June 2, 1617, at St Mary Woolchurch.

Thus from the evidence that has now been assembled the following facts, considered in their chronological sequence, arise: Shirley graduated Bachelor of Arts from Cambridge in 1617; he was promised the mastership of the St Albans Grammar School in 1618; a daughter Mary (probably his first child) was baptised at St Albans, December

[1] John and J. A. Venn, *The Book of Matriculations and Degrees...in the University of Cambridge from* 1544 *to* 1659, Cambridge, 1913, p. 605.

[2] *Two Books of Epigrammes and Epitaphs...* By Thomas Bancroft. London, 1639. Book I, 13th epigram, 'To Iame[s] Shirley.'

[3] Venn, *op. cit.* p. 36.

1619; his first wife's name, as we learn from this record, was Elizabeth; in January 1621 he became master of the school, and was certainly such until September 1623, possibly somewhat later; in May 1622 a second daughter was born; she died in December of the same year; and finally, in 1624 he voted as one of the Proctors representing St Albans in Convocation at St Paul's Cathedral, a fact which indicates some connexion with the church. This is the last occasion on which we hear of him before he came up to London later in the same year or early in 1625.

ALBERT C. BAUGH.

PHILADELPHIA, U.S.A.

THE PRACTICAL SIDE OF A PRÉCIEUSE.

THE *Modern Language Review* has already printed a series of letters from Madame de La Fayette to Ménage in which she refers to her reading of *Clélie*[1]. It is natural for a *précieuse* to be interested in such reading, but it does not follow that the occupation took any larger proportion of her time than does the light reading of a modern woman. The idea that a *précieuse* was always of the type portrayed by Molière is one that no amount of patient research work seems to be able to dispel. Madame de La Fayette was represented for more than a century as a weakling who spent her time in writing novels or in lying on a couch pitying herself. The famous 'C'est assez que d'être' has been quoted to satiety.

Then a seeker after truth discovered an entire correspondence of a political nature, the existence of which had been ignored, and he dared to say that it was the work of the author of the *Princesse de Clèves*[2].

The critics naturally questioned the authenticity of these documents, particularly as the discoverer was a foreigner, but finally they admitted they were genuine[3]. Then away they all went to the other extreme[4]. Madame de La Fayette was cold, cunning, heartless. At the time of La Rochefoucauld's death, when everyone had decided for her that she was prostrated with grief, the little hussy was writing political letters to the secretary of Madame de Savoie. The critics seemed to resent not so much the lack of respect for the memory of the dear departed as the fact that the lady had dared to deceive them. When the literary historians have made a writer's portrait, touched it up and varnished it, hung it in its proper place in the national gallery, they are always wroth when they discover that the work has to be done all over again. The revised portrait generally suffers from their wrath—as though it were the poor victim's fault—and goes to the extreme of caricature. The truth, as usual, lies midway—a portrait with wrinkles—but a portrait nevertheless.

We have not yet come to any just appreciation of the *précieuses*

[1] Vol. xv, No. 2, April 1920, pp. 152–162.

[2] Perrero, A. D., *Lettere inedite di madama di La Fayette e sue relazioni con la corte di Torino. Curiosità e ricerche di storia subalpina*, No. xv, Turin, 1880.

[3] Hemon, Félix, *Revue politique et littéraire*, 5 avril, 3 mai, 1879, 2 octobre, 1880.

[4] Barine, Arvède, *Revue des deux mondes*, 15 septembre, 1880. Compare the last article of Hemon mentioned above.

because we persist in seeing them through Molière's spectacles. It will be shown elsewhere that the *précieuse* of the type represented by Madame de La Fayette did not spend much of her time in the reading of ephemeral literature and still less in discussing it in conversation or in writing to her friends about it. Yet surely Madame de La Fayette is fairly typical. She frequented the Hôtel de Rambouillet, was on very friendly terms with the daughters of the hostess, with Montausier, with the habitués, with the first members of the French Academy. She was a blue-stocking, for she knew Latin—not so much as she is generally given credit for—and Italian, corresponded with Huet and Ménage—she even wrote books. In spite of all this, her correspondence with a pedant shows her to be a very practical business woman, a good mother, a good friend and a head of a family who dwarfed her husband into insignificance, undertaking and bringing to a successful conclusion most of the work that should have been his alone.

The following letters have been chosen with a view to illustrating the practical side of her character. No one can read them and still continue of the opinion that she was weak and clinging and that most of her time was given to literary dilettantism and pseudo-psychological discussions.

ce 26me decembre [1656].

Je ne scauois point ce que vous m'aués mandé de la disposition qu'auoit faitte mon beau Pere[1] en cas qu'il fust mort il ne men a rien escrit et ie ne luy feray point semblant den rien scauoir parce quil croiroit peut estre si ie luy en parlois que ce seroit une maniere de plainte de ce quil auroit changé les sentiments quil m'auoit toujours temoignes de ne vouloir pas quil sortit de nostre maison la moindre partie de ce quil auroit eu de Ma Mere et ie ne me soucie en facon du monde quil en use autrement quand il moura le bien quil m'en reuiendra sera assés considerable pour me consoler de la perte des meubles nallés pas luy dire cecy ny a personne ie vous en prie comme vous ne me mandés rien de Me de Vitry[2] ie la croy hors de peril et ce que vous me mandes de la remise du mariage du Prince Eugene[3] me feroit croire ce mariage en grand peril de ne ce pas faire pour moy ie commence un peu a donner dans le sentiment du peuple qui croit il y a longtemps que lon veut faire

[1] Renaud de Sévigné. For the will see Lemoine and Saulnier, *Correspond. du Chev. de Sévigné*, p. 293.

[2] Marie-Louise-Elizabeth-Aimée Pot married (1646) François-Marie de l'Hôpital, duc de Vitry.

[3] Eugène-Maurice de Savoie, comte de Soissons, married Mazarin's niece, Olympe Mancini, February 20, 1657.

M^le^ Manchini[1] nostre Reine quand Me de Seuigné[2] sera ariuee mandés moy comment vous serés ensemble et si le feu ne se remettra point a vostre amitie ie suis toujours persuadee que cela nest pas dificile et que vous luy pouriés dire Ardo si ma non t'amo adieu nostre cher amy conserués moy toujours le rang de vostre premiere amie ie vous en conjure.

ie vous rends graces de lintention que vous auies de menuoier le livre de Mr Costar[3] et vous prie de remercier pour moy Mr Costar de ce quil vous a prie de me lenuoier.

ce 2me janvier [1657].

Il ny a plus de desordre a vos lettres et ie les reçois deux fois la sepmaine a point nommé pour moy ie vous escris tous les huit jours sans y manquer prenés vous en a la poste quand vous ne receurés pas mes lettres ien ay eu aujourduy de Me de Seuigne[4] dattées de Paris et elle me mande aussi bien que vous quelle y est ariuée en bonne santé lon se porte toujours bien quand on arriue a Paris ie vous rends graces d'auoir parlé de mon affaire a Mr Paluau[5] cette affaire nous importe tout a fait et l'hiuer quy vient ie vous donneray bien de locupation a la venir solliciter auec moy ie ne scay comment jay toujours oublié a vous parler du petit dixain[6] car il ma tout a fait pleu et ie lay trouué fort heureusement acheue jay releu auec soin vos poesies italiennes et jay leu en mesme temps l'oiseleuse[7] que vous m'auies enuoyée escrite a la main pour y remarquer les changements que vous y auiés faits ie suis bien honteuse que cette piece la soit si belle sans que ie vous aye aidé.

16me janvier [1657].

.....Je suis fort aise de la bonne mine que vous aués receu de M. le C.[8] et i'auray encore plus de ioye si cela vous produit quelque chose de solide car pour les belles paroles de ces M^rs^ la c'est une viande si creuse que l'on ne s'en contente guere.....

13me janvier [1657].

.....Il m'a bien paru par la responce que mon beau père[9] ma faitte qu'il auoit trouué une de mes lettres un peu seches mais neamoins il

[1] Olympe Mancini attracted Louis XIV, but it was Marie Mancini who nearly became queen. See Mme de La Fayette, *Henriette d'Angleterre*, and Perey, *Le Roman du Grand Roi*.

[2] Madame de Sévigné was at the Rochers at the end of 1656.

[3] *L'apologie de M. Costar?* (1656).

[4] Back from Brittany.

[5] Palluau, conseiller de la grand'chambre. It was he who questioned la Brinvilliers. See Sévigné, *Lettres*, iv, pp. 410, 411.

[6] Published in the Additions to the *Poemata*, 1656.

[7] Corrected in another hand: 'oiseleur.' The reference may be to a revised version of *La bella uccellatrice* that appeared in the *Rime Italiane*, 1656, though it is more probable that the MS. of *L'oiseleur*, mentioned by Mme de La Fayette later in 1657, was already in her hands.

[8] Mazarin.

[9] Renaud de Sévigné married the widow of Marc-Pioche de la Vergne.

m'a fait responce le plus obligeamment du monde en me tesmoignant fort bonnement qu'il n'auoit eu nulle intention de me fascher ie ne pense pas que nous prenions sa maison[1] premierement parcequ'elle n'est point du tout logeable et secondement a cause du cartier qui est fort esloigné de tous les lieux ou les plaideuses ont affaire.....

ce 5*me juin* [1657].

Nous suivrons le sentiment de nostre aduocat du Parlement et celuy de laduocat que vous nous aués adressé au Priué conseil ie suis si en colere contre les gens daffaire et contre les Proces que ie ne scay ou men mettre charbonnier nest pas a couuert de ma colere car il est bien cause quelques fois de mille fautes quy se font dans nos affaires et que lon a bien de la peine a reparer ie vous ay desja escrit une fois aujourduy en faueur de Mr de Gatelier[2] quy est retourné a Paris pour son affaire sa famme y est aussi ie luy ay donné un petit mot de louange en passant dans ma lettre afin que cela luy donnast courage de faire cognoissance auec vous elle le souhaite extresmemt en qualité de bel esprit elle fait des vers et discourt de science auec un ton et une authorité incomparable des la premiere veue vous cognoistrés bien tost ce quelle scait dire et Dieu scait le soing quelle prendra de dire merueille deuant vous ie nay point receu de vos lettres par le courier dhier et ie vous croy a Meudon ie vous enuoye une fort meschante lettre pour Me de Nemours[3] que ie vous prie de luy vouloir donner lon ne scait par ou si prendre pour luy dire que lon se resjouit de son mariage Me de Seuigné ma mandé que celuy de M^le de chambelay[4] estoit rompu ien suis au desespoir pour lamour delle car il est tres facheux de manquer un aussi bon party que le comte de Maran[4] apres auoir esté si pres de lespouser adieu ie vous prie souuenés vous de m'aimer ie meurs de peur que vous l'oubliés pendant que vous ne me voyés point.

ce 12*me juin* [1657].

Je nay point receu de vos lettres cet ordinaire par celuy de la sepmaine passée vous m'apristes comme charbonier auoit changé d'aduis sur nos affaires ie ne vous remercie point du soing que vous en prenés et du

[1] Mme de La Fayette's mother died in February 1656. Writing from Auvergne, she charges Ménage to help find a house for her during a visit to Paris rendered necessary by law cases she wishes to direct herself.

[2] I have no information concerning M. de Gatelier or his wife.

[3] A difficult situation even for the diplomatic countess. Henri de Savoie had been Archbishop of Rheims. His brother died leaving no male issue, so the Archbishop left the Church and married Mlle de Longueville. The brothers Villers note in their *Journal de Voyage*, under date of May 23, 1657, '...sur le soir on nous dit que le mariage de M. le duc de Nemours avec Mlle de Longueville avoit esté enfin consommé, après qu'on avoit longtemps douté qu'il se fist, à cause qu'on accusoit le duc de tomber du haut mal.'

[4] She did not lose him. The marriage took place in April 1660.

raporteur que vous nous aués obtenu car ie voy bien que si ie voulois vous remercier de tout ce que vous ferés pour nous ie ne vous escriroit dorsanauant que des lettres de remerciment M^r de La Fayette a un desmelé auec des Mrs de Beaufort de ce pays icy duquel ie croy que vous entendres parler comme cest Mr de Mata gendre de Gatelier quy tient leur parolle et que cest une affaire d'interest sur laquelle nous ne pouvons entrer en acomodement il a escrit a plusieurs personnes pour auoir des lettres de Mareschaux de France et entre autres a Mr de Gatelier auquel Mr de Bayard a mandé de s'adresser a vous pour en auoir ie vous conjure s'il s'adresse a vous de prendre des lettres du M^al d'albret[1] s'il est a Paris comme M^r de La Fayette est son parant asses proche et que cette affaire icy aura des suittes ou il sera peut estre bon destre entre les mains de Mareschaux de France quy nous soient fauorables ie souhaitte que ce soit le M^al d'albret s'il n'est pas a Paris ie vous suplie d'en prendre de quelque autre quy soient tout aussi fortes quelles se peuvent escrire sur telles matieres vous pouués penser si cette affaire me touche et m'inquiette iay quelque esperance que lon fera entendre raison a ses Mrs de Beaufort mais neamoins comme ce sont de jeunes fous l'on ne scauroit trop prendre de precaution peut estre que Mr de Gatelier n'aura pas de besoing de s'adresser a vous parce que M^r de dienne canillac quy est tuteur de ces M^rs la aura desja eu des lettres des Mareschaux de france mais sil si adresse ie vous prie den auoir le plustost qu'il se pourra.

ce 26me juin [1657].

Je vous rends mille graces des lettres du M^al destrees[2] que vous nous aués enuoyees Mr de Mata les a et s'en seruira en temps et lieu si par malheur il ariue que lon en ait besoing ce que i'aprehende un peu a cause de la jeunesse et de l'emportement des petits M^rs dont il est question ie ne m'estois pas souuenue de tout le desmelé qu'ont eu ces Mrs de Canillac auec les amis et les parans du M^al dalbret si ie m'en fusse souuenue ie ne vous aurois pas mandé de vous adresser a luy ie suis si persuadee de la part que vous prenés a nos interest et du soing que vous prenés pour les choses quy me regardent que comme ie vous lay mandé iay escrit a charbonier de ne rien faire a nos affaires quy ne vous consultast sil le fait cela mostera une partie de linquietude ou ie suis de nos affaires et quoy quil ne soit pas presentement question du fonds les choses dont il s'agist sont neamoins de tres grande consequence il nous seroit tout a fait aduantageux de sortir de la grande chambre et d'aller

[1] César-Phébus d'Albret, comte de Miossens, created Marshal in 1653.
[2] François-Annibal d'Estrées, marquis de Cœuvres.

a la sinquiesme nous aurions bien mieux raison de ce president Mole[1] que de ces vieux Presidents au mortier et il nous donneroit un raporteur dans sa chambre dont nous disposerions mieux que ce vieux Mr Benoise quy est un vray opiniastre ie suis rauie que vous ayes fait donner quelque chose a ce pauure Salmonet[2] mandes moy un peu sil n'est plus nulle mention du C. de Rets et si lon ne vient point a bout de descouurir quel coing de la terre il habite ie ne vois point encore de vos lettres dattees de Meudon jay bien enuie que vous y soyés afin que vous trauaillés a ces lettres dont nous auons parlé ensemble adieu ie suis la toute vostre.

ce 3me juillet [1657].

Il sen faut bien que mon mal de teste mait quitté de [bonne] foy il me prend tres souuent et ie ne pretends pas quil madonne [m'abandonne] jamais tout a fait vous scaués que cest la maladie des beaux esprits et ainsi il faut que jy soye suiette tant que ie seray bel esprit et aparament si tant est que ie le sois ie le seray toujours ie croy pourtant que lon se desfait quelque fois du bel esprit par exemple ie nay plus dans la teste que les sentences les exploits les arest les productions ie n'escris presque que pour mes affaires ie ne lis que des papiers de chicane ie ne songe non plus ny aux vers ny a litalien ny a lespagnol que si ie nen auois jamais ouy parler cela estant ainsi ie croy que quand j'aurois esté bel esprit que ie ne le serois plus et que ie ne serois qu'un esprit d'affaires asseurement jay fort les miennes dans la teste et comme vous voyés ie vous en parle assés souuent ie mestois touiours bien doutee quil nous faudroit demeurer a ces vieux barbons de la grande chambre et que le conseil mesme nous y renuoiroit mais considerés ce que cest quelque fois que le sentiment des aduocats sa esté par leur aduis que nous nous estion adresses au conseil eux disant que lon nous renuoiroit aussi tost aux enquestes qu'a la grande chambre qu'en [quand ?] la saisie de Valier seroit declaree bonne ladjudication que M^r de La Fayette a obtenu ne seroit pas nulle car M^r de La Fayette cest defendu jusques icy a la grande chambre en qualité dheritier par benefice dinuentaire soutenant que la debte de valier n'estoit pas ligitime et quand elle seroit declaree bonne et la saisie aussi il faudroit voir apres a quy apartiennent les terres quy ont esté saisies car elles nestoient pas adjugees a M^r de La Fayette quand Valier les a faittes saisir et ainsi la saisie a pu estre bonne mais ce seroit un second proces de discuter si les terres apartiennent a la

[1] Not the most famous of the Molé family—the first President Matthew—for he died in January 1656. In 1657, John Molé was Président aux enquêtes.

[2] Salmonet was attached to Retz at the same time as Ménage. He received a clergy pension. See Tallemant, *Historiettes*, iv, pp. 198, 199, 206. (Edition in 6 vols., Paris, Techener, 1842.)

succesion de feu M^r de La Fayette[1] ou a M^r de La Fayette d'aujourduy et cest ce que nous voulons esuiter en faisant joindre les deux instances et soutenant en mesme temps a Valier que sa debte nest pas bonne et que quand elle seroit le bien est a nous et quil ny a pas de quoy le payer a 50 mille escus pres que nous demandons de plus que la somme a quoy monte les terres de la maison quy nestoient pas substituees et quy sont celles que lon nous a adiugees cest une chose admirable que ce que fait linterest que [l'on][2] prend aux affaires si celle cy n'estoient point les miennes ie ny comprendrois que le haut alemand et ie les scay dans ma teste comme mon pater et dispute tous les jours contre nos gens d'affaire des choses dont ie nay nulle cognoissance et ou mon interest seul me donne de la lumiere ie suis espouuantee du prix ou sont les charges des M^tres de Requetes cent mille escus grands dieux sceut esté autre fois la rançon dun Roy ie vous prie de vous bien informer de ceux quy ont pouuoir aupres de Mr Benoise adieu ie suis a vous du meilleur de mon cœur.

ce 17me *juillet* [1657].

Nous sommes tout a fait dans la resolution d'aller a Paris apres la St Martin et nous comprenons fort bien de quelle importance nous est ce proces la nous souhaitterions fort mesme quil ne si fit rien du tout entre cy et ce temps la et cest ce quy nous fait souhaitter que lon tente la voye du parquet pour la jonction des deux instances car quand nous n'en aurions pas le fruit que nous pourions esperer quy est destre r'envoyés aux enquestes cela nous seruira toujours a retarder toutes les procedures quy se font presentement a la grande chambre Me de Seuigné cest chargee de me chercher une maison mais quand vous vous en mesleres cela ne gastera rien ie voudrois fort me loger proche de Me de Seuigné cest a dire vers la place royale dans ces rues de lhostel dangoulesme ou mesme au cartier St Paul ie ne veux pas y mettre plus de mille ou douse cent liures et si ie trouuois quelqu'un quy voulut prendre auec moy une grande maison beaucoup plus chere i'en serois asses aise si vous scauiés laffliction que jay de la mort du pauure Mr de Mauleurier[3] vous series persuadé que lon me fait injustice de croire que ie nay pas de tendresse pour mes amis.

ce 3me *aoust* [1657].

Si vous brulies de chaud en m'escriuant le d^er ordinaire ie brulois si bien de la fieure le jour que jay acoutume de vous escrire que ie nescriuis a quy que se soit ma fieure n'a pas este longue vint quatre heures et une

[1] Jean de La Fayette. [2] Word omitted upon turning the page.
[3] Count Maulevrier died on Monday, July 9, 1657.

seignee men ont tiree mais ie nen suis pas tout a fait remise il fait une chaleur si insuportable qu'il est impossible de n'estre pas malade quelque santé que lon ait ordinairement et pour moy quy en ay une asses meschante il est aisé de comprendre que ie ne resiste pas aux fatigues de la saison ie suis fachee de la mort du pauure Murinais cestoit un garcon dhonneur et a quy j'auois obligation i'escris a sa famme mais comme ie ne scay point ou elle demeure ie vous enuoye ma lettre afin que vous ayés la bonté de luy faire porter vous scaures aisement son logis ches Mr Seruien[1] ie croy bien que ie ne seray pas logee comme une Reine pour mille ou douse [cents] francs par an et ie ne le pretends pas aussi mais comme nos affaires sont tournees a nous tenir lomtemps a Paris cela fait que ie ne veux pas une maison de si grand prix que si ie ne la deuois tenir que six mois joublié a vous dire en vous parlant dune maison que ie ne la voulois que pour Noel ne pouuant aller a Paris qu'a la fin de decembre ie nay point eu de lettres de charbonier par le d^er ordinaire tellement que ie ne scay point s'il a songé a former cette contestation au Parquet ie pense qu'il n'a pas cela en teste et depuis que quelque chose n'entre pas dans son sens quoy quil soit le plus meschant du monde il ny a pas moyen de luy faire gouster.

depuis que cecy est escrit jay receu des lettres de charbonier et jay veu qu'il n'a pas manqué de laisser la le dessein de former une contestation au Parquet cependant cest une chose extremement important dont nous pouuons tirer grand auantage et quy ne nous peut nuire d'autant que si elle ne reussit pas nous demeurerons tout comme nous sommes presentement et en estat de faire les mesmes choses quils veulent faire de cette heure jay ouy dire les mesmes choses de Mr Benoise que celle que vous me mandés et cest ce quy me fait encore plus souhaitter de sortir de ces mains car bien que le fonds de nostre affaire soit admirable un raporteur fauorable et facile ny gastera rien et de plus cest que les deux instances quy sont jointes au proces de Mr Benoise seroient plus fauorables en aparance si elles estoient separees nostre conseil auoit si bien preueu cela quil ny a rien que lon nay fait dans la procedure de Cusset pour empescher quelle ne fust jointe au proces de la grande chambre et ce mesme conseil quy nous auoit fait si fort aprehender cela quy est Mr Fedeau aduocat est celuy presentement quy nous conseille de la laisser joindre et quy ne veut pas que lon tente aucune voye pr lempescher cela auec une longue suitte dautres choses quy seroient trop longues a vous dire nous rend tres suspec des aduis de Mr Fedeau et nous craignons qu'il n'ait quelque inteligence auec nos parties ie vous

[1] Abel Servien, surintendant des finances?

conjure de vouloir prendre la peine de le voir charbonier vous dira ou il loge ie luy viens descrire une grande lettre et ie luy mande que ie vous ay prie de le voir pour conferer s'il ny a point moyen de former cette contestation au parquet en cas que cela ce puisse il faudra que vous ayés la bonté de chercher une cognoissance bien forte aupres de Mr Brodeau quy est le raporteur des enquestes afin de lobliger de contester assés fortement au parquet afin quil ne cede point a Mr Benoise et que le parquet ne les pouuant accorder nous renuoye au conseil si une fois nous sommes au conseil peut estre viendrons nous a bout destre renuoyés aux enquestes ie vous conjure de vouloir bien voir a fonds ce quy ce peut faire a cela car certenement cela nous est tout a fait de consequence et charbonier a un sens si gauche sur les affaires quil me desespere pour les maisons dont vous me parlés comme ie les croy a louer pour la St Remy et que ie nen veux une que pour Noel ie ne vous en dis rien si la nostre nestoit point louee vous pouues croire que nous la prendrions plustot que de la laisser vide adieu vous estes tout mon recours sur les sottises que fait charbonnier dans nos affaires.

ce 17me *aoust* [1657].

Me voila en repos sur nos affaires puisque vous aués conferé auec Mr Fedeau et que vous estes de mesme aduis que luy tout le proces est en estat quon ny peut rien faire qu'apres la St Martin et dans ce temps la nous serons a Paris pour prendre nous mesme nos resolutions ie trouue aussi bien que vous cette affaire la dune furieuse discussion et ie doute que non seulement le Parlement quy vient mais trois autres encore apres nous en fassent voir la fin si nous voulions reculer nos creantiers ne verroient jamais le jugement mais il y a plaisir destre en repos et de n'auoir point d'affaires vous agissés dans les nostre auec un soing si obligeant que ie commence a comprendre plus que que[1] jamais que vous dittes fort vray quand vous dittes que vous estes le meilleur amy du monde ie scay a peu pres ce que cest que la moettie du logis de M^r^ des Fenestreaux[2] cela seroit trop petit pour nous si ie ne prends que la moettié dune maison ie veux au moins que se soit la moettie dune belle maison et celle la ne lest pas a mon gre ie ne scaurois rien resoudre pour un logement que nostre logis du faubourg ne soit loue ie trouue ce e vous me mandes du Gouverneur de Mommedi[3] si admirablement au que si jamais ie fais un Roman il en sera le Heros j'estime infiniment

Word repeated when turning the page.
ast syllable doubtful—end of line.
r the defence of Montmedy, see Villers, *Journal de Voyage*, pp. 223–4. The e died on August 5, 1657.

Me de Launay Graué[1] quoy que ie ne la cognoisse point mais j'aurois peine a consentir de luy voir remplir la place de Me de Lesdigueres[2] il me semble quil ny a personne en France quy le puisse faire ie comprends plus que vous ne le scauries faire combien nous auons perdu au feu per President[3] et s'il nestoit point mort ie vous asseure que ie ne songerois pas a faire sortir nostre proces de la grande chambre Mr de Bayard me charge tous les jours de vous faire mille compliments de sa part et de vous asseurer de la passion quil auroit de vous rendre seruice ie men acquite aujourduy pour toutes les fois que jy ay manqué ie suis presentement en assés bonne santé mais non durera lamitié et lestime que jay pour vous dureront eternellement mandes moy ie vous prie ou logera Mademoiselle[4].

ce 24me *aoust* [1657].

Je vous ay fait responce sur la maison de M^r des Fenetreaux et vous deués l'avoir eue presentement quand vous me parlerés dorsanauant de quelque maison ie vous prie de me dire un peu exactement le logement quil y a parce qu'autrement ie ne pourois vous donner de responce qu'apres vous auoir demande ce que se seroit que cette maison et cela iroit a de grandes longueurs iay trouué tout a fait plaisant en lisant vostre lettre d'aujourduy de ce qu'apres m'auoir mandé fort soigneusement tous les ordinaires passés des nouuelles du proces de M^e de St Geran et m'auoir dit par vostre autre lettre que ien scaurois le succes au p^er jour et ce p^er jour quy est aujourduy vous ne m'en parlés point du tout Me de Seuigné quy de sa vie ne ma mandé nouuelles ma mandé par hasard celle du jugement de ce proces la quy paroist autant quil se peut a lauantage de M^e de St Geran[5] apropos de Me de Seuigné aprenés moi un peu comment vous estes auec elle ou pour mieux dire comment elle est auec vous vous m'aues parlé dun certain moissonneur tircie dont jay fort enuie de scauoir des nouuelles ie vous prie aussi de men mander faittes ie vous en conjure mes compliments a lhostel de Rambouillet et a M^le de Scudery adieu soyés persuadé que jay pour vous toute lamitié dont ie suis capable.

ce d^er aoust [1657].

Vous aues veu par ma derniere lettre comme jauois fort bien pris garde que vous auiés oublié de me mander le jugement de proces de

[1] Françoise Godet des Marais (Mme de Launay).

[2] 'La plus grande faute qu'elle ayt faitte dans sa conduite, depuis qu'elle est veuve, c'est d'avoir prétendu à M. de L'Esdiguières,' Tallemant, *Historiettes*, Paris, 1842, Vol. v, p. 219. M. Lesdiguières became a widower on July 2, 1656.

[3] Pomponne de Bellièvre.

[4] Mademoiselle took possession of the Luxembourg palace on September 18, 1657.

[5] The Villers hear of the first verdict in this case on September 12, 1657. See their *Journal de Voyage*, p. 274.

ue St Geran le sejour que vous deuies faire a Meudon cest changé ce
semble en de petites promenades d'une apres disnee mandes moy un
d'ou est venu ce changement la car il me semble que vous m'aues
rit il y a desja lomtemps que vous esties apres a meubler vostre grotte
r y aller passer une grande partie de lesté si personne ne me veut
ner 16 cents liures de ma maison et que ie ne trouue aussi personne
me veille bien loger pour douse cents ie vous asseure que de beau
pit ie me resoudray a aller loger dans nostre maison ce quy my obligera
s que cela cest que M^r de La Fayette le souhaiite assés ce nest pas
que se cartier la ne me soit pas fort incomode a cause quil est esloigné
de celuy de Me de Seuigné et de chés Mr Benoise ou j'auray affaire tous
les jours mon Dieu ny a t il point moyen de le tuer ce Mr Benoise afin
dauoir un autre raporteur Mr de Champré lestoit de la plus importante
partie de laffaire et par une sotte jonction tout cela est allé a ce Mr Benoise
iaurois este rauie que cela fust demeuré a M^r de champré particulierement
a cette heure que vous estes si bien auec M^e sa famme[1] j'admire le don
que vous aués destre bon pour toutes sortes de personnes lon peut bien
dire que vous estes de ces gens quy aués des amis en paradis et en enfer
adieu jay fait vos compliments a Mr de Bayard mon espoux que voila
vous en fait cent mille.

ce 9me octobre [1657].

Il est vray que vostre lettre du mois passé ma apris que vous nestes point mort et que ie ne suis point brouillée auec vous mais en ne me donnant point de bonnes raisons de vostre silence elle mapris aussi que vous commencés a auoir un peu de negligence pour nostre commerce ie ne vous en fais point de reproches car il y a lomtemps que ie scay que labsence destruit toutes choses et ie ne me dois prendre qua moy mesme des maux quy m'ariueront par mon esloignement pour empescher quils ne deviennent trop grands et que de la negligence vous ne passies a l'oubly ie songe fort aussi a m'aller rendre presente et nous partirons dicy sans faute au commencement du mois de decembre il faut que ie parte d'icy dans ce mois la quy sera le septieme de ma grossesse car ie suis grosse de quatre mois et ie vous dis cela comme une nouuelle ne layant point mandé jusques a cette heure quoy que ma maison soit louee ie ne logeray point au marais ie prens la maison que Mr de Seuigné louoit au marquis d'Urfé il me la donne le plus obligeamant du monde pour deux cents francs moins quon ne luy offre et comme le fonds de la maison est a moy et que jy pouray faire telles reparations que ie voudray

[1] Daughter of a conseiller au Parlement called Henry; widow of the son of the minister Ferrier; wife of Menardeau de Champré, conseiller.

cela me sera tres comode jay receu aujourduy deux de vos lettres a la fois quy nous ont apris milles nouuelles de consequence celle de lexecution de Barbesieres[1] ma tout a fait estonnee ie vous conjure de vouloir prendre la peine de me faire expedier un Commontimus par Mr Salmon quoy que ceux que lon obtient en vertu des anciennes lettres de conseillers destat ne seruent de rien ie suis asseuree que cettuy la me servira parce que cest pour enuoyer au fonds de la Picardie a des gens quy ne chercheront pas tant de chicaneries et que la peur de venir a Paris fera trembler ie vous supplie d'auoir ce comontimus auec toute la diligence posible et de lenuoier ches Mr de Seuigné cela mest de consequence adieu.

ce 13me *nouembre* [1657].

me voila donc asseuree que ie ne perdray point vostre amitie pour auoir perdu le peu de beauté que j'auois ie perdrois trop a la fois si ie perdois lune et lautre il est vray pourtant que si vostre amitie ne tenoit qu'a ma beauté ce ne seroit pas une grande perte que celle dune amitie quy tiendroit a si peu de chose tout le malheur de mon changement ira sur loiseleur pour moy ie suis d'aduis que vous le datties de lannee passee jestois assés jolie en ce temps la cela suffit de lauoir esté pour estre traittée de belle car enfin les beautés ne sont pas imortelles comme les louanges que lon leur donne ie vous prie lors que Me de Brissac vous parlera de moy de luy tesmoigner que ie vous ay toujours parlé delle depuis que jay lhonneur de la cognoistre comme dune personne que jhonorois infiniment et a quy jestois redeuable de mille marques dune amitie fort obligeante effectiuement ie suis obligee de viure auec elle auec recognoissance car on ne peut pas prendre plus de soing de tesmoigner de lamitie a une personne quelle a pris de m'en tesmoigner nous ne partirons dicy que le lendemain de la feste de Noel ie suis en peine d'auoir une litiere pour me venir querir a Briare[2] ou ie desendray par eau ien voudrois trouuer une de quelque personne de qualité parce que pour lordinaire celles que lon loue sont tres incomode et les mulets en sont si meschants que les fammes en lestat que ie suis y courent plus de risque qu'en carosse M^e dangoulesme[3] en auoit un il y a quelque temps ie luy ay escrit pour lauoir et ie suis asseuree que si elle la encore elle me la prestera mais ie crains fort quelle s'en soit deffaitte mandes moy cependant si vous ne cognoisés personne quy en ait un que

[1] According to some authorities, executed for having abducted Mlle de Basinières, according to others, for having held for ransom a financier—Girardin. Compare the accounts by Gourville, *Mémoires*, Petitot, Vol. LII, pp. 312–3; Tallemant, *l.c.*, III, p. 503; Villers, *l.c.*, p. 303. The execution took place on October 5, 1657.

[2] On the Loire. It was the practice to land there and take the post to Paris.

[3] Henriette de la Guiche.

vous me puissies faire prester vous scaués comme nous auons absolument aresté la maison de Mr de Seuigné en attendant que nous layons meublee nous logerons ches M^r de St Pons[1] quy demeure proche lhostel de Neuers nous serons asses vos voisins en cet endroit la adieu ie vous escris des aujourduy quy n'est pas le jour de lordinaire parce que j'auray demain ceans une foule de monde horible parmy laquelle ie n'aurois pas eu le temps de vous dire un mot.

It is not enough to look after the litigation of the family. There is also an uncle by marriage who is no less a person than the Bishop of Limoges and it is well to keep on good terms with him.

[1660–1676.]

J'enuoye scauoir de vos nouuelles et si vous estes a Paris ou a la campagne si vous estes a Paris voila deux placets que ie vous prie de donner et de recommander d'un bon ton l'un est p^r Mr Briconnet[2] et lautre p^r Mr Bougeau ie vous supplie de dire a ce dernier de tesmoigner aux gens daffaires de Mr de Limoges quy liront soliciter p^r cette affaire que vous luy aues recommandee a ma priere ces sortes de choses la font ma court admirablement bien a mon oncle leuesque mandes moy combien vous seres a Vitry.

[1660–1676.]

Je ne croy pas que vous pretendies me persuader que vous m'aues veue aujourduy pour moy ie ne comte pas la vissite que vous m'aues rendue p^r une vissite nous en dirons demain dauantage si ie vous voy et ie voudrois bien vous voir et vous prie mesme de venir auec moy ches Mr Bougeault iay une lettre de M^r de limoges a luy rendre et un memoir a luy lire mais comme il faut un peu de temps ie voudrois bien si vous croyés que cela se puisse sans inciuilité que vous enuoyassies luy demander a quelle heure nous le pourions voir sans lincomoder demain ou samedy si vous auies affaire et que vous ne pussies venir auec moy ie ne laisserois pas dy aller car cest une affaire dont il faut que ie rende compte a Mr de Limoges ie serois perdue si jy auois manqué.

ce jeudy au soir.

[1660–1676.]

Je pense que vostre heureux destin sopose que vous veniés faire icy meschante chere il faut que j'aille demain sur le midy faire une recom-

1. The Villars visit Mme de La Fayette at the house of M. de Saint-Pons (rue Guénégaud, Nevers) on January 4, 1658.
2. Mentioned in the *Gazette* (1649) as maître des requêtes, Président au [illegible]. Another Briçonnet, président des enquêtes (Third Chamber), [illegible] *des adresses de Paris*, 1692. The former was a friend of [illegible]lerence is probably to him.

mandation a M^r doujat[1] p^r Mr de Limoges et entre une heure et deux tous ces gens quy se meslent de nostre acomodement doive venir ceans ainsi nostre lecon seroit trop courte et comme elles ne sont pas frequentes il faut au moins quelles soient longues ce sera donc pour jeudy si vous le voulés bien ainsi.

ce mardy au soir.

Even help given to another is given with an eye to possible advantages that may be derived from it:

[1660–70.]

Voila un placet que ie vous prie de faire donner a Mr Herué cest pour un pauure homme dont jay pourtant besoing dans une affaire ainsi cest trauailler pour mon seruice que le luy en rendre bon soir.

And so, when nearing the end of her life of suffering, she looks back on her achievements—not on what she has done as an author, not on her success as a bel esprit—but on the services rendered to her family and she decides that she has done well.

a paris ce premier 9bre 1691.

Je suis si mal de mes vapeurs depuis quelques jours que je nay put vous escrire, c'est un plaisir pour moy que de vous escrire que mes vapeurs ne me permette pas toujours de prendre, c'est un chien de mal que les vapeurs, on ne sçait d'ou il vient ny a quoy il tient, on ne sçait que luy faire, on croit l'adoucir il s'aigrit, si jamais je suis en estat d'escrire je fairay un livre entier contre ce mal la, il n'oste pas seulement la santé il oste l'esprit et la raison Si jamais jay la plume a la main je vous assure que j'en fairay un beau traitté.

La genealogie de mes enfans n'est point auancee du tout, j'en suis demeuree au grand pere[2] du mareschal[3] que jay trouué chez les Comtes de St Jean de Lion dans le Siecle 1300 Jay le cartulaire de Souscilanges[4] ce dans le siecle 1000 et ils sont qualifies miles, jay encore trouue de leurs encestres entre ce cartulaire de Souscilange et les proeuues de St Jean de Lion mais je n'en ay pas des tiltres certains comme de ceux dont je viens de vous parler en l'estat ou est mon pauure teste je ne trauailleroient pas a leurs genealogies quand ils seroient princes du Sang Il faut qu'il vienne apres moy quelqu'autre Madame De la fayette

[1] Jean Doujat, dean of the French Academy, of the Collége de France and of the Faculty of Law.
[2] Gilbert du Mottier VI.
[3] Gilbert du Mottier VII (fils de Guillaume du Mottier), Marshal as a reward for his services against the English (15th century).
[4] Gilbert du Mottier I, benefactor of Soucillanges in 1025.

qui fasse ce que je n'ay pue faire elle ne fairas pas mal pouruu qu'elle en face autant que moy Je m'admire quelque fois toute seule, Je ne crois pas aussi auoir bien des camarades en cette occupation cependant je trouue que je dois estre admiree trouuée m'en un autre qui eust figure comme la mienne tournee au bel esprit comme vous my auiés tournée et qui ayt aussi bien fait pour sa maison, sont des choses assez rares rassemblee il resulte de tout cela que je n'ay plus le cens commun Je vous assure que c'est un bel exemple a qui s'en voudroit faire un bon usage Je voudrois bien en pouuoir profiter mais c'est une grace qu'il faut demander a dieu, adieu Monsieur merueille ou imbecille je suis toujours esgalement a vous et plus touchée de votre amitié parceque j'en suis moins dignes par bien des cottées, mais je la meritte par en scauoir connoistre le prix et par santir ce prix tel qu'il est.

H. ASHTON.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

THE SPANISH MANDEVILLES.

I.

THE introduction of Sir John de Mandeville into Spain was due both to a person and a temperament. Don Juan of Aragon, when Duch Primogénit, had received his training in literary patronage from his father, Pedro the Ceremonious, with whom he cooperated to advance the influence of the Arthurian Cycle in Catalonia (Docs. 204, 301, 354, etc.)[1]. To this schooling he added a personal interest, verging on the morbid, in remote travel and hidden knowledge, which gained for him an unsavoury reputation: 'all men murmured and then openly declared that he was worse than Nero[2].' He wished, according to the formula of his friend and fellow-student, 'to be informed of all the strange things which are throughout the world.' Ireland naturally attracted his attention; and the two enthusiasts occupied themselves with Henry of Saltrey's *Purgatory of St Patrick*, which D. Juan demands, presumably in a Latin edition, in a letter dated from Gerona, August 13, 1386 (Doc. 382): bestowing in 1394 upon his daughter, the Countess of Foix, a Catalan rendering. Reports of travel in Palestine and hardly-accessible Tartary likewise appealed to him, and he formed a library of this type of work. In 1374 he obtained Theodoric, *De locis Terræ Sanctæ* (Doc. 274), Odoric, *De mirabilibus Terræ Sanctæ* in 1378 (Docs. 293, 296, 326), of which he already possessed a less perfect copy (Doc. 296). As Perellós 'verified' the *Purgatory* by his celebrated *Viatge*, so his master compared the narratives above-mentioned with the personal experiences of travellers (Docs. 411, 428). Mandeville has escaped Rubió's collection; but is found in characteristic intimacy with the work of Henry of Saltrey in No. 22 of the inventory of this king's library, *Lo Purgatori de San Patrici de Mandrevila* (1395)[3].

To this impetus towards the study of Mandeville it seems right to refer the Aragonese translation preserved in El Escorial, which is entitled in a modern hand: Juan de Mandevilla, médico inglés, Viaje (del mundo) en Asia y Africa (M iii 7—115 iii 7—Est. 15. 4: parchment:

[1] Rubió y Lluch, *Documents per l'historia de la cultura catalana mig-eval.*

[2] Quotation given in Miquel y Planas, *Llegendes de l'altra vida*: 'Tot home mormurava e encara palesament dehia que era piyor que Nero.'

[3] Beer, *Handschriftenschätze Spaniens*, Para. 51.

xv cent.: 91 fols., numbered in same hand as title: 258 × 192 mm.: 33 l.). The title and foliation are modern; biblical quotations are given in red, initials ornamented, capitals dotted red. The manuscript is the work of one fifteenth century scribe, and the language and, as I was informed by the courteous librarian, also the lettering are markedly Aragonese. The narrative commences in the fifth chapter of the original (fol. 1: 'obispos en la tierra. Et en Famagoste, vno delos principalles puertos de mar.....'), owing to the loss of four folios. The careful and elegant handwriting, the permanence of the receptive material (parchment), the completeness of the text, witness to the social position of the first owner and his respect for the original. It is possible that this manuscript may have belonged to Zurita. It bears the library mark (25. 18) of the Conde-Duque de Olivares, from whom it passed into the royal library.

II.

The presence of French incunables in Spain is attested by the following note which refers to the library of Doña Margarita de Austria (1498): 'Dos libros de molde en françes, que se llaman el uno Juan de Madebilla e otro Valentino Jesou[1].' The omission of the 'n' suggests rather the first work cited by Brunet in his article: *Le liure appelle Mandeuille*, sans lieu, 1480, which commences, on fol. A: 'Ce liure est appelle mã / deuille.....'

Owing to the loss of the initial folios of the Aragonese manuscript, it is impossible to say whether Martorell (before 1490) had read Mandeville in that or another translation of the first series, or whether his knowledge is to be derived from the French incunables. There is a third possibility, that the author may have read it in English and in England; but this is discounted by the circumstance that the influence of Mandeville occurs only towards the close of *Tirant lo Blanch* (chs. 395–8, ed. Aguiló), with all the air of an afterthought, and in a context that is relatively free from insular reminiscences. The passage is chiefly interesting because it illustrates Martorell's literary method. Having found, in chapter four of the Voyage, unfinished the adventure of the dragon-daughter of Hippocrates, he transfers the entire incident to his own work, making however the venture of the Caualler Spercius entirely successful. He makes no serious attempt to disguise the jointure of this episode with the rest of the narrative; it betrays itself obviously as an interpolation; and the author aggravates the incongruity of the whole by the contrast in style between the clear and literal Valencian of his

[1] Beer, *op. cit.*, Para. 181.

narrative and the involved and 'aureate' declaration of love to which the disenchanted lady capitulates—or succumbs (chaps. 396–7).

Translations of our author into Castilian followed in a series of editions which were produced in the early years of the sixteenth century at Valencia. A comparison of the respective epilogues will demonstrate the independence of this series from the elder Catalan-Aragonese tradition.

Escorial MS. fol. 90 v.:

Et yo joñ de mandeuilla sobredčo q' m. pti de nr̃a tr̃a et passi lamar laynno de grã mil. ccc. xxij q' mucha tr̃a et mucha en contrada...de pues[1]...por q' he seido en mucha buena spaynnia & visto mucho bel fecho como q'ere q' yo non fiziesse nũca ni bel fecho ni bella emp' sa ni otro bien de q' hombre deua ten' compto. Et agora so retornado / (91 r.) / afolgar mal mi grado por gotas artetitas qui me restreynian. En p'ndiendo solaz en mi mezq'no fuelgo & menbrando me del tp̃o passado he compilado estas cosas & puestas en esc'pto assi como me he podido menbrar laynno de grã mil. ccc. lvij al xxxv° aynno q' yo me p̃ti de nr̃a tr̃a. Et ruego atodos los leedores si les plaze q' eillos q'eran rogar adios por mj Et yo rogare por eillos Et todos aqueillos qui por mj diran vna par' nostr̃ q' dios me faga remission de mis pecados (yo les fago pticipantes & lurs otorgo pr de todos los bueõs romeages & de todos los biẽ fechos q' yo fiz nũca & q' yo fare en cora amj fin Et Ruego adios de q' biẽ & toda gracia desciende q' todos los leyentes & oyentes xp̃ianos q'era de su grã remplir & lures cuerpos & lures almas saluar ala gloria & loor suya q' es t'n9 & vn9 sin comecamẽt & sin fin sin qualidat buẽo sin q' antidat grant en todos logares pñt et todas cosas stenient Et qui nĩgun biẽ non puede amendar (nj nĩgun mal empeorar. Qui in t'nitate pfecto viue & regna por todos los sieglos & por todos tp̃os. Amen. Explicit.[2]

Bibl. Nac. R 13149 fol. lxiii:

Es de saber que yo Johan de Mandaui / la Cauallero suso dicho me parti de mi tierra y passe la mar en el Año / dela gracia y salud dela natura humana de Mil y. ccc. y. xxij. Años y / despues aca he andado muchos passos y tierras y he estado en compañias bue / nas y en muchos y diuersos fechos lindos y en grandes empresas. agora soy ve / nido a reposar en edad de viejo antiguo. y acordãdo me delas cosas passadas he / escripto como mejor pude aquellas cosas q' vi & oy. por las tierras por donde an / duue: tornado ami tierra auia. xxiiij años. Por que ruego atodos los que eneste / libro leeran. quieran rogar a dios por mi. & yo rogare por ellos que dios nos de / remission de nuestros peccados. Amen.

[1] Corrupt passage.

[2] It should be mentioned that the French version contained in the MS. of the Bibl. Nac. No. 9602=Ee 65 (Parchment: 52 ff. not numbered throughout: 2 cols.: xivth century: titles ornam., 38 l.) is more recent in Spain than the translations. The title on the back of the cover is Voy / de / Man / MSS., and the superscription of fol. 1: Description / De la Terre Sainte / Et autres Lieux / VOIAGE / Du Sr. Jean De Mandeville En / L'an 1322 / Ou Il y fait Mention detoutes Les Particularités / Remarquables, Curieuses et Tres Circonstanciées / Par la Lecture qu'en a faite le Sr. Beraud. Commences: 'Come il soit ainsi que la terre doultremer cest ass / la t're sainte la t're de promission...' Ends: '...et Regne p touz temps et p touz siecles. Amen. Explicit le liure de mãdeuille.'

Seven editions have been cited as pertaining to this Valencian tradition: namely, 1500, 1515, 1521 (by Jorge Castillo), 1524 (sine nomine, probably by Castillo), 1531, 1540 (by Juan Navarro), and 1547[1]. The title of the edition of 1524 became partly obliterated and now stands restored in the handwriting of D. Pascual de Gayangos: that of 1521 runs: 'Juan de Mandeuilla. Libro de las maravillas del mundo y del viaje de la tierra sancta de Jerlm̃ y todas las prouincias y ciubdades de las Indias y de todos los ombres monstruos q̃ hay por el mundo con otras muchas admirables cosas.' This edition is described by Brunet (*Suppl.*, I, p. 933) as 'in fol.: goth.: à 2 cols.: de lxiii ff., signés a—h par 8: le 64e feuillet blanc: fig. s. bois': that of 1524 is in folio: goth.: 2 cols.: 64 ff.: part of 63rd and 64th occupied by a Tabla: 133 woodcuts. Salvá gives a fuller description of his edition and reproduces the woodcuts of the titlepage, so that it is possible to affirm that the editions of 1521 and 1524 coincide in every respect other than the insertion of an index in the second. This index is introduced by the phrase, the significance of which will be seen later: 'Aqui comiença la tabla del pre / sente libro. Llamado Juan de Mandauila, el qual andu / uo todas las partidas del mundo.'

The Valencian editions appear to have been issued for commercial purposes. So as to increase the sales, the Castilian language has been preferred to the local dialect. The garrulity of the author is strictly curbed, and the large number of woodcuts, uniformly measuring about an inch and a half square, and each devoted to some portent or monstrosity, is calculated to direct the readers' attention to the more novelesque and exciting, but less worthy, aspect of the work. To proceed from them to a formal teratology was an obvious step; which was duly taken by Antonio de Torquemada in his *Jardín de Flores Curiosas* (Salamanca, por Juan de Terranova: 1570), Englished by Ferdinand Walker at London in 1600 as *The Spanish Manderille of Miracles*, which is to be blamed for some of the prodigies and aberrations of Cervantes' septentrional novel of *Persiles y Sigismunda*. The worthier aspect of Mandeville's contribution to literature and geographical knowledge is evidenced by Andrés Bernáldez (1513), who connects our author with another name of universal significance in chapter cxviii of his *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*:

[1] 1500, 1531, 1547. Cited by D. Cesareo Fernández Duro, *El infante D. Pedro*. An edition before 1518 is implied by the reference in Andrés Bernáldez (vide infra). 1515 (Barcia, Burger, Gayangos). 1521 (Salva 5782, Brunet, Burger, Gayangos). 1524 (Biblioteca Nacional Madrid R 15149, belonged to Gayangos and contains his bibliographical note). 1540 (Nicolas Antonio, Gayangos). Cf. also Menéndez Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela*, I, p. 410.

En el nombre de Dios Todo-poderoso, ovo un hombre de tierra de Génova, mercader de libros de estampa, que trataba en esta tierra de Andalucia, que llamaban Christobal Colon, hombre de muy alto injenio, sin saber muchas letras, muy diestro de la arte de Cosmographia, é del repartir del mundo, el qual sintió, por lo que en Ptolemeo leyó, y por otros libros y su delgadez, cómo y en qué manera el mundo este en que nacemos y andamos está fijo entre la esfera de los cielos, que no llega por ninguna parte á los cielos, ni á otra cosa de firmeza á que se arrime; salvo tierra é agua, abrazadas en redondez, entre la vaguidad de los cielos; y sintió por qué via se hallaba tierra de mucho oro; y sintió como *este mundo y firmamento de tierra y agua es todo andable en derredor por tierra y por agua, segun cuenta Juan de Mandavilla*...

III.

The travels of Sir John de Mandeville were superseded by those of D. Pedro of Portugal. The actual itinerary of this ill-starred prince has been fixed by Mme de Vasconcellos in the words of his son, the Constable (*Homenaje a Menéndez Pelayo*, I, pp. 637 ff.), and included Great Britain, France, Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, (P)russia, Venice and Rome; nor does any other account of his activities seem to have been regarded as authoritative at the time when Camões wrote:

> Aquelle faz que fama illustre fique
> D'elle em Germania, com que a morte engane.
> (*Lus.* viii, 37.)

It is not necessary, therefore, in spite of the frigid hyperboles of Juan de Mena, to discuss with Snr. Oliveira Martins the literal accuracy of the voyages imputed to him, 'a exactidão perfeita da narrativa de Gomes de Santo Estevão.' This writer or pseudonym, who, if we may judge by his repeated insistence on the Kingdom of León, may have been of that province, found in D. Pedro a convenient stalking-horse for his unlettered plagiarism of Mandeville. His book appeared in 1544, and was reissued at Salamanca in 1547, under the style and title of 'Libro del infante don Pedro de Portugal, el cual anduvo las cuatro partidas del mundo.' The number of Parts of the World was later raised to Seven, by a blundering reminiscence of the Siete Partidas of Alfonso the Wise: and the work ran subsequently into nineteen other Castilian editions and ten Portuguese (the princeps of the latter being 1602)[1].

In general, the *Libro del Infante* is an imitation, but coincidences of detail are rare. A broad modification is introduced by the author's recollections of Ruy González de Clavijo's account of his mission to

[1] D. Cesáreo Fernández Duro, *op. cit.*, quotes the following editions: Castilian: 1544, 1547, 1563, 1564, 1570, 1595(bis), 1622, 1626, sine anno Barcelona, 1669, 1690, 1696, 1720, s.a. Valencia, 1800?(bis), 1815, 1852, 1873, 1893. Portuguese: 1602, 1644, 1646, 1698, 1713, 1732, 1739, 1767, 1794, 1882. He prints in full the texts of Madrid: 1893 and Oporto: 1882. Oliveira Martins compares Madrid: 1873 with the Oporto edition (*Os filhos de D. João*, I). Bibl. Nac. Madrid, U 6292 is the edition s.a. (1800?) published at Córdoba, by D. Rafael García Rodríguez.

Tamburlane, and of the *Andanzas* of Tafur. Under this influence the goal of enterprise is no longer the Pekinese court of Kublai Khan, but that of Timur in Hither Asia: and the lands of Prester John are transferred from Japan and the East Indies to Abyssinia, in conformity with the taste of a later age. But the author makes no attempt to correct the rest of his narrative so as to suit these alterations, as he is manifestly, unlike the compiler or compilers of Mandeville, quite devoid of geographic sense. Nothing, for example, could be more simple (ch. ii) than to include Norway in the line of D. Pedro's progress from Greece to Babylon the Great. The description of Jerusalem, of Noah's Ark on Mount Ararat, of Dead Sea fruit, of Lot's wife, and of the tomb of Saint Catherine, are commonplaces shared between the two writers: but the resemblances are confined to generalities. Perhaps the description of the Valley of Jehoshaphat as one 'whose surface is so great and spacious that its confines are lost to sight on the horizon' (ch. ii) may be a transposition of Mandeville's 'great plain that is between the church and the city. And on the east side...is the vale of Jehoshaphat'; and 'Tierra de Promission' is one of the latter's consecrated phrases. Mandeville imprisons the Lost Tribes between high mountains near the Caspian, and in subjection to the Amazons: D. Pedro finds them in Cananêa, subjects of Prester John, while it is the race of the Cyclopes that is walled in by mountains, awaiting the coming of Antichrist. The Pigmies are transferred from the Yangtze (?) to the Nile (?) (Caudaloso Río, ch. vi), reversing their character. The apples of Paradise become pears: priestly marriage and penalties for remarriage are customs transferred from the Greek Church to that of Prester John. The dooms by the hand of St Thomas become the sign of the election of the Prester, following Mandeville's hint that the primate of Pentexoire was also the Patriarch of St Thomas. The statistics of the kingdoms are parallel: Mand.: 72 kings, 12 archbishops, 20 bishops; D. Pedro: 64 kings, 12 archbishops, 30 bishops, 4 patriarchs. The streams of Paradise, Amazons, howdahs, Cyclopes, Cynoscephali, eating of sick relatives, etc., are common topics which differ widely as to distribution.

The narrative of Gomes de Santisteban is brief and pedestrian. Lacking both knowledge and imagination, he is content to offer a dry, bald and vulgar summary. He seems to have had Mandeville constantly in mind, but not at hand; as if he were more accustomed to hear than to read literature. The marked declension in every literary quality from the English and French versions is rendered less conspicuous by the mediation of the Valencian series. The relatively firm sense of geography

in the early work becomes dissipated and hazy in the Leonese. Having adopted a prince for hero, he does not know how to treat him with the deference due to his rank. But in spite of these defects, or perhaps because of them, combined with the virtues of brevity and accessibility, the *Libro del Infante* has been popular to this day; and it has added to the language of the peasants the phrase which describes globetrotting; 'correr las siete partidas del mundo.' 'In like manner will I take no rest, but traverse the seven parts of the universe, with more punctuality than did the Infante Don Pedro of Portugal,' says Don Quixote in ch. xxiii of his Second Part. Once again Mandeville reaches Cervantes through a plagiary.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

MANCHESTER.

THE HILL SONGS OF PERO MOOGO.

I HAVE adopted provisionally the suggestion of D. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos: Moogo for Meogo. No doubt the word 'Meogo' existed—it occurs in King Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa Maria,* in the sense 'medius'—but, as a name, Moogo, with its clear significance (Monachus, Moago, Moogo, 'Monk'), is preferable, and a Pedro Moogo was actually living at Sanfins in Galicia in 1271[1]. We may in any case say that the poet, Peter the Monk or Pero Meogo, flourished, like Zorro and other *jograis,* in the middle of the thirteenth century. His introduction of the *cervo* in all his poems, which gives them a curious fascination, has suggested that he was a Jew, or, at least, that he was well acquainted with the language and oriental imagery of the Old Testament. Cf. *The Song of Solomon* viii. 14: 'Make haste, my beloved, and be thou like to a roe or to a young hart upon the mountains of spices.'

I. Cantiga de Amigo.

O meu amig' a que preito talhei
Con vosso medo, madre, mentir-lh' ei
E se non for assanhar s' a.

Talhei lh' eu preito de o ir ver
En a fonte u os cervos van bever
E se non for assanhar s' a.

E non ei eu de lhi mentir sabor
Mais mentir lh' ei con vosso pavor
E se non for assanhar s' a.

De lhi mentir nenhun sabor ei,
Con vosso med' a mentir lh' averei
E se non for assanhar s' a.

Mother, for fear of you will I
To my plighted lover lie.
Yet if I go not, how angry he!

For I made a tryst to go to him,
Where the deer drink in the stream;
And if I go not, how angry he!

To him would I fain be true,
Yet will be false for fear of you,
And if I go not, how angry he!

True would I be, yet of you sore afraid,
I will be false to the tryst I made.
Yet if I go not, how angry he!

II. Cantiga de Amigo.

Por mui fremosa que sanhuda estou
A meu amigo que me demandou
Que o fosse ver
A la fonte u os cervos van bever.

Non faç' eu torto de mi lh' assanhar
Por s' atrever el de me demandar
Que o fosse ver
A la fonte u os cervos van bever.

Fair am I, yet anger keen
Comes me and my love between,
For he bade me go to him
Where the deer drink in the stream.

And my wrath is right and fair,
That my lover should so dare
Send to bid me go to him
Where the deer drink in the stream.

I, 5. *ena* C. V. M. *en a* C. V. B.

[1] *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* (1904), Vol. II, p. 622.

Affeito me ten ja per seu dia	Little care hath he for me,
Que el non ven mas envia	To come not, but send secretly,
Que o fosse ver	Send to bid me go to him
A la fonte u os cervos van bever.	Where the deer drink in the stream.

III. Cantiga de Amigo.

Tal vai o meu amigo	With love in his heart
Con amor que lh' eu dei	Went my lover from here,
Come cervo ferido	As when the king's huntsman
De monteiro del rei.	Has wounded a deer.
Tal vai o meu amigo,	With the wound of my love
Madre, con meu amor	My lover did part
Come cervo ferido	As when the chief huntsman
De monteiro maior.	Has stricken a hart.
E se el vai ferido	And wounded he goes
Ira morrir al mar,	To die by the sea,
'ssi fará meu amigo	So my lover will die
Se eu del non pensar.	If he hear not from me.
E guardade-vos, filha,	O not so, my daughter,
Ca ja m' eu a tal vi	Beware: more than one
Que se fez coitado	Have I seen who so grieved
Por guanhar de mi.	To his profit alone.
E guardade-vos, filha,	Beware, O my daughter,
Ca ja m' eu vi a tal	More than one did I see,
Que se fez coitado	Who pretended to grieve
Por de mi guanhar.	To win favour of me.

IV. Cossante.

Ai cervos do monte, vin vos preguntar:	Wild deer of the hills, of you would I know,
Foi-s' o meu amig' e se ala tardar	Since my love is gone from me and comes not and lo,
Que farei, velidas?	Fair deer, what of me now?
Ai cervos do monte vin volo dizer:	Wild deer of the hills, I came this to say,
Foi-s' o meu amig' e querria saber	For fain would I know, since my love is away,
Que farei, velidas?	Fair deer, what of me now?

V. Alvorada.

Leda dos amores levou-s' a velida,	In love and merry the fair maid arose,
Vai lavar cabelos na fontana fria,	And to bathe her hair in the spring she goes.
Leda dos amores, dos amores leda.	In love and merrily, glad at heart goes she.
Dos amores leda levou-s' a louçana	Lovely and merry to the cold spring
Vai lavar cabelos na fria fontana	There to bathe her hair is she hastening.
Leda dos amores, dos amores leda.	In love and merrily, glad at heart goes she.

II, 9. *seu dia* C. V. M. *sendia* C. V. B.

III, 2. *dei* C. V. M. *ei* C. V. B. 3. *come* C. V. M. *como* C. V. B. 5. *amigo* C. V. M. *amado* C. V. B. 11. *ssy* C. V. M. *'ssy* C. V. B. 14, 18. *atal* C. V. M. *a tal* C. V. B.

IV, 1. *de* C. V. M. 2. *ala* C. V. M. *a lá* C. V. B. 6. *faria* C. V. M.

V, 1. *Leuoussa uenda* C. V. M. *Levou-s' a velida* C. V. B. *Levou-s' a louçana, levou-s' a velida* C. A. N. 4. *Leuoussa louçana* C. V. M. *Levou-s' a velida, levou-s' a louçana* C. A. N.

Vai lavar cabelos na fontana fria,
Passou seu amigo que lhi ben queria.
Leda dos amores, dos amores leda.

Vai lavar cabelos na fria fontana,
Passa seu amigo que muito a ama.
Leda dos amores, dos amores leda.

Passa seu amigo que lhi ben queria,
O cervo do monte a agua volvia.
Leda dos amores, dos amores leda.

Passa seu amigo que muito a ama,
O cervo do monte volvia a agua.

Leda dos amores, dos amores leda.

To the cold spring to bathe her hair,
And her lover true came there, came there.
In love and merrily, glad at heart is she.

For to bathe her hair by the spring so cold,
And her lover true doth her there behold.
In love and merrily, glad at heart is she.

For her lover chanced to come that way,
The hill-deer troubled the stream that day.
In love and merrily, glad at heart is she.

For he chanced that way, her lover dear,
The hill-deer hath troubled the water clear.
In love and merrily, glad at heart is she.

VI. Cantiga de Amigo.

Preguntar-vos quer' eu, madre,
Que mi digades verdade,
Se ousará meu amigo
Ante vos falar comigo.

Pois eu mig' ei seu mandado
Querria saber de grado
Se ousará meu amigo
Ante vos falar comigo.

Irei, mia madre, a la fonte
U van os cervos do monte,
Se ousará meu amigo
Ante vos falar comigo.

Mother, my mother, tell me true
This that I would ask of you :
Will my lover ever dare
Speak with me when you are there ?

Since he has plighted his troth to me,
This would I know right willingly :
Will my lover ever dare
Speak with me when you are there ?

I will go, mother, to the spring
Where the deer have their gathering.
Will my lover ever dare
Speak with me when you are there ?

VII. Cantiga de Amigo.

Enas verdes ervas
Vi anda-las cervas,
Meu amigo.

Enos verdes prados
Vi os cervos bravos,
Meu amigo.

E con sabor delas
Lavei mias garceras,
Meu amigo.

E con sabor delos
Lavei meus cabelos,
Meu amigo.

Des que os lavei
D' ouro los liei,
Meu amigo.

In the green meadow grass
I saw the deer pass,
O lover of mine.

In the pastures green
The wild deer have I seen,
O lover of mine.

And for joy of them there
I bathèd my hair,
O lover of mine.

Yea, for pleasure of them
Bathed my locks in the stream,
O lover of mine.

And when I had bathed them
With gold then I swathed them,
O lover of mine.

V, 8. *Passou* C. V. M., C. V. B. *Passa* C. A. N. 11. *muytaus* C. V. M. *muyt' a vos ama* C. V. B. *muito a ama* C. A. N. 16–18 *desunt in* C. V. M., C. V. B. 17. *Do monte o cervo* C. A. N.

VI, 3. *ousara* C. V. M., C. V. B. *ousará* C. A. N.

VII, 1, 4. *E nas, E nos* C. V. M. *En as, En os* C. V. B. *Enas, Enos* C. A. N. 7, 10. *dalhas, delhos* C. V. M. *d' elhas* C. V. B. *d' elas* C. A. N. 8. *garcetas* C. V. M. *graceras* C. V. B.

Des que las lavara
D' ouro las liara,
Meu amigo.

D' ouro los liei
E vos asperei,
Meu amigo.

D' ouro las liara
E vos asperava,
Meu amigo.

I bathed them, behold,
Then I bound them with gold,
O lover of mine.

Bound with gold so fair,
And awaited thee there,
O lover of mine.

All with gold for thee,
Whom I waited to see,
O lover of mine.

VIII. Bailada.

Fostes, filha, eno bailar
E rompestes i o brial.
Poi-lo cervo i ven
Esta fonte seguide-a ben,
Poi-lo cervo i ven.

Fostes, filha, eno loir
E rompestes o vestir,
Poi-lo cervo i ven
Esta fonte seguide-a ben.

E rompestes i o brial
Que fezestes no meu pesar,
Poi-lo cervo i ven
Esta fonte seguide-a ben.

E rompestes i o vestir
Que fezestes a pesar de mi,
Poi-lo cervo i ven
Esta fonte seguide-a ben.

You went, my daughter, to the dance
And tore your cloak there by mischance.
Follow, follow the water clear,
For the deer to drink is wont to come here,
Follow, since hither comes the deer.

My daughter, to the dance you went:
Your dress was in the romping rent.
Follow, follow the water clear,
For the deer to drink is wont to come here.

You tore your dress there, new and bright,
That you made in my despite.
Follow, follow the water clear,
For the deer to drink is wont to come here.

You tore your dress there as you played
That against my will you made.
Follow, follow the water clear,
For the deer to drink is wont to come here.

IX. Cantiga de Amigo.

Digades, filha, mia filha velida,
Porque tardastes na fontana fria?

Os amores ei.

Digades, filha, mia filha louçana,
Porque tardastes na fria fontana?

Os amores ei.

Tardei, mia madre, no fontana fria,
Cervos do monte a agua volvian.

Os amores ei.

Tardei, mia madre, na fria fontana,
Cervos do monte volvian a agua.

Os amores ei.

Tell me, daughter, my daughter fair,
At the cold spring why so long did you linger?

Alas, I am in love.

Tell me, my daughter, my lovely daughter,
At the cold spring why so long did you tarry?

Alas, I am in love.

Mother, by the cold spring I lingered,
The wild deer had troubled the water there.

Alas, I am in love.

Mother, by the cold spring I tarried,
The deer from the hills were troubling the water.

Alas, I am in love.

VII, 23. *asperava* C. V. M., C. V. B. *asperara* C. A. N.

VIII, 1, 6. *eno* C. V. M., C. A. N. *en o* C. V. B. 3, 5. *Poys o namorado* C. V. M., C. V. B. *Poi-lo cervo* C. A. N. 6. *loyr* C. V. M. *royr* C. V. B. 11. *ao meu pesar* C. V. M., C. V. B. *a meu pesar* C. A. N. 15. *a pesar de mi* C. V. M. *a pesar min* C. A. N.

Mentes, mia filha, mentes por amigo,	'Tis a lie, O my daughter, with your lover you lingered,
Nunca vi cervo que volvess' o rio.	Ne'er saw I deer trouble the water there.
Os amores ei.	Alas, I am in love.
Mentes, mia filha, mentes por amigo,	'Tis a lie, O my daughter, with your lover you tarried,
Nunca vi cervo que volvess' o alto.	For ne'er saw I deer that would trouble the water.
Os amores ei.	Alas, I am in love.

IX, 13, 16. *mentir* C. V. M. *mentis* C. V. B. *mentes* C. A. N. 14. *uoluisse orrio* C. V. M. *volvesse rio* C. V. B.

NOTES.

I (C. V. 789). The *amiga* addresses her mother and laments that for fear of her she must renounce her meeting at the fountain with her lover. 1. *talhar preito.* Cf. *talhar preços*, 'to agree as to the price.'

II (C. V. 790). Here the *amiga* professes to be angry with her lover for asking her to meet him at the fountain, apparently because he had not come to arrange it in person, but sent a message (*non ven mas envia*). Cf. San Juan de la Cruz: 'No quieras enviarme De hoy más mensajero, que no saben decirme lo que quiero.'

III (C. V. 791). This is one of the numerous dialogues between mother and daughter. The *amiga* says that the *amigo* is wounded by the dart of love like the stricken deer. Her mother professes to doubt his sincerity.

IV (C. V. 792). The *amiga* mourning for her lover, addresses the deer as in King Dinis' *cossante* she addresses the pines:

> Ai flores, ai flores do verde pino
> Se sabedes novas do meu amigo?
> Ai Deus, e u é?

V (C. V. 793). Other beautiful *alvas* or *alvoradas* (dawn-songs) in the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana* are Nuno Fernandez Torneol's *Levad' amigo, que dormides as manhãas frias* (C. V. 242), King Dinis' *Levantou-s' a velida* (C. V. 172), and Pedr' Eanez Solaz' *Eu velida non dormia* (C. V. 415). The first line or (if we print in distichs, as seems preferable) the first half of the first line of the first and second verses is missing. Senhor Nunes supplies *Levou-s' a louçana* and *Levou-s' a velida* (cf. the first verse of C. V. 172: *Levantou-s' a velida levantou-se a alva*), although it seems unlikely that we should have a second parallel (*louçana—velida* or *virgo—d'algo*) with *velida—louçana.* D. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos has suggested: *Levou-se mui cedo* (cf. *Aalis tôt se leva*); but the omissions in these poems are usually of the exceedingly obvious. The sixth verse, for instance, of the present *alvorada* was omitted, as being implicit in the fourth and fifth. This song was set to music by P. E. Wagner (see W. Storck, *Altportugiesische Lieder*, Paderborn, 1885).

VI (C. V. 794). This *amigo* song has a strange, almost a foreign beauty which seems slightly to confirm the impression that Moogo may have been a Jew. 5. Cf. C. V. 168, a *cossante* by King Dinis: *pois seu mandad' ei migo.*

VII (C. V. 795). 8. For *garceras* cf. C. V. 756.

VIII (C. V. 796). A dance-song, somewhat similar to this, is that of King Dinis: *Mia vadre velida Vou-m' a la bailia Do amor* (C. V. 195). 6. *loir.* D. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos derives from Lat. *ludere* (to play).

IX (C. V. 797). This is the most beautiful of Moogo's *cervo* songs, full of melancholy and passion. Cf. Gil Vicente's less gloomy *Donde vindes, filha, branca florida.* 13, 16. The original has four times *mentir*, and it is of course just possible to maintain it: 'To lie, O my daughter, to lie for a lover!'

AUBREY F. G. BELL.

[illegible] DO ESTORIL, PORTUGAL.

NOTES ON NORTH FRISIAN (SYLT) ETYMOLOGY.

It would appear almost supererogatory to attempt to add information to the admirably documented dictionary of the Sylt dialect, compiled by Mr Boy P. Möller, especially as his etymologies have passed the scrutiny of the Germanic seminar in Hamburg. There are, however, a few parallels and cognate forms, which, though omitted by the author, may possibly be worthy of consideration. In particular, I have endeavoured to trace the correspondences of some of the more striking compounds and to ascertain the range of certain colloquial idioms and proverbial sayings, the full discussion of which naturally lay beyond Mr Möller's scope. These are both fields in which much fruitful work remains to be done.

A glance at the appended word-list shows the close resemblance in usage between the Sylt dialect and its Frisian congeners. No less striking is the number of Sylt words exhibiting analogies in form and meaning with words still current in English (especially North Country and Scottish) dialects. Though a few of these latter correspondences (e.g. *gööl*) may be due to common derivation from Norse or another language, there remain a certain number, which appear to antedate the departure of the English from the neighbourhood of the Frisians. Several of these English dialectal forms will be found to supply *lacunae* in Möller's etymologies; in return the Sylt forms may be of value to English etymologists. Even the lexicologists of the standard language may find some useful material in some of the words here discussed, e.g. *bocht, bruarwinning, haurstal, sirroop* etc.

Quotations are made for West Frisian [W. Fris.] from Dijkstra's *Friesch Woordenboek*, Leeuwarden 1900–1911; East Frisian[1] [E. Fris.] from ten Doornkat-Koolman; Föhr from Petersen's dictionary; Old Dutch [Old Du.] from Verdam's *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*; German from the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* [D.Wb.]; English from the *New English Dictionary* [N.E.D.] and *English Dialect Dictionary* [E.D.D.]. The Jutish parallels are drawn from the well-stocked dictionary of

[1] This term is really a misnomer, for the modern dialects known by it are really Low-German, East Frisian in the stricter sense only surviving in the Saterland and on the island of Wangeroog. The term North Frisian is often restricted to the dialects of the mainland and the Halligs, those of the islands of Föhr, Amrum, Heligoland and Sylt being comprised under Insular Frisian (*Inselfriesisch*).

Feilberg, *Bidrag til en Ordbog over Jyske Almuesmål* [Jut.]. For proverbs reference is made to Wander's *Sprichwörterlexikon* [Wander].

āpbaak 'to put bread back into the oven,' cf. W. Fris. *opbakke* in *âlde boltsjes opbakke* 'to bake up stale rolls,' E. Fris. *opbaken*, Du. *opbakken* and Dan. *bage op.*

āpbor (*āpbod*) 'auction,' cf. W. Fris. *by opbod forkeapje*; Du. *opbod.*

balk 'whipcord,' cf. E.D.D. *balch* (Devon, Cornwall) 'a small rope or sash cord,' Jut. *bolk* 'thin tarred rope; kind of fishing line.'

balstjüürich 'fractious.' To the parallels given add W. Fris. *balstjurich* and Jut. *balstyrig.* Middle Low German has synonym *asturich.*

barl 'dirty wool on the whicks of sheep,' cf. W. Yorks. *burl* 'a knot or other irregularity in cloth' and synonymous with the Sylt word the derivative *burlings.* Perhaps ultimately related to Lettish *bûra* 'a heap' and the root of Latin *furunculus.*

bidārigi 'to think it over,' cf. W. Fris. *bidaerje* 'mitescere, sedari'; Du. and E. Fris. *bedaren.* Adopted in Jut. *bedare sig.*

bikunkli 'to take in, trick,' cf. W. Fris. *bikonkelje* 'to plot, intrigue.' Sylt apparently does not show the unprefixed form, which appears in E. Fris. as *kunkel* 'an old gossip' and *kunkelê* 'gossiping.'

blak 'ink.' The other insular Frisian dialects use the same expression (Heligoland *blak*, Föhr *blakk*) in agreement with Scandinavian usage (Dan. *blæk*, Swed. *bläck*, Finnish 'Lehnübersetzung' *muste*). In English *black* occurs in this sense ca. 1000 A.D. (cf. N.E.D.). *Blak* also occurs in E. Fris., though Cadovius-Müller in his Memoriale records *incket*, cf. W. Fris. and Du. *inkt.* Du. has *blakvisch* 'cuttlefish.'

blēn specialized in the sense of 'carding wools of various colours,' cf. W. Yorks. *blend* 'to mix wool ready for manufacture.'

blösmi 'to be in heat (of sheep or goats).' Add to E. Fris. parallel the English dialectal *blissom* (vb. and adj.), used especially of sheep and referred by E.D.D. to Old Norse *blæsma.*

bloster 'bloom,' cf. Jut. *æ ævəltræ stor i full blåster.*

blün'erig 'turbid (of liquids).' The same derivative in N. Yorks. *blundry* 'turbid after rain.'

bocht in *en lüng bocht* 'a long time.' This use supports the etymology, advanced tentatively by the N.E.D. and more definitely by Skeat, of Engl. *bout* from a specialized sense of *bought* 'a bend, turn.' It is curious that the Scottish forms adduced by E.D.D. should be without the back open [χ]. Wedgwood equated *bout* in its various senses with W. Flem. *bonte, bont* (to which add E. Fris. *bott*), but this rather

tempting hypothesis is weakened by the Sylt parallel to *bought*, which I can also match with Jut. *wi ka ta æn böwt* (= bugt) *mæ*.

bor[s] (*bod*) 'the slack of a rope.' To the Low German *bott* quoted, add the W. Fris. parallel *bod*, employed in the same sense and phonetically nearer the Sylt form (final d > r).

brak-falig 'weak, tumble-down,' cf. W. Fris. *brekfallich*, E. Fris. and Westfalian *brekfällig*. The H.G. *bruchfällig* bears a different meaning, i.e. 'punishable,' 'ruinosus' being rendered by *baufällig*. M.L.G. used *vallachtich* and W. Fris. has a substantive *âldfalom*.

bras 'long apron, pinafore,' cf. W. Fris. *bras* 'handbag, pouch' and Northumberland dialect *brass*. Relationship to Engl. *brat* (Old Northumbrian *bratt*) 'apron' is obscure.

bresli 'sheep's droppings dried for use as fuel.' Möller omits the etymology. In English dialects there are *bristle* 'to dry, scorch, burn' and *briss* (Devon) in the collocation *briss and buttons* 'sheep's droppings.' Perhaps the ultimate root in Germanic is **brus* 'to break, crackle,' cf. Falk and Torp, *Wortschatz der Germanischen Spracheinheit* in Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, 4th edition, Göttingen, 1909, p. 282.

brirman 'bridegroom.' W. Fris. had *brêgeman* (G. Japiks); Engl. *brideman* is obsolete and dialectal. Jut. has *brudemænd*.

brot 'rude,' cf. W. Fris. (Hindeloopen) *brôt* 'surly.'

bruarwening 'bread-winning.' From the prevalence of this word throughout the Frisian area (W. Fris. *breawinning*, *breawinner*, E. Fris. *brôdwinning*, *brôdwinner*) and its occurrence in the Jutish dialect of West Schleswig in the phrase *det er en sur brødvinding* (quoted in the Supplement to Feilberg's dictionary) as well as in English I conclude that this compound is very old, though, oddly enough, the earliest quotation for *breadwinner* in the N.E.D. dates from 1818. The usual Dutch equivalent is *kostwinning*, *kostwinnaar*, the Westfalian *brôdsörger*. Van Dale quotes the Dutch phrase *die zaak is geene broodwinning, maar eene geldwinning*, i.e. more profitable.

brumsk 'in heat (of pigs).' There is a W. Fris. *brimsk* 'unapproachable' connected with *brimme* 'to roar.' Cf. further Jut. (West Angel) *brylsk*.

bumer-is 'ice containing air-bubbles.' In addition to E. Fris. there are correspondences in W. Fris. *bomīs* and Du. *bomijs*. De Bô supplies W. Flem. *bomiis*, synonym *kuipijs* for 'ice which forms in ditches and will not bear' and connects it with verb *bommen* 'to indent, dint, bump.' Perhaps connected with Germanic root **bemb* 'to swell,' cf.

Falk and Torp, *loc. cit.* p. 260. In Middle Low German the idea was expressed by *bollîs* and *rotîs*, the former apparently from Germanic **bul* 'to swell.'

daageraad, daageruar 'red of dawn.' Add W. Fris. *dageread.*

dingeli 'to dangle,' cf. Jut. *dingle.*

döörsteek, p.p. *döörstat* in *döörstat kraam* 'a got up job.' The W. Fris. p.p. *trochstitsen* and Old Du. *een doorgestoken werk* have the same sense. Dutch still uses *eene doorgestoken kant* for 'a card marked with a hole,' fig. 'a "plant".' Cf. further H.G. *abgekartet* and W. Flem. *een doorstekte deugeniet.* M.L.G. said *ên maket rei.*

döörtrapet 'sly,' cf. W. Fris. *trochtrape*, E. Fris. *dörtrapd*; Du. *doortrapt.*

drāgeli 'to draggle,' cf. W. Fris. *dragelje.*

drai[2] 'to turn,' apparently a loan word, for Sylt also has the form *tre.*

draiom 'a crank,' cf. W. Fris. *draeiom.* E. Fris. has *dreier.*

drech 'lasting,' cf. Engl. *dree* (Sc. *dreech*, Donegal *dreagh*) 'long, slow, tedious; persistent, continuous.'

drengsfaamen 'a tomboy,' lit. a boy's girl, cf. Du. *jongedochter*, Jut. *drengeknægt.* The complementary form is *faamensdreng* 'a "girly" boy,' cf. Jut. *pigetøs.* W. Fris. shows *feintejongens* and *fammejongens* in the sense of male and female children respectively, and in contemporary English we form on analogous lines *a man's man* and a *woman's man* in a specialized sense.

droog 'a hair-sieve.' Ultimately connected with O.E. *dréahnian.*

droonk 'pig's wash,' cf. W. Fris. *drank* in the phrase *in bulte bargen* (pigs) *meitsje tinne drank* (cf. Wander IV 453, Schwein 139), E. Fris. *drank* and Westfalian *drank* (*fatt*).

duutji 'a bag-wig.' Might be a nasalized diminutive of Germ. **dutta-*, cf. E. Fris. *dott* 'a tuft.' Hardly connected with Scots *dunch* 'a bundle or truss of rags.'

duutj 'a nap,' cf. Engl. *dute, dutt* (N.Sc.) 'to doze.'

eeskenskop 'ash shovel,' cf. W. Fris. *yeskskeppe*; Du. *aschscop.*

eetgröör 'aftermath.' Germanic cognates are discussed in Franck's *Etym. Woordenboek der Nederlandschen Taal* (1912 ed.), s.v. *eetgroen.* I would add that Welsh uses the same Indo-european prefix in its equivalent *adlodd.* Middle Low German used as a synonym *nagras.*

eetmeel 'a period of 24 hours,' like Scand. *døgn* or *døgr.* To the parallels given by Falk and Torp, *Norwegisch-dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. *etmaal* add W. Fris. *etmāl.*

fan-hanïg 'off side (of a horse),' cf. W. Fris. *fenderhânsk* (correlative

byderhånsk 'near side'), E. Fris. *fanhand* (correl. *tohand*); Du. *vanderhandsch* (correl. *bijderhandsch*); Westfalian *vannerhandsk*, M.L.G. *van der hant* 'right,' *to der hant* 'left'; Dan. *frahands*, Jut. *frahån* (correl. *tilhånd*, *nærhånd*).

fat 'fat.' The proverbial saying *fat dreft booven* (fat floats on top) is expanded in W. Fris. to *it fet wol altyd boppe wêzen, behalven yn 'e Potmage* and *it fet driuwt altyd boppe, al is't ek fen en dea houn* (cf. E. Fris. *'t fet drift dog bafen, al is't ôk man fan 'n dôden hund*). Cf. further Jut. *æ fet vel oltir åwenå*, i.e. 'the fat will always (be) on top,' and Wander I 989, Fett 2—16.

fēsk weeter 'fresh (i.e. not salt) water,' cf. in this sense W. Fris. *farsk wetter* and *farske bûter*. Cf. further Falk and Torp's Danish dictionary, *op. cit.* s.v. *frisk*.

fleepi 'to draw down the lower lip when crying,' cf. further Engl. *flep*, *fleb*, *flip*, subs. 'the underlip,' vb. 'to pull a face'; Jut. *flæbe* 'to weep.'

flii 'pterygium,' cf. also W. Fris. *flij* (n.) 'the skin of boiled milk or of an egg'; E. Fris. *flêje*, *flêi*, *flê*; Westfalian *vlīr* 'eyelid.'

foraarberi[2] 'to overwork one's self,' cf. in this sense W. Fris. *forar(re)-beidsje* and Old Du. (*hem*) *verarbeiden*. Adopted in Jut. *forarbejde sig*.

forbunt 'alliance,' cf. W. Fris. *forboun*, E. Fris. *ferbund*; Old Du. *verbont*, M.H.G. *verbunt*.

forfiir 'to frighten.' The simplex *fiir* is apparently not found. The p.p. *forfiird* is paralleled by W. Fris. *forfeard*, E. Fris. *ferfärd*; Westfalian *verveerd*, Du. *vervaard*. Cf. further M.H.G. *verværen* and Early N.H.G. adjective *ververlich* (A. Götze, *Frühneuhochdeutsches Glossar*, 2nd edition, 1920).

forgön 'to grudge,' cf. in this sense W. Fris. *forginne* and Cad. Müller *vergunnen*; Old Du. *vergonnen* (glossed by Kiliaen 'invidere') and M.H.G. *vergunnen* (which also denotes the opposite 'to grant willingly'); Early N.H.G. *vergönstig*.

forhaali refl. 'to recover,' cf. for prefix W. Fris. *forhelje* and *forhael* (*op yens forhael komme* 'reconvalescere'), E. Fris. *ferhâl*, *sik verhâlen*; Old Du. *verhalen*; Westfalian *sik verhalen*; M.H.G. *sich verholn*.

forpuanigi 'to pledge.' For suffix cf. W. Fris. *forpânje* and M.L.G. *verpendigen*.

forsair (*-said*) 'engaged,' cf. W. Fris. *forsizze* 'to promise'; E. Fris. *fersegd*.

forslofi 'to neglect.' Add W. Fris. *forslofje*, E. Fris. *fersluffen* (v.i.).

forswiar 'to renounce, *forswear*,' cf. in this sense W. Fris. *forswiere* (as against E. Fris. *ferswaren* 'to promise'); Westfalian *verswêren*; Old Du. *versweren* 'abjurare' (Kiliaen); M.H.G. *verswern* (both meanings); Jut. *forsværge*.

forweli 'to fade, wilt,' cf. W. Fris. *forwylgje, forwylje, forwylkje*.

fraagbok 'catechism,' cf. W. Fris. *fraechboek*.

fuarelk in the phrase *di klok gair olter fuarelk* (the clock is fast), cf. W. Fris. *de klok is moai foarlik*. The Sylt phrase *best jit ek fuarelker?* (aren't you any *forwarder* yet?) is paralleled by W. Fris. *wy binne foarlik mei 't wirk*, cf. Jut. *frammelig mæ æ arbeð*.

fuarhamer 'sledge hammer,' add W. Fris. *foarhammer*, E. Fris. *förhamer*; Du. *voorhamer*; Engl. *forehammer* (Northern and Scottish) in N.E.D.; Jutish *forhammer*.

fuarlikgung 'preceding the corpse (by the mourners),' a ceremony known in W. Fris. as *de foargong*.

fülighair 'afterbirth (of cattle),' cf. W. Fris. *fûlens*. The English abstract *foulness* has the concrete sense of 'dirty matter' as early as Trevisa, 1398, cf. N.E.D.

fülsnütig 'cheeky, *foul-mouthed* (from 16th cent.),' cf. W. Fris. *fûltût*, E. Fris. *fûlsnût* and Du. *vuilbek*.

galboten, cf. Engl. *botts*, reinforcing the Germanic etymology of the word (cf. W. Flem. *botse*) substituted by Skeat in 4th edition of his dictionary for his former Celtic etymology. W. Fris. also has *botten* and *botgall*.

galeri 'to laugh and chatter loudly,' cf. E. Fris. *gallern*. To Möller's Hessian parallel add Engl. *galder* (Scottish and E. Antrim) 'to laugh, talk or sing boisterously,' a word referred by the E.D.D. to Old Norse *galdr* and O.E. *gealdor*.

gāpi 'to gape.' The proverbial saying *gāpi jens töögen en baakaun*, lit. 'to gape against an oven (of a pointless proceeding)' has its counterpart in W. Fris. *men kin tsjin in oun net gapje* and E. Fris. *tägen 'n bakâfen kan man nit gapen*. For English correspondences (one as old as the *Owl and Nightingale*) cf. N.E.D. *sub voce* 'gape' and 'oven' 2 b, and for German cf. D. Wb., vol. IV, col. 1137. Jutland has *de ær et gat o gåv öwər åwns moñ*.

gēmeli 'to move the lips before laughing.' Nearer in meaning and form than Möller's citations is the Engl. *gimble* (Lincs. and E. Antrim) 'to make a face as a child about to cry; to grin, smile,' referred by the E.D.D. to Swedish dial. *gimla* 'to move the lips awry' (as in Sylt phrase *Piðer gēmelt tö lachin*).

gē(r)sböter 'grass butter,' cf. W. Fris. *gêrsbûter*, E. Fris. *grasbotter*. Engl. also has *grass-cheese* (Cheshire). Du. shows *grasboter* in contradistinction to *hooi-*, *stalboter*.

gē(r)shuper 'grasshopper' (q.v. N.E.D.), cf. W. Fris. *gêrshipper*, E. Fris. *grashüpper*, Du. *grashopper* and Scandinavian (e.g. Dan. *græshoppe*).

gest 'dry, not giving milk,' add Engl. *gast* (Westmorland and E. Antrim) 'barren; not producing at the proper season (of cows and ewes)' and the widespread Engl. dialect form *guess*. W. Fris. has the ablaut form *gust*. The Germanic root is **gas*, cf. Falk-Torp, *op. cit.* p. 132. For further information cf. D. Wb., vol. IV, part 1, col. 2058, s.v. *geest*.

giriifelk 'convenient.' Add W. Fris. *geryflik*, E. Fris. *gerîflik*.

glinteri 'to glitter.' Nasalization is found also in Engl. *glint*, M.H.G. *glinzen* and W. Fris. *glinsterje*.

glüürioog 'goggle eye,' cf. W. Fris. *glûreagje* (verb).

gniidelstiin 'smooth stone used for ironing,' cf. E. Fris. *gnîde(l)stên* (to which Koolman supplies parallels from Low German and Swedish). The W. Fris. designation is *glêdstien*, Hindeloopen *gliterstien*. Jut. *gnidesten* is used to crush coffee or tobacco, is made of glass and sometimes serves as an iron. Cf. M.L.G. *glip stên* = 'Schrägstein,' cf. *persestên* and *strîkglas*.

göölˈ 'to howl,' is referred by Möller to Old Norse *gaula*, which may also be the origin of the Engl. *gowl* (used of a dog in Sc., Irish and North Country dialects).

grai 'to scream.' More closely related in form are the W. Fris. *graeije* 'to cry, scream' and Old Du. *greien*, *grayen* 'to scream.'

grer (*gred*) 'meadow,' cf. W. Fris. (Terschelling and Ameland dialects) *grie* and Old Du. *grede*.

grimeli 'to teem,' cf. W. Fris. *gri(m)melje*. It is doubtful whether this is ultimately related to Du. *wriemelen* and Dan. *vrimle*, used in the same sense.

grof in the secondary sense of 'pregnant,' cf. Old Du. *grof* (and French use of 'gros') and the W. Fris. idiom *dat wiif rint ek al wer mei 't grou liif*.

grop 'gutter (in cowshed),' cf. W. Fris. *groppe*, E. Fris. *grôpe*; Du. *greppel*. Jut. *grop*, cf. Feilberg, s.v. *grob*.

grüming 'two pegs connected by a cord used in tethering animals' is referred by Möller to Dan. *grime* 'a halter.' I note that the Shetland dialect has another derivative *grimack* for 'a rope fitted round a

horse's head as a substitute for a bridle.' As to the suffix cf. M.L.G. *helsink* 'neck-strap for horses.'

grür (*grüd*) 'a bundle of corn,' cf. W. Fris. *grude* (syn. *skobben*) 'a bundle of straw' and vb. *grúdsje* 'to tie straw in bundles'; E. Fris. *grude* 'tied end of a sack.'

gungerstok 'walking-stick,' cf. W. Fris. *gongelstok* (Du. *gaanstok*).

gursii 'to go surety for,' cf. W. Fris. *goedsizze*; Jut. *sige god for*.

gurthartig. The special sense of 'haughty' is seen in W. Fris. *great-hertich* and also in some older uses of Engl. *great-hearted*.

haisteri 'to romp,' cf. W. Fris. *heisterje* 'to ransack, spring-clean,' E. Fris. *heistern* 'to romp.'

haurstal. This is the exact equivalent of Engl. *headstall* (of a horse's harness), first quoted in N.E.D. from 15th century. The N.E.D. notes the corresponding use of *stall* in *fingerstall* (add *thumbstall*), but adduces no parallels in other languages. W. Fris. has *haedstal* and Du. *hoofdstal*.

helhaak 'a shrewish woman,' cf. W. Fris. *Divels helheak* and *in boaze heak*, E. Fris. *helhake* = (i) an oven rake, (ii) a shrew. The N.E.D. quotes from the Tudor period the expression *unhappy hook*, rendering it by 'unhappy wight,' but this personal use of *hook* may be a mere coincidence. In the Frisian forms I suspect popular etymology and refer the constituent *hel-* to M.H.G. *helle* 'space between the oven and the wall.' We then have a metonymical use of *helhake* (perhaps from its scraping sound!) with which cf. the personal use of *Besen* etc.

hēm 'to hem.' A further parallel is found in the W. Fris. (Hindeloopen dial.) *himje*.

heng 'hinge,' cf. further W. Fris. *hinge*, Old Du. *heng(en)e*, now usually replaced by *hengsel*.

hi-kat 'tom cat' and *jü-kat* 'she cat' in accordance with both English and Scandinavian usage. M.L.G. has *sê* subs. for female animal. The N.E.D. quotes *he-cat* from a 15th century vocabulary. In this connection I note the parallelism between the Engl. *is it a he or a she!* (used as early as Aelfric) with W. Fris. *is 't en hy of in sy?*, E. Fris. *'t is en hê un gîn sê* and Du. *is die vogel een hij of eene zij?* German shows this usage as early as the O.H.G. *Physiologus*, cf. D. Wb. III, 690 f. *sub voce* 'er' (11).

hiarmaal 'the worn edge of the scythe after much hammering.' The corresponding W. Fris. designation is *harpaed*.

hingslot 'padlock,' cf. W. Fris. *hingelslot*.

hingstskoeh like Engl. *horseshoe* and Scandinavian (Swed. *hästsko* etc.)

as against E. Fris. *hûfiser*, W. Fris. *izer*, *hoech- or hoefizer*, *hynsteizer*, Du. *hoefijzer* etc.

höfki 'to threaten with raised fist.' In addition to the Dan. *høfte* 'to threaten' I note W. Fris. *hifkje* 'to poise in one's hand.' The Sylt form is possibly due to a contamination between these two stems.

hualev-bööken 'half-baked' (and fig.), cf. W. Fris. *healbakken* signifying 'luke-warm (in one's allegiance)'; E. Fris. and Du. *halfbakken* and Ger. *halbgebacken* 'semicrudis'; Jut. *halvbagt* 'foolish.'

huanig from *huan* 'a cock,' cf. W. Fris. *hoanich*, Du. *hanig* and Engl. *cocky*.

hün'-bai 'solanum nigrum,' lit. dog-berry, cf. W. Fris. *hounebei-stâl* 'solanum dulcamarum.'

hüsji (euphemism) 'a privy,' cf. Ger. *Häuschen*, W. Fris. *húske*, E. Fris. *hûske* or *hûske*, Du. *huisje* in the same sense.

iinholt 'the ribs of a ship,' cf. also W. Fris. *ynhouten*, E. Fris. *inholten*.

iiwen 'even.' For the phrase (in the addenda) *nü sen wat om iiven*, cf. Engl. *now we are both even with each other*. The collocation of the preposition *om* with this word occurs also in W. Fris. *it is my om 't effen* 'it is all one to me.' An 'even number' is rendered in Sylt by *iiwen tal* (cf. also W. Fris. and Du.), but the question *odd or even?* shows the Ger. *paar of ünpaar*, whereas W. Fris. has *even of on?* The phrase *üp iiwen slocht* is paralleled by W. Jut. *o æ jawn sloet*

inji 'to get dusk,' cf. W. Fris. *jounje*, a denominative verb like M.H.G. *âben*; Swiss *âben*, *ôben* (s.v. *Abend* in Kluge); Jutish *aftnes*, Du. *avonden*. W. Fris. also has the denominative *nachtsje*.

ispik 'icicle,' not unlike W. Fris. (Dongeradeel dial.) *iispylk*, but *pik* is from Germanic stem *pika-* 'a point,' while *pylk* is a diminutive of the loan word *pyl*.

jacht(er)i 'to romp,' cf. W. Fris. adj. *jachterich* 'wanton,' Du. *jachterig*.

janki 'to groan, whimper,' cf. W. Fris. *jank(er)je* (of a dog). Adopted in Jut. *janke*.

(*To be continued.*)

W. E. COLLINSON.

LIVERPOOL.

THE GERMAN INFLUENCE ON COLERIDGE.

THIS subject has been discussed in England, Germany, and America; and the influence of Kant, Schelling, and A. W. v. Schlegel on Coleridge as a literary critic and philosopher has been worked out in detail[1]. The influence of Schiller and Herder on Coleridge, however, has not been fully appreciated. Brandl suggests that Coleridge may owe something to the aesthetic works of Schiller, but he gives no definite proof; Shawcross and Helene Richter, on the other hand, assume that Coleridge was practically untouched by Schiller's critical essays[2].

It is the purpose of this paper to show that Coleridge as a literary critic was influenced by Schiller and Herder rather than by Kant, Schelling, and A. W. v. Schlegel; that Kant's influence is limited to the presentation of general principles of aesthetic, and that Schlegel influenced Coleridge neither in general principles nor in the application of such principles. An attempt is made to reconcile Coleridge's express denial of plagiarism with the fact that his lectures contain much that we find in Schlegel's lectures.

I. COLERIDGE AND SCHILLER.

Coleridge and Schiller are alike in many ways[3]. Both of them had to contend with bad health, and to struggle hard with poverty, and, although their work won recognition[4] comparatively early in their lives, they had to rely on friends for pecuniary help.

Both passed through a period in which the poetic spring seemed to dry up, a period in which they devoted themselves to philosophy and

[1] Bibliographies of S. T. Coleridge have been published by J. L. Haney (1903) and T. J. Wise (1913). The German influence on Coleridge has been considered by: A. Brandl, *Coleridge und die englische Romantik*, Berlin, 1886; L. J. Wylie, *Studies in Evolution of Criticism*, Boston, 1894; J. L. Haney, *The German Influence on S. T. Coleridge*, Philadelphia, 1902; A. A. Helmholz, *The Indebtedness of S. T. Coleridge to A. W. v. Schlegel*, M[illegible] Wisconsin, 1907; J. Shawcross, edition of *Biographia Literaria*, Oxford, 1907; [illegible] *Coleridge als Kritiker*, in *Anglia*, XXVIII, pp. 201–255; Helene Richter, [illegible] *tanschauung von S. T. Coleridge und ihr Verhältnis zur* [illegible] deutschen [illegible], 1920, pp. 261–290, 297–324. See also *Modern* [illegible] *Language* [illegible] ff.; IX, pp. 348 ff.

[illegible] gens liegt kein Zeugnis vor, dass Coleri[illegible]ge Schillers [illegible]hätte.'

[illegible] Whilst Coleridge had a classical educ[illegible]ation, Schiller [illegible]istotle until he was thirty-eight years o[illegible]ld, and Goethe [illegible]istotle's *Poetics* (Letter to Goethe, Ma[illegible]y 5, 1797). [illegible]ubjected to vindictive criticism.

literary criticism. Both acknowledged Kant as their teacher. In their study of philosophy they seem to have followed the same method and to have had the same aim. They applied philosophy to the fine arts, especially poetry; and to art they attributed a high moral purpose. For them the study of poetry included the whole range of mental and moral philosophy[1]. And just as both regarded poetry as the most important of the fine arts, so did they agree in giving great attention to drama, as a very important branch of poetry.

One of the most striking illustrations of the similarity of their tastes is the fact that though they fully appreciated the part played by the comic element in Shakespeare's plays yet they rejected the Porter's scene in *Macbeth*. Coleridge expressly denied that it could be Shakespeare's work[2], and Schiller in his translation of *Macbeth*, which was based on the prose translations of Wieland and Eschenburg, both[3] of whom rendered the porter's speech, also omitted it.

Both Coleridge and Schiller discuss the question of the dependence of genius on public taste[4], and stress the duty of the poet 'to raise people up to his own level, not to descend to theirs[5],' and they are equally impatient with that 'love of the ludicrous which...will lie in wait for a jeer at any phrase[6],' 'denn was ist so heilig und ernsthaft, das, wenn man es falsch verdreht, nicht belacht werden kann?[7]'

Coleridge first became acquainted with Schiller in November 1794 when he read a translation of *Die Räuber* and praised it highly in a letter to Southey. Writing to Cottle nearly three years later, i.e. June 1797, he again speaks highly of *Die Räuber*, and says that it contains 'profound touches of the human heart.' But, as we see from his note on *Wallenstein* (quoted below), his admiration for Schiller's dramas began to cool, and the twenty-third chapter of *Biographia Literaria* contains a criticism of Schiller's dramas in which the praise is lukewarm. Coleridge nowhere discusses Schiller's contributions to criticism. The note to *Wallenstein*[8], in which Coleridge says, 'It is wonderful, however, that Schiller, who had studied Shakspere'—a statement which could hardly be based on the evidence afforded by Schiller's dramas alone—suggests that Coleridge was familiar with Schiller's critical writings.

[1] See Coleridge's letter to Davy, 1801 (*Letters*, I, p. 353). Coleridge intends to write an essay concerning Poetry, and the pleasures to be derived from it, which would supersede all the books of morals, and all the books of metaphysics too.'

[2] *Lectures and Notes on Shakspere*, ed. T. Ashe, pp. 368, 377.

[3] Wieland omits a few lines, 'die in Wortspielen bestehen.'

[4] *Notes*, p. 214 and *Die Braut von Messina* (preface).

[5] *Satyrane's Letters*, III. [6] *Notes*, p. 214. [7] *Die Räuber* (preface).

[8] Coleridge's *Poems*, edited E. H. Coleridge, Oxford, 1912, II, p. 598.

Definite proof that Coleridge was familiar with *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* is found in the following extracts, which are quoted fully since they throw considerable light on Coleridge's German studies.

In studying Dante, therefore, we must consider carefully the differences produced, first, by allegory being substituted for polytheism; and secondly and mainly, by the opposition of Christianity to the spirit of pagan Greece, which receiving the very names of its gods from Egypt, soon deprived them of all that was universal. The Greeks changed the ideas into finites, and these finites into anthropomorphi, or forms of men. Hence their religion, their poetry, nay their very pictures, became statuesque. With them the form was the end. The reverse of this was the natural effect of Christianity, in which finites, even the human form, must, in order to satisfy the mind, be brought into connexion with, and be in fact symbolical of, the infinite; and must be considered in some enduring, however shadowy and indistinct, point of view, as the vehicle or representative of moral truth.

Hence resulted two great effects; a combination of poetry with doctrine, and, by turning the mind inward on its own essence instead of letting it act only on its outward circumstances and communities, a combination of poetry with sentiment. And it is this inwardness or subjectivity, which principally and most fundamentally distinguishes all the classic from all the modern poetry. Compare the passage in the Iliad (Z′ VI, 119–236) in which Diomed and Glaucus change arms,—

'They took each other by the hand, and pledged friendship,'—

with the scene in Ariosto (Orlando Furioso, c. I, st. 20–22), where Rinaldo and Ferranto fight and afterwards make it up:—

'Al Pagan

. . . . . .

E per l' orme d' Angelica galoppa.'

Here Homer would have left it. But the Christian poet has his own feelings to express, and goes on:—

'Oh gran bontà de' cavalieri antiqui!...'

And here you will observe, that the reaction of Ariosto's own feelings on the

Dasselbe ist mir auch mit dem Homer begegnet, den ich in einer noch späteren Periode kennen lernte. Ich erinnere mich jetzt der merkwürdigen Stelle im sechsten Buch der Ilias, wo Glaukus und Diomed im Gefecht aufeinander stossen und, nachdem sie sich als Gastfreunde erkannt, einander Geschenke geben. Diesem rührenden Gemälde der Pietät, mit der die Gesetze des *Gastrechts* selbst im Kriege beobachtet wurden, kann eine Schilderung *des ritterlichen Edelmuts* im Ariost an die Seite gestellt werden, wo zwei Ritter und Nebenbuhler, Ferrau und Rinald, dieser ein Christ, jener ein Sarazene, nach einem heftigen Kampf und mit Wunden bedeckt, Friede machen und, um die flüchtige Angelika einzuholen, das nämliche Pferd besteigen. Beide Beispiele, so verschieden sie übrigens sein mögen, kommen einander in der Wirkung auf unser Herz beinahe gleich, weil beide den schönen Sieg der Sitten über die Leidenschaft malen und uns durch Naivetät der Gesinnungen rühren. Aber wie ganz verschieden nehmen sich die Dichter bei Beischreibung dieser ähnlichen Handlung. Ariost, der Bürger einer spätern und von der Einfalt der Sitten abgekommenen Welt, kann bei der Erzählung dieses Vorfalls seine eigne Verwunderung, seine Rührung nicht verbergen. Das Gefühl des Abstandes jener Sitten von denjenigen, die sein Zeitalter charakterisieren, überwältigt ihn. Er verlässt auf einmal das Gemälde des Gegenstandes und erscheint in eigner Person. Man kennt die schöne Stanze und hat sie immer vorzüglich bewundert:—

'O Edelmut der alten Rittersitten!...'

(Der rasende Roland. Erster Gesang, Stanze 22.)

Und nun der alte Homer! Kaum erfährt Diomed aus Glaukus', seines Gegners, Erzählung, dass dieser von Väterzeiten her ein Gastfreund seines Geschlechts ist, so steckt er die Lanze in die Erde, redet freundlich mit ihm und macht mit ihm aus, dass sie einander im Gefechte künftig ausweichen

image or act is more foregrounded (to use a painter's phrase) than the image or act itself.

The two different modes in which the imagination is acted on by the ancient and modern poetry may be illustrated by the parallel effects caused by the contemplation of the Greek or Roman-Greek architecture, compared with the Gothic. In the Pantheon, the whole is perceived in a perceived harmony with the parts which compose it; and generally you will remember that where the parts preserve any distinct individuality, there simple beauty, or beauty simply, arises; but where the parts melt undistinguished into the whole, there majestic beauty, or majesty is the result. In York Minster, the parts, the grotesques, are in themselves very sharply distinct and separate, and this distinction and separation of the parts is counterbalanced only by the multiple and variety of those parts, by which the attention is bewildered;—whilst the whole or that there is a whole produced,—is altogether a feeling in which the thousand distinct impressions lose themselves as in a universal solvent. Hence in a Gothic cathedral as in a prospect from a mountain's top, there is, indeed, a unity, an awful oneness;—but it is, because all distinction evades the eye. And just such is the distinction between the Antigone of Sophocles and the Hamlet of Shakspere[1].

wollen. Doch man höre den Homer selbst.

'Also bin ich nunmehr dein Gastfreund mitten in Argos,

. . . . . .

Fassten sie beide einander die Händ und gelobten sich Freundschaft.'

Schwerlich dürfte ein *moderner* Dichter (wenigstens schwerlich einer, der es in der moralischen Bedeutung dieses Wortes ist) auch nur bis hierher gewartet haben, um seine Freude an dieser Handlung zu bezeugen. Wir würden es ihm um so leichter verzeihen, da auch unser Herz beim Lesen einen Stillstand macht und sich von dem Objekte gern entfernt, um in sich selbst zu schauen. Aber von allem diesem keine Spur im Homer; als ob er etwas Alltägliches berichtet hätte, ja als ob er selbst kein Herz im Busen trüge, fährt er in seiner trockenen Wahrhaftigkeit fort:—

'Doch den Glaukus erregte Zeus,...'

(Ilias VI, 234–36 [Voss'sche Übersetzung]).

Dichter von dieser naiven Gattung sind in einem künstlichen Weltalter nicht so recht mehr an ihrer Stelle[2].

Coleridge not only makes the same distinction as Schiller between ancient and modern poets, he also illustrates the distinction by the same passages. We must, therefore, draw the conclusion that the most important part of Coleridge's lecture on Dante was based mainly on the most striking section of Schiller's essay[3].

Now there are numerous passages in other lectures by Coleridge which are similar to passages in this work of Schiller's. To Coleridge 'the poet is one who carries the simplicity of childhood into the powers of manhood[4],' and Schiller speaks of 'den kindlichen Charakter, den das Genie in seinen Werken abdrückt[5].' Coleridge says 'the poet is not only the man made to solve the riddle of the universe[6],' and Schiller says, 'die verwickeltsten Aufgaben muss das Genie mit anspruchloser Simplicität und Leichtigkeit lösen[7].' They agree not only in their descrip-

[1] *Miscellanies, Æsthetic and Literary*, edited T. Ashe, p. 140.
[2] Schiller's *Werke* (*Säkular-Ausgabe*), Stuttgart, 1904–5, XII, p. 184.
[3] Goethe's influence will be dealt with in a subsequent paper.
[4] *Notes*, p. 104. [5] *Werke*, XII, p. 174. [6] *Notes*, p. 105. [7] *Werke*, XII, p. 174.

tions of the poet and his work, they describe poetic diction in the same way.

But the language of nature is a subordinate Logos, that was in the beginning, and was with the thing it represented, and was the thing it represented. Now the language of Shakspere, ... not merely recalling the cold notion of the thing, but expressing the reality of it, ... being itself a part of that which it manifests[1].

Wenn dort [*viz.* Schulverstand] das Zeichen dem Bezeichneten ewig heterogen und fremd bleibt, so springt hier wie durch innere Notwendigkeit die Sprache aus dem Gedanken hervor und ist so sehr Eins mit demselben, dass selbst unter der körperlichen Hülle der Geist wie entblösset erscheint[2].

They distinguish 'picturesque' from 'musical' poets in the same way. Coleridge's example of the 'musical poet' is Milton, Schiller's Klopstock.

In the 'Paradise Lost' the sublimest parts are the revelations of Milton's own mind, producing itself and evolving its own greatness; and this is so truly so, that when that which is merely entertaining for its objective beauty is introduced, it at first seems a discord.... Milton is not a picturesque, but a musical poet, although he has this merit that the object chosen by him for any particular foreground always remains prominent to the end[3].

Was nur immer, ausserhalb den Grenzen lebendiger Form und ausser dem Gebiete der Individualität, im Felde der Idealität zu erreichen ist, ist von diesem musikalischen Dichter geleistet....Je nachdem die Poesie entweder einen bestimmten Gegenstand nachahmt, wie die bildenden Künste tun, oder je nachdem sie, wie die Tonkunst, bloss einen bestimmten Zustand des Gemüts hervorbringt, ohne dazu eines bestimmten Gegenstandes nötig zu haben, kann sie bildend (plastisch) oder musikalisch genannt werden[4].

The drama must provide an 'imitation of nature'; this Coleridge expresses, 'If we want to witness mere pain, we can visit the hospitals.... It is the representation of it, not the reality, that we require, the imitation, and not the thing itself[5].' Schiller complains of German tragedy which 'anstatt die wahre Natur nachzuahmen, nur den geistlosen und unedeln Ausdruck der wirklichen erreicht, so dass es uns nach einem solchen Thränenmahle gerade zu Mute ist, als wenn wir einen Besuch in Spitälern abgelegt...hätten[6].'

This subject is treated more fully by Coleridge in another passage; and the treatment is like Schiller's.

We all know that art is an imitatress
... The impression on the wax
ion, but a copy of the
If is an imitation.... If
ature without any
result is disgust-
e the delusion,
ect. Why are
as waxwork

Könnte man einer gemachten Blume den Schein der Natur mit der vollkommensten Täuschung geben ..., so würde die Entdeckung, dass es Nachahmung sei, das Gefühl, von dem die Rede ist, gänzlich vernichten. Kant, meines Wissens der erste, der über dieses Phänomen eigens zu reflektieren angefangen, erinnert, dass, wenn wir von einem Menschen

[2] *Werke*, XII, p. 176.
Werke, XII, p. 209. [5] *Notes*, p. 53. [6] *Werke*, XII, p. 237.

figures of men and women, so disagreeable? Because, not finding the motion and the life which we expected, we are shocked as by a falsehood.... The fundamental principle of all this is undoubtedly the horror of falsehood and the love of truth inherent in the human breast[1].

den Schlag der Nachtigall bis zur höchsten Täuschung nachgeahmt fänden und uns dem Eindruck desselben mit ganzer Rührung überliessen, mit der Zerstörung dieser Illusion alle unsre Lust verschwinden würde[2].

Coleridge's remarks on Nature and Man are also like those of Schiller:

The wisdom in nature is distinguished from that in man by the co-instanteity of the plan and the execution, the thought and the product are one, or are given at once, but there is no reflex act, and hence there is no moral responsibility. In man there is reflexion, freedom, and choice.... In every work of art there is a reconcilement of the external with the internal.... He who combines the two is the man of genius, and for that reason he must partake of both.... He must out of his own mind create forms according to the severe law of the intellect, in order to generate in himself that co-ordination of freedom and law, that involution of obedience in the prescript, and of the prescript in the impulse to obey, which assimilates him to nature and enables him to understand her[3].

Sie [natural objects] *sind*, was wir *waren*, sie sind was wir wieder *werden sollen*. Wir waren Natur, wie sie, und unsere Kultur soll uns, auf dem Wege der Vernunft und der Freiheit, zur Natur zurückführen.... Aber ihre Vollkommenheit ist nicht ihr Verdienst, weil sie nicht das Werk ihrer Wahl ist. Sie gewähren uns also die ganz eigne Lust, dass sie, ohne uns zu beschämen, unsre Muster sind.... Wir sind frei, und sie sind notwendig, wir wechseln, sie bleiben Eins. Aber nur, wenn beides sich miteinander verbindet—wenn der Wille das Gesetz der Notwendigkeit frei befolgt und bei allem Wechsel der Phantasie die Vernunft ihre Regel behauptet, geht das Göttliche oder das Ideal hervor[4].

There are two other passages where Coleridge deals with ancient and modern poetry quite in the manner of Schiller:

The ancient was allied to statuary, the modern refers to painting. In the first there is a predominance of rhythm and melody, in the second of harmony and counterpoint. The Greeks idolized the finite, and therefore were the masters of all grace, elegance, proportion, fancy, dignity, majesty—of whatever, in short, is capable of being definitely conveyed by defined forms or thoughts: the moderns revere the infinite, and affect the indefinite as a vehicle of the infinite; hence their passions, their obscure hopes and fears, their wandering through the unknown, their grander moral feelings, their more august conception of man as man, their future rather than their past—in a word, their sublimity[5].

Wenn man nur das Poesie nennt, was zu allen Zeiten auf die einfältige Natur gleichförmig wirkte, so kann es nicht anders sein, als dass man den neuern Poeten gerade in ihrer eigensten und erhabensten Schönheit den Namen der Dichter wird streitig machen müssen.... Jener [the ancient]...ist mächtig durch die Kunst der Begrenzung; dieser [the modern] ist es durch die Kunst des Unendlichen. [Schiller then states that ancient poetry is like ancient statuary] und siegen gleich die alten Dichter auch hier in der Einfalt der Formen und in dem, was sinnlich darstellbar und körperlich ist, so kann der neuere sie wieder im Reichtum des Stoffes, in dem, was undarstellbar und unaussprechlich ist, kurz, in dem, was man in Kunstwerken Geist nennt, hinter sich lassen[6].

[1] *Misc.* p. 45. Schelling's influence will be dealt with later.
[2] *Werke*, XII, p. 162.
[3] *Misc.* p. 47.
[4] *Werke*, XII, p. 163.
[5] *Notes*, p. 194.
[6] *Werke*, XII, pp. 190–2.

The Greeks reared a structure, which in its parts, and as a whole, fitted the mind with the calm and elevated impression of perfect beauty and symmetrical proportion. The moderns produced a whole, a more striking whole, but it was by blending materials and fusing the parts together. And as the Pantheon is to York Minster or Westminster Abbey, so is Sophocles compared with Shakspere, in the one a completeness, a satisfaction, on which the mind rests with complacency; in the other a multitude of interlaced materials, great and little, magnificent and mean, accompanied, indeed, with the sense of a falling short of perfection, and yet, at the same time, so promising of our social and individual progression, that we would not, if we could, exchange it for that repose of the mind which dwells on the forms of symmetry in the acquiescent admiration of grace[1].

Solange der Mensch noch reine...Natur ist, wirkt er als ungeteilte sinnliche Einheit und als ein harmonierendes Ganze.... Ist der Mensch in den Stand der Kultur getreten, und hat die Kunst ihre Hand an ihn gelegt, so ist jene sinnliche Harmonie in ihm aufgehoben, und er kann nur noch als moralische Einheit, d.h. als nach Einheit strebend sich äussern...und dies sind auch die zwei einzig möglichen Arten, wie sich überhaupt der poetische Genius äussern kann. Sie sind, wie man sieht, äusserst voneinander verschieden. ...Weil aber das Ideal ein Unendliches ist, das er [the modern poet] niemals erreicht, so kann der kultivierte Mensch in seiner Art niemals vollkommen werden, wie doch der natürliche Mensch es in der seinigen zu werden vermag.... Der eine erhält also seinen Wert durch absolute Erreichung einer endlichen, der andere erlangt ihn durch Annäherung zu einer unendlichen Grösse. Weil aber nur die letztere Grade und einen Fortschritt hat ...so ist keine Frage, welchem von beiden ...der Vorzug gebühre[2].

The extracts quoted above show that Coleridge and Schiller entirely agree on the subjects of poetic genius, poetic diction, the difference between 'picturesque' and 'musical' poets, and the relations between nature and art, nature and man, ancient and modern poetry, and in their interpretation of the phrase 'to imitate nature.' When we take all these extracts together we can hardly draw any conclusion other than that Coleridge owed a great deal to this one essay of Schiller's.

We come now to consider the question of Coleridge's indebtedness to other critical works by Schiller. That Coleridge knew Schiller's dramas is clear[3]. It is a curious fact—and it shows how deep an impression Schiller had made on Coleridge's mind—that in a lecture in which Coleridge states that in tragedy the catastrophe must not be caused by an accident, the example chosen to illustrate this principle should be taken from a drama by Schiller. Coleridge says, 'To cause the death of a hero by accident, such as slipping off a plank into the sea, would be beneath the tragic muse[4].' Schiller, in his preface to after mentioning the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, states the ng historical facts; he could not let Fiesco be drowned ie Natur des Dramas duldet den Finger des

Schlegel's influence will be dealt with later.
47.
raria, Ch. XXIII. [4] *Notes*, p. 478.

Coleridge had no sympathy with Schiller's experiment in *Die Braut von Messina*; the introduction of a chorus is to Coleridge 'pedantry[1].' Schiller defended the use of the chorus in a preface to his drama. His defence did not convince Coleridge, but we find a good deal of Schiller's preface in Coleridge's lectures. To some extent this is to be expected, since both Coleridge and Schiller give an account of the Greek chorus and re-state what was commonly accepted. There are, however, a few parallels which possibly deserve mention, as illustrating the similar views of Coleridge and Schiller rather than as evidence of borrowing.

On the aim and effects of art—both writers are, of course, thinking particularly of poetry—Coleridge says, 'In poetry the general good is to be accomplished through the pleasure[2],' and again, 'the proper and immediate object of poetry is the communication of immediate pleasure[3].' Art produces a 'pleasurable emotion, which the exertion of all our faculties gives in a certain degree[4].' Schiller puts it thus: 'Alle Kunst ist der Freude gewidmet,...die rechte Kunst ist nur diese, welche den höchsten Genuss verschafft. Der höchste Genuss aber ist die Freiheit des Gemüts in dem lebendigen Spiel aller seiner Kräfte.' Of Greek plays Coleridge says, 'the plays represented were made to include within a short space of time events which it is impossible should have occurred in that short space. This fact alone establishes that all dramatic performances were then looked upon merely as ideal[5].' And Schiller, 'Der Tag selbst auf dem Theater ist nur ein künstlicher, die Architektur ist nur eine symbolische, die metrische Sprache selbst ist ideal,...als ob hier ein anderer Ort wäre als der bloss ideale Raum, und eine andere Zeit als bloss die stetige Folge der Handlung.' In discussing poetic diction Coleridge remarks that just as the Greek drama demanded the chorus 'and high language accordant,' so Shakespearean drama demanded 'an intermixture of ludicrous character.' Coleridge enumerates the advantages, viz. a greater assimilation to nature, a greater scope of power, more truths, more feelings, effects of contrast, 'and especially this, that the true language of passion becomes sufficiently elevated by your having previously heard, in the same piece, the lighter conversation of men under no strong emotion[6].' Schiller remarks that the Greeks found the chorus 'in nature,' and used it because it was found; he goes on to

[1] *Notes*, p. 478. [2] *Ib.* p. 47. [3] *Ib.* p. 183. [4] *Ib.* p. 184.
[5] *Ib.* p. 53. Coleridge's general definition of drama as 'not a copy, but an imitation of nature' (*Notes*, p. 211) is in agreement with Schiller's demand that it must be 'ganz ideell und doch im tiefsten Sinne reell,' that it must leave 'das Wirkliche,' and yet 'aufs genaueste mit der Natur übereinstimmen' (preface to *Die Braut von Messina*).
[6] *Notes*, p. 207.

say, 'so legt die lyrische Sprache des Chors dem Dichter auf, verhältnissmässig die ganze Sprache des Gedichts zu erheben und dadurch die sinnliche Gewalt des Ausdrucks zu verstärken. Nur der Chor berechtigt den tragischen Dichter zu dieser Erhebung des Tons, die das Ohr ausfüllt, die den Geist anspannt, die das ganze Gemüt erweitert.... Nimmt man den Chor hinweg, so muss die Sprache der Tragödie im Ganzen sinken, oder was jetzt gross und mächtig ist, wird gezwungen und überspannt erscheinen.' In his discussion of the differences between poetry and painting Coleridge says, 'The grandest efforts of poetry are where the imagination is called forth, not to produce a distinct form, but a strong working of the mind..., the result being what the poet wishes to impress, namely, the substitution of a sublime feeling of the unimaginable for a mere image[1].' Schiller contrasts poetry and painting in their effect on the imagination elsewhere[2]; in the preface to *Die Braut von Messina* he says, '[die Kunst des Ideals] kann ihn [diesen Geist des Alls] zwar nie vor die Sinne, aber doch durch ihre schaffende Gewalt vor die Einbildungskraft bringen und dadurch wahrer sein als alle Wirklichkeit und realer als alle Erfahrung.'

It would require too much space to deal fully with the similar theories of Coleridge and Schiller[3]. Both hold that poetry is superior to history as a source of wisdom[4], and that drama must be poetical and thus deal with that 'which is the permanent in our nature,' for 'the events themselves are immaterial[5].' Tragedy has the power 'die historische Wahrheit den Gesetzen der Dichtkunst unterzuordnen[6].' Although both writers tend towards cosmopolitanism, yet they would welcome a 'national' drama dealing with national history. Coleridge thinks it would 'tend to counteract...mock cosmopolitanism. By its nationality must every nation retain its independence[7].' And Schiller, speaking of the great influence this type of drama would have on Germany, says, 'Wenn wir es erlebten, eine Nationalbühne zu haben, so würden wir auch eine Nation[8].'

On the question of the relation of body and soul, both mention Stahl

[1] *Th.* n. 91. [2] *Werke*, XII, p. 289.

[3] This similarity is due to the fact that they both follow Kant. They agree. [illegible] distinction between the agreeable, the beautiful, and the good, and in [illegible]rality does not rest in analytic process, but in feeling. (*Notes*, [illegible]*ndigen Grenzen beim Gebrauch schöner Formen* (*Werke*, XII.

[illegible]*ebene* (*Werke*, XII, p. 277).

[illegible] XI, p. 175; cp. *Hamb. Dramaturgie*, St. 19).

[illegible]*he Anstalt betrachtet* (*Werke*, XI, p. 98).

(the author of *Theoria medica*) and reject his 'error in deriving the phenomena of life from the unconscious actions of the rational soul[1],' but they agree that in a certain sense 'die Seele bildet den Körper[2].'

When we make every allowance for the fact that both Coleridge and Schiller were enthusiastic readers of Kant, and that Schiller reproduces many of Kant's doctrines, it seems legitimate from the evidence we have that Coleridge studied closely many (if not all) of Schiller's works, and that much is common to Coleridge and Schiller which is not found in Kant[3] to draw the conclusion that Coleridge owes a great deal to Schiller and did not arrive at his conclusions independently.

(*To be continued.*)

A. C. DUNSTAN.

LONDON.

[1] *Misc.* p. 377 (cp. *Notes*, p. 114). [2] *Werke*, XI, pp. 73, 196.

[3] E.g. the comparison between Homer and Ariosto, and the distinction between 'picturesque' and 'musical' poets, a distinction based on Schiller's own experience and regarded by him as of great importance,—see letters to Körner (May 25, 1792) and to Goethe (March 18, 1796); see also notes to *Werke*, XII, p. 209. These two important parallels alone show that Coleridge is indebted to Schiller, and not only to Kant. Even where Coleridge follows Kant closely, as in his definition of the Beautiful (*Misc.* p. 31), he expresses himself similarly to Schiller. Compare Coleridge's 'Hence the Greeks called a beautiful object καλόν, quasi καλοῦν, i.e. calling on the soul, which receives instantly, and welcomes it as something connatural,' with Schiller's 'Schon der Zweck der Natur bringt es mit sich, dass wir der Schönheit zuerst entgegeneilen...' (*Über das Erhabene*, *Werke*, XII, p. 273).

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Mulcaster and Du Bellay.

The problem of diction and some part at least of its solution were almost certainly brought to the notice of Spenser early in life by his schoolmaster, Richard Mulcaster, whose alert mind, original methods, and literary interests must have left their impression on Spenser as they did on Lancelot Andrewes. *The First Part of the Elementarie* was published only in 1582, but we may take it that Mulcaster, like every schoolmaster, was drawing on his long experience—in his Dedication to the Earl of Leicester he says 'I haue trauelled in this point of our English writing, somewhat more then ordinary'—and that he was teaching on these principles before Spenser left the Merchant Taylors' School in 1569. It is typical of the discursive habit of the time that a treatise on spelling should be the vehicle of the first educative force in the life of the first master and maker of modern English poetic art: the problem of orthography, however, weighed on many poets, French and English, and for artists in sound the relation of eye and ear was more pertinent to literature than it might seem. Mulcaster's orthographical theories are not to the present purpose, but it may be noted in passing that he agrees with Ronsard's early views on the treatment of foreign words: 'The English rule for writing, must be the right thereof[1]'; 'C'est vne regle generalle d'approprier sur la terminaizon françoise tous les mots tirés des Italiens, Latins, et des Grecs, pour l'ornement et perfection de nostre langue[2].'

Like Ascham, and indeed like the defenders of the vernacular in all countries, Mulcaster was inspired by a patriotic motive. 'All which I do, concerneth my cuntrie youth and tung, it entertaineth her profit, and enuieth not her pleasur, and desireth to se hir enriched so in euerie kinde of argument, and honored so with euerie ornament of eloquence, as she maie vy with the foren, if I maie work it with wishing[3].' His own share in the improvement of the mother tongue was the normalising of English spelling, but there is abundant evidence of keen interest in the

[1] Cap. xxii.
[2] *Odes*, ed. Vaganay, p. 112; see also *Art Poétique*, pp. 234–235.
[3] Peroration.

larger problems, and careful study. His general position is utterly divorced from that of Ascham and the Cambridge purists—so different that the terms of licence of his *Positions*, providing that it should contain nothing contrary to the teaching of Ascham, might be interpreted as evidence of the notoriety of Mulcaster's revolutionary tendencies, as much as of Ascham's credit with authority. The present interest of his views on language is that, so far as they are expressed, they are precisely those of Du Bellay's *Deffence et Illustration*. The mother tongue is insufficient, but not to be despaired of: 'It is verie manifest, that the tung itself hath matter enough in itself, to furnish out an art, and that the same mean, which hath been vsed in the reducing of other tongs to their right, will serue this of ours, both for generalitie of precept, and certainty of ground[1].' To suggest a contrary opinion was an aspersion on a great nation: 'Quand à la pieté, religion, integrité de moeurs, magnanimité de couraiges, et toutes ces vertuz rares et antiques (qui est la vraye et solide louange). la France a tousiours obtenu sans controuerse le premier lieu[2]'; 'The English nation hath allwaie bene of good credit, and great estimation, euer since credit and estimation by historie came on this side the Alps[3].' In any case—and this was the foundation of the whole theory—all languages were equal in innate possibilities: their varying powers and beauties were the result of cultivation, not the gift of nature. 'The finest tung, was once in filth, the verie course of nature proceding from weaknesse, to strength, from imperfection, to perfitnesse, from a mean degree, to a main dignitie[4]'; 'No one tung is more fine then other naturallie, but by industry of the speaker, which...endeuoreth himself to garnish it with eloquence, and to enrich it with learning[5].' 'Les langues ne sont nées d'elles mesmes en façon d'Herbes, Racines, et Arbres: les vnes infirmes, et debiles en leurs especes: les autres saines, et robustes, et plus aptes à porter le faiz des conceptions humaines: mais toute leur vertu est née au monde du vouloir, et arbitre des mortels...Il est vray que par succession de tens les vnes, pour auoir eté plus curieusement reiglées, sont deuenues plus riches, que les autres: mais cela ne se doit attribuer à la felicité desdites langues, ains au seul artifice, et industrie des hommes[6].' 'Qui voudroit dire que la Greque, et Romaine eussent tousiours eté en l'excellence qu'on les a vues du tens d'Homere, et de Demosthene, de Virgile, et de Ciceron? Et si ces aucteurs eussent iugé que iamais, pour quelque

[1] Pp. 79-80.
[2] *Deffence et Illustration*, p. 156.
[3] P. 80. [4] P. 62. [5] P. 253.
[6] *Deffence et Illustration*, p. 50.

diligence, et culture qu'on y eust peu faire, elles n'eussent sceu produyre plus grand fruict, se feussent ilz tant eforcez de les mettre au point, ou nous les voyons maintenant[1]?" 'The diligent labor of learned countrymen did so enrich these tungs and not the tungs themselues, tho theie proued verie pliable, as our tung will proue, I dare assure it of knowledge, if our learned cuntriemen will put to their labor[2].' Mulcaster had the same faith and the same sense of duty: 'Our English is our own, our Sparta must be spunged, by the inhabitants that haue it, as well as those tungs were by the industrie of their people, which be braued with the most, and brag as the best[3].' 'Our tung is capable, if our peple wold be painfull[4].'

The attitude to the classics is the same. 'Which two considerations being fullie answered, that we seke them from *profit* and kepe them for that conference, whatsoeuer else maie be don in our tung, either to serue priuat uses, or the beawtifying of our speche, I do not se, but it maie well be admitted, euen tho in the end it displaced the *Latin*, as the *Latin* did others, and furnished itself by the *Latin* learning...For is it not in dede a maruellous bondage, to becom seruents to one tung for learning sake, the most of our time, with losse of most time, whereas we maie haue the verie same treasur in our own tung, with the gain of most time...I loue *Rome*, but *London* better, I fauor *Italie*, but *England* more, I honor the *Latin*, but I worship the *English*. I wish all were in ours, which theie had from others...It is no obiection to maie, well ye rob those tungs of their honor, which haue honored you? or which if theie had not bene to make you learned, you had not bene to strip them of from learning? For I honor them still, and that so much as who doth most, euen in wishing mine own tung partaker of their honor...I confess their furniture and wish it were in ours[5].' 'Yet are we not ignorant of the mean thereof to turn to our vse all the great treasur, of either foren soil, or foren language. And why maie not the English wits, if they will bend their wills, either for matter or for method in their own tung be in time as well sought to, by foren students for increase of their knowledge, as our soil is sought to at this same time, by foren merchants, for increase of their welth? as the soil is fertile, bycause it is applied, so the wits be not barren if theie list to brede[6].' 'Et certes songeant beaucoup de foys, d'ou prouient que les Hommes de se Siecle generalement sont moins scauans en toutes Sciences, et de moindre prix

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 56–57, also p. 158.
[2] *Elementarie*, p. 255.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 256.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 258.
[5] P. 255.
[6] P. 256.

que les Anciens, entre beaucoup de raysons ie treuue cete cy, que i'oseroy dire la principale: c'est l'Etude des Langues Greque, et Latine. Car si le Tens, que nous consumons à apprendre les dites Langues, estoit employé à l'etude des Sciences, la Nature sertes n'est point deuenue si Brehaigne, qu'elle n'enfantast de nostre Tens, des Platons et des Aristotes...Faut il donques laisser l'etude des Langues? non: d'autant que les Ars, et Sciences sont pour le present entre les mains des Grecz, et Latins. Mais il se deuroit faire à l'auenir qu'on peust parler de toute chose, par tout le monde, et en toute Langue[1].' 'Our *English* wits be verie well able, thanks be to God, if their wils were as good, to make those vncouth and vnknown learnings verie familiar to our peple, euen in our own tung, and that both by president and protection of those same writers, whom we esteme so much of, who doing that for others, which I do wish for ours, in the like case must needs allow of vs, onelesse theie wil auouch that which theie cannot auow, that the praise of that labor to conueie cunning from a foren tung into a man's own, did dy with them, not to reuiue in vs[2].' 'For the tungs which we study, were not the first getters, tho by learned trauell the(ie) proue good keepers[3].' Wisdom travelled from Egypt and Chaldaea to Greece, from Greece to Rome, now it is time for the modern tongues to enter into the inheritance: it is the same doctrine that Du Bellay taught[4].

'Voyla quand aux Disciplines': in the question of diction—the *Illustration* of the mother tongue after its *Deffence*—the main point on which Mulcaster touches is that which most troubled English criticism, the expediency of borrowing. On this question, as one might expect after the heresies just quoted, he ran counter to the humanist purists. 'For mine own words and the terms, that I vse, theie be generallie *English*. And if anie be either an incorporate stranger, or otherwise translated, or quite coined a new, I haue shaped it as fit for the place, where I vse it, as my cunning will giue me. And to be bold that waie for either enfranchising the foren, or translating our own, without to manifest insolence, and to wanton affection, or else to inuent new upon euident note, which will bear witness, that it fitteth well, where it is to be vsed...till oft vsing do make it well known, we ar sufficiently warranted both by president and precept of them, that can iudge best[5].' Nor was Mulcaster bound to the adoption of new terms by necessity alone; English was 'to furnish out an art,' and fine as well as useful terms were welcome to him.

[1] *Deffence et Illustration*, pp. 83–85.
[2] *Elementarie*, p. 255.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 254.
[4] Liure I, Chaps. IX, X *et passim*.
[5] *Elementarie*, p. 269.

In his discussion of this point he displayed something of that fine insolence—the pride of the humanist transferred to the vulgar—which claims from the reader something more than a casual and condescending attention. This was no Ascham writing in simple wise for the benefit of his unlettered countrymen, but a scholar treating in a well-studied style a matter which demanded serious consideration. For him, as for Du Bellay and Ronsard, vernacular literature was worthy of the pains commonly bestowed only on the classics. Reacting from the unambitious simplicity of Marot, the Pléiade declared that the best poetry is not necessarily the easiest; they appealed to a cultivated audience—

> Les François qui ces vers liront,
> S'ils ne sont et Grecs et Romains,
> En lieu de mon liure ils n'auront
> Qu'vn pesant faix entre les mains[1]—

and refused consistently to consider the opinions of 'le vulgaire,' which category included all, princes and pedants alike, who were uninstructed or who were uninterested in the Pléiade cause of intellectual progress. Mulcaster also recognised the restriction of appeal: 'In the force of words...there are to be considered *commonesse* for euery man, *beawtie* for the learned, *brauerie* to rauish, *borowing* to enlarge our natural speche, and readiest deliuerie[2].' Beauty is for such as can appreciate it, and it is the duty of the reader to take pains to understand. 'And therefor if anie reader find falt with anie word, which is not sutable to his ear, bycause it is not he, for whom that word serues, let him mark his own, which he knoweth, and make much of the other, which is worthie his knowing. Know you not som words? Why? no maruell. It is a metaphor, a learned translation, remoued from where it is proper, into som such place where it is more properly vsed, and most significant to, if it be well vnderstood: take pains to know it, you haue of whom to learn... Is it a stranger? but no Turk. And tho it were an enemies word, yet good is worth the getting, tho it be from your fo, as well by speche of writers, as by spoill of soldiers...He hath skill in language, whether learned and old, or liked and new, will not wonder at words which he knoweth whence theie ar, neither maruell at a conceit quickly deliuered, the like whereof he meteth oft abrode[3].' 'He must take acquaintance and make the thing familiar if it seme to be strange. For all strange things seme great nouelties, and hard of entertainment at their first arriuall, till theie be acquainted: but after acquaintance they be verie familiar, and easie to entreat. And words likewise, which either conueie

[1] Prefixed to *La Franciade*.
[2] *Elementarie*, p. 268.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 268–269.

strange matters, or be strangers themselues, either in name or in vse, be no wilde beasts, tho theie be vnwont, neither is a term a *Tiger* to proue untractable. Familiaritie and acquaintance will cause facilitie, both in matter and in words[1].' Here Mulcaster lays a duty on the reader, on all 'which know the *Latin* tung better then our own, bycause we pore vpon it, and neuer mark our own[2]': and to the writer he counsels freedom and boldness, claiming that it is for him to lead. Like Ronsard, Mulcaster knew the weakness of his mother tongue, and the difficulties to which its poverty led: 'For when the mind is fraught with matter to deliuer, it is still in pain vntill it haue deliuered, and therefore to haue the deliuerie such, as maie discharge the thing well, and content all parties... it seketh both home helps, where theie be sufficient, and significant, and where the own home yeildeth nothing at all, or not pithie enough, it craueth help of that tung, from whence it receiued the matter of deliuerie.' Like Du Bellay, he acclaims 'the conquering mind, such as he must haue, which either sekes himself, or is desirous to se his cuntrie tung enlarged, and the same made the instrument of all his knowledge, as it is of his needs'—the mind that will aid the English tongue by the invention and usage of 'the latest terms which it boroweth dailie from foren tungs, either of pure necessitie in new matters, or of mere brauerie, to garnish itself withal.'

Spenser, then, was educated under a principal master who held views on the nature of language and on the necessity for labour, freedom, and boldness in the improvement of the mother tongue which were in sharp conflict with those of the most famous English educationists of his day, and which were those identified with the Pléiade, and especially with the *Deffence et Illustration* of Du Bellay. It was under this tutelage that he translated the *Songe ou Vision* from Du Bellay's *Antiquitez de Rome*, published in van der Noodt's *Theatre* and afterwards acknowledged. The inference that thus early he became acquainted with the prose as well as with the poetical work of Du Bellay is at least possible.

W. L. RENWICK.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

SPENSER AND THE PLÉIADE.

I am indebted to Professor John W. Draper of Bryn Mawr for the reference to an article by J. B. Fletcher on 'Areopagus and Pléiade' in the American *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. II (1898). In this

[1] P. 263.
[2] P. 265. Cf. E. K. in Gregory Smith, Vol. I, p. 130, l. 17.

article, which was unknown to me when I wrote the essay on *The Critical Origins of Spenser's Diction*, published in the January number of this *Review*, Fletcher traces the parallel between the theories of du Bellay and Ronsard and those of Spenser and Sidney, with results similar to mine, though differently oriented. The only references given in my article were such as saved discussion on points which I considered to be adequately dealt with in accessible publications, but this reference to a predecessor would certainly have been given had I known of it at the time.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE. W. L. RENWICK.

'THE FIGHT AT FINSBURG.'

In the *Modern Language Review* of January, 1921 (XVI, pp. 59 ff.), Dr Sedgefield has published a number of suggested emendations in Old English poetical texts. The first two, which refer to *The Fight at Finsburg*, seem to me particularly open to criticism.

l. 35: Hickes, *ymb hine godra fæla hwearflacra hrær*. Several emendations of *hwearflacra hrær* have been put forward, of which Grundtvig's (not Grein's) *hwearflicra hrǣw* is closest to the original reading. Dr Sedgefield is mistaken in saying that *hwearflic* does not occur elsewhere. It is found, in the form *hwerflic*, in Alfred's translation of Boethius, XI, 1, *Hū hwerflice ðas woruldsǣlþa sint*, 'How fleeting are these worldly blessings.' Grundtvig's emendation gives good sense if we translate, 'Around him (fell) many good men, (around him fell) the corpses of mortals.' Dr Sedgefield's *hrēas wlancra hrǣw* is not only more distant from the original, but seems to contain a plural subject and a singular verb.

l. 40: Hickes, *ne nefre swa noc hwitne medo sel forgyldan*. Dr Sedgefield thinks that *swa noc* should simply be omitted as a printer's error, and adds that this omission would also correct the metre (type B), quite overlooking the fact that in correcting the metre he has dispensed with alliteration. In an article upon *The Fight at Finsburg* published in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* (XVI, pp. 250 ff.), I pointed out that Grein's emendation of *swa noc* to *swānas* would, if accepted, imply a comparatively late date for the poem, but at the same time tried to show that the text of the poem contained no indication that it was an early composition. If *swānas* be rejected, I doubt whether we can improve upon Trautmann's theory that *swa noc* and *hwitne* represent two attempts by a scribe to decipher *swetne* in his original.

CAPE TOWN. W. S. MACKIE.

A Note on 'The Seven Sages of Rome.'

Apropos of Mr E. H. Tuttle's comments on my edition of the *Seven Sages* in the *M. L. R.* of April, 1921 (pp. 166 f.), I wish to say that Mr Tuttle is entitled to my thanks for pointing out certain additions that should be made to my list of *ā*-rhymes in the Cotton manuscript of the *Seven Sages* (on which my text is based), but he is mistaken, I believe, in his proposed emendation of *þat* to *hat* (='called') in lines 1302 and 2345:

> 'Dame,' he said, 'what was he þat?'
>
> And þou wil make him þat þine a[y]re.

Mr Tuttle overlooks the fact that the form of the perfect participle of *hight* (whether with the meaning of 'be called' or of 'promise') in the Cotton MS. is not *hat*, but *hight* or *hyght* (see ll. 2160, 1736, 1744, 4005, 4023). He also fails to take account of the evidence afforded by the nearly related MSS., which is wholly against his suggestion. The Auchinleck, Balliol, and Egerton MSS., respectively, present the following readings paralleling l. 1302 of the Cotton MS.:

> O, dame, who might that be?
>
> Who was he that dide suche a dede?
>
> Dame, telle me nowe hardily
> Hoo dyde hys fadyr suche vylonye?

while the Auchinleck, Arundel, and Egerton MSS.[1], respectively, exhibit the following readings closely paralleling l. 2345:

> And desire to make thin air.
>
> And desiren to make þyne eyere.
>
> And þu desyrest thyne ayre to make.

It is proper to add that the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (E. E. T. S., Ex. S., CII, column 216) cites 'Hee, or hee that' as equivalent to 'ille aut ipse[2],' which would seem, if its testimony may be relied on, to validate the troublesome constructions (*he þat, him þat*) in both the lines in question.

Killis Campbell.

Austin, Texas, U.S.A.

Sir Gawain's Coat of Arms.

(*M. L. R.*, xv, p. 77.)

In the above note I quoted O'Kearney's article 'Folk Lore' as an authority. The resources of the Modern Humanities Research Associa-

[1] The Auchinleck MS. is older than the Cotton MS., while the Arundel, Egerton, and Balliol MSS. are all later than the Cotton MS.

[2] This citation was first brought to my attention by an anonymous reviewer of my edition of the *Seven Sages* in the *Athenæum* for May 4, 1907, p. 536.

tion have however lately procured me a loan of a transcript of the story referred to by O'Kearney, and an opinion from Professor O'Rahilly of Dublin who very kindly warns me against O'Kearney as a forger of prophecies, etc. Certainly the transcript shows no such gloss, and three at least of the MSS. date no further back than the eighteenth century.

I. JACKSON.

GREENOCK.

NOTES ON PEELE.

Edward I.

Sc. II, ll. 234, 235 Bullen: ll. 537, 538 Malone.

'Then shall Brute be born a new
And Wales record their auncient hew.'

'Record' should perhaps be 'recure' (cp. l. 150 Malone, and Spenser, *Fowre Hymnes* I, 298, where it clearly = 'recover.' See also *N.E.D.*).

Sc. X, l. 18 Bullen: l. 1597 Malone.

Stage-direction: 'attended by Mary, Dutches of Lancaster.'

Mr Bullen quotes P. A. Daniel, who, remarking that neither of the two wives of Lancaster was named Mary, says 'I suspect that "Mary, Duchess of Lancaster" is a corruption of "Mary Mayoress of London"; she is the nurse and her name is Mary' (see l. 2343).

If Daniel is right in thinking that the Mayoress is present as the nurse in this scene (which is not very clear to me), an easier emendation would be: 'attended by Maris, Dutches of Lancaster' &c. The form 'Maris' (see ll. 2311, 2316 &c.) might naturally be corrupted to 'Marie' or 'Mary.'

Sc. XII, l. 155 Bullen: l. 2061 Malone.

'I must lope his Longshankes, for ile eare to a paire of Longshankes.'

Bullen: ''fore I'll ear' &c., adding 'This word [ear] cannot be right.' Dr Nicholson proposes 'lower.'

May not 'ear' = 'heir,' and be here used as a verb: 'before I'll heir to' (= 'be indebted to')? See *N.E.D.*

Sc. XIII, l. 102 Bullen: l. 2251 Malone.

'Perswaded.'

Dyce and Bullen accept Collier's 'Prepared.' Query, 'Resolued.'

Battle of Alcazar.

I, Prol. 14 Bullen: l. 17 Malone.

'Abdallas dies, and deisnes this tyrant king.'

Dyce's correction 'leaves' for 'deisnes' is accepted by Bullen. Query, 'reignes.'

III, iii, l. 6 Bullen: l. 517 Malone.

> 'Fight earth-quakes in the intrailes of the earth,
> And Easterne whirl-windes in the hellish shades.'

'Eastern' seems unmeaning. Query, 'loosen.'

Jonson, ridiculing the passage in *Poetaster* III, 4 has 'eastern': but he naturally follows Peele's printed text.

ibid. l. 25 Bullen: l. 536 Malone.

> 'Yet patience Lord to conquere sorrowes so.'

Bullen: 'Qy. "to conquer sorrowes owe" ("own patience—have patience—to conquer sorrows").'

In Malone's copy in the Bodleian Library 'so' is corrected to 'serves.' Query, 'Yet patience, Lord: you conquer sorrows so.'

ibid. l. 38 Bullen: l. 549 Malone.

> 'I will go hunt these cursed solitaries.'

Bullen, following Dyce, takes 'solitaries' as = 'deserts.' Query, read 'those' for 'these' and interpret 'solitaries' of the 'lyons and vntamed beasts,' of the desert. Cp. l. 594: [the lioness] 'rangde throrough the woodes, and rent the breeding vaultes | of proudest sauages.'

ibid. l. 58 Bullen: l. 570 Malone.

> 'He can submit himselfe, and liue below.'

Bullen suggests 'dive below.' But may not 'live below' = 'live in subserviency'?

ibid. ll. 120, 121 Bullen: ll. 746, 747 Malone.

These lines seem to be out of place. They may perhaps find a place after l. 132 Bullen, l. 759 Malone, with the slight change of 'Ay' for 'And':

> 'Ay, even in Spain, where all the traitors dance,
> And play themselves upon a summer's day.'

For 'play themselves' see *N.E.D.* 'play' *vb.* (reflexive) II, 11*a*.

III, i, l. 35 Bullen: l. 857 Malone.

> 'The offer of the holdes he makes.'

Bullen says 'There has been no mention of any "holds".' But there has been an offer to resign 'the Islands of Moluccus.' Why should not they be referred to as 'holds'? If they are not, the offer is passed over without a word.

IV, ii, l. 74 Bullen: l. 1231 Malone.

'Fiends, Fairies, hags that fight in beds of steele.'

Query, for 'beds,' 'weeds.'

Old Wives Tale.

l. 58. 'Open door, Madge; take in guests.'

(No stop after 'dore' or 'Madge' in the quarto.) There is an intransitive use of 'take in' = 'go in,' 'put in,' 'enter.' The *N.E.D.* has no earlier example than H. L'Estrange, 1654: 'Taking in at a Cooks shop where he supt.' I think however this is the use here. It seems to me that Madge would not be told to 'take in guests,' and that, on the other hand, the two directions 'Open the door, Madge: step in, guests' are extremely natural.

David and Bethsabe.

Sc. II, l. 73. 'And scaled [skaled, Q] where the royal palace is.'

Bullen: 'Qy. "sealed".'

But 'scaled' must be right: cp. II, 24 and III, 189.

Sc. III, l. 83. Bullen alters 'sit' to 'rife.' But with a different punctuation 'sit' may be kept:

'Whither, alas, ah whither shall I fly,
With folded arms and all amazed soul,
Cast as was Eva from that glorious soil
Where all delights sat bating, winged with thoughts,
Ready to nestle in her naked breasts?
To bare and barren vales with floods made waste,
To desert woods, and hills with lightning scorched?
With death, with shame, with hell, with horror sit?'

ibid. ll. 92–96.

'Rend hair and garments...
And scatter them by these unhallowed doors,
To figure Amnon's resting cruelty
And tragic spoil of Thamar's chastity.'

Bullen's note on 'resting': 'There seems to be some corruption here; but "resting" may be used in the sense of "lasting" (Qy. "wresting"?).'

Read rather 'rifling' and cp. *Rape of Lucrece*, l. 692: 'Pure Chastity is rifled of her store,' and l. 1050, 'Of that true type hath Tarquin rifled me.' The confusion of 'f' and long 's' is of course common.

ibid. l. 152. 'then grant, my lord the king,
Himself with all his other lords would come....'

This is Bullen's punctuation. But 'my lord the king' is not vocative, but nominative. There are no commas in the Q.

ibid. l. 241. 'Till Joab triumph in my secret vows.'

Bullen's note: 'The words "my secret vows" are to me unintelligible. Were it not that a rhyme seems to be required for "house," I would read "in thy sacred cause".'

It seems to me that the text may mean: 'Till Joab triumph in the accomplishment of my secret vows,' i.e. in the victory I have prayed for.

Cp. Sc. VIII, ll. 46–48:

'Jacobs righteous God,
That promised never to forsake your throne,
Will still be just and pure in his vows'

(i.e. in fulfilling his promises), and l. 51:

'I know my God is spotless in his vows.'

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

SHEFFIELD.

'HENRY V.' ACT II, CHORUS, LL. 41–2.

But till the King come forth, and not till then,
Vnto Southampton do we shift our Scene.

In his very kind review of my pamphlet (*M.L.R.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 339, 340), Mr Pollard regards this 'incredibly lame couplet' as 'an addition to explain the insertion of two London scenes in an Act which the rest of the Prologue places wholly in Southampton.' It is probable that the couplet was added to explain that the first scene of the Act was laid in London, but it does not follow that 'there must have been an earlier version of the play to correspond with the Prologue in its original form.' We must consider the subject-matter of the Choruses. They deal with the heroic episodes of the play and circle round the figure of Henry, glorifying him to the almost entire exclusion of the other characters. They ignore the scenes of low comedy. Naturally. You cannot celebrate the deeds of Bardolph or of Pistol with a Muse of Fire. The Chorus to Act II was written to set forth the heroic incidents of that Act, and like all the other Choruses it passes over the low comedy scenes in silence. As it happens, the Act begins with one of these scenes laid in London, while the events referred to in the Chorus begin at Southampton. It is very probable that the lame couplet was added

in order to explain that we are not to think ourselves at Southampton until the King appears. It was the best way out of the difficulty. A rearrangement of the scenes in the Act was impossible for technical reasons, which it would take too long to discuss here. Besides, it would still have been necessary to add something to the Chorus to explain the presence of Pistol and his friends in London, so it was simpler to leave the Act as it was.

In any case we must not suppose that because the Choruses ignore scenes of comedy that there was a form of the play in which these scenes did not appear. The earliest version we know, the *Famous Victories*, has them, and the latest version, the Folio *Henry V*, still contains them, full of suggestions from the *Famous Victories*. The conclusion is irresistible that any intermediate version must have had them too. They are not mentioned in the Choruses for the simple reason that it was impossible to do so without sinking from the sublime to the ridiculous.

H. T. PRICE.

'RAS' IN 'LE MYSTÈRE D'ADAM,' 482.

Mr I. N. Raamsdonk may have been right in tracing this word to L. *rasus* (in *M. L. R.*, XVI, pp. 325–329), but the translation '*tête?*' given by Godefroy is *not* that of Palustre, whom Godefroy merely names as the editor of the text he cites. Somewhat strangely, both Mr Raamsdonk and Professor Studer seem to have omitted to consult Palustre's edition for this line. That editor in fact gives 'RAS: *radius*, dard, aiguillon' in his 'glossaire,' and renders lines 481 f. in his modern F. version:

> Tu chercheras à la piquer au talon,
> *Mais elle t'arrachera le dard;*
> Elle te frappera la tête d'un marteau tellement lourd,
> Qu'il te fera un mal épouvantable.

Thus Palustre in 1877 actually arrived at the interpretation suggested by Professor Studer at p. 53 of his recent edition. *Quandoque dormitat editor optimus!*

Godefroy's tentative 'tête?' clearly suggests the Arabic word *râs* as the source of *ras* in l. 482. My colleague, Mr E. G. R. Waters, would read '*Cele t'escachera le ras*,' i.e. 'she shall crush thy head': the repetition of almost the same idea in the next two lines (to which he was the first to direct my serious attention) does not seem to him fatal, and he believes Greban's line 'et t'espyra de l'esguillion' can scarcely mean

anything but 'and shall lie in wait for thee with the dart.' (The 'souvent' of the next line in fact seems to make Professor Studer's rendering of Greban's line highly improbable.) Personally I see no serious objection to the rendering 'she shall crush thy head,' but it is not the only possible rendering, even if *ras* be derived from the Arabic word; and it would seem possible to preserve both the version of Palustre (and Studer) and the etymology suggested by Godefroy's rendering 'tête,' as I hope to show.

Arabic *râs* means 'head,' but it also means numerous other things. *Origine, chapiteau* (of an alembic), *pièce* (= Stück), *proue, source, tête* may be paralleled by *extremitas vaginae ensis, fin, bout, base* and *balanus* (cf. the *Dictt.* of Freytag and Dozy; other exx. in Lane). In the vocabulary to the little book on *The Spoken Arabic of Mesopotamia* by Mr John van Ess (Oxford, 1918) we read 'POINT: n. (sharp end) râs.' The word also occurs in the Arabic terms for hawthorn (*spina alba*), and for the summit (vertex) of a mountain or the top of a tower: 'fastigium, pinnaculum, culmen' are some equivalents given by Cañes (*Dicc. Espānol-lat.-arab.*, Madrid, 1787). G. Baist (in *Roman. Forsch.* IV, p. 415) discusses *ras, ras-al-air* and *rezmilla del genital miembro* and concludes 'auf jeden Fall ist *rez* = *râs*.' He takes it here as 'caput,' but it might equally mean 'end,' one would suppose. Our Elizabethan Thomas Cooper (*Thesaurus*, 1575) renders *balanus* 'a man's yarde,' with which we may compare M. H. G. *gart* (= 'Stachel,' 'stimulus,' 'aculeus'), found in the Biblical phrase 'wider dem garte streben.' The original sense of *gart* seems to be 'pointed rod' or 'goad,' for it corresponds to L. *hasta*, Gothic *gazds*. The Celtic counterpart *gas* might conceivably have originally stood in our line and later been supplanted by *ras*. Or the latter might be from O. N. *rass* (also *ars* = 'fundamentum'); the corresponding O. Ir. *err* has the sense of 'tail, end, point.' But to establish direct connection with one of these or with O. H. G. *râzî*, 'sharpness' (cf. Breton *raza* = 'raser'?), would hardly be easy, although the M. H. G. line in a riddle about the tongue, 'er ist snabelræzer dann ein vipernâter müge sîn,' seems to be apposite, and *râzî*, like *raza*, would lead us back to L. *rado* according to Walde.

To return to the Arabic derivation, we might also take *ras* in the *Mystère d'Adam* as meaning the same as mod. French *race* ('race,' 'family,' 'lineage'). This is said to be derived from Ital. *razza*, which is the same as Sp. *raza*. The latter, G. Baist pointed out (*loc. cit.*), is the 'dem Geschlecht zu Lieb erweiterte' word *raz* (= *ras*). Thus we should possibly be justified in translating 'she shall destroy thy seed.' (The

other Ital. word *razza*, 'ray, thornback,' etc. presumably derives from * *L. rādiū*, see Walde s.v. *raia*.)

The word *ras* is not quite a *hapax legomenon* in O.F., if derived from Arabic. In the Provençal Mystère on the *Assentio de Nostre Senhor Jesu Christ*, published by M. A. Thomas in *Annales du Midi*, II, pp. 414-416, it occurs in the last line of the following jargon spoken by 'l'autre de Arabés':

Zodich, zodich taffh
Alpha bita dama omegua
Thau yspilon delta
Ras nom Zima thaffa.

The middle lines are, as M. Thomas says all four are, composed of 'les noms plus ou moins corrects de quelques lettres grecques.' But the first and fourth lines sound more like Arabic, and 'Ras' seems to be a compound of the Arabic and Hebrew names of R.

In Gen. iii. 15, the Hebrew for 'head' is *râsh* [ro:ʃ] and in our passage there might be a confusion with the Hebrew word *rôsh*, translated in our Bible by 'gall,' 'poison,' etc., but actually some poisonous bitter herb'. Israel Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 369, reminds us that 'some of the oldest French extant is to be found in the glosses of Rashi,' the famous French Rabbi of the eleventh century, and perhaps these might throw some light on our problem. A collation of all the Romance versions and paraphrases of Gen. iii. 15 might be still more helpful. In Giovanni Diodati's Italian the verse runs: 'Ed io metterò inimicizia fra te e la donna; e fra la tua progenie e la progenie di essa; essa progenie ti triterà il capo, e tu le ferirai il calcagno.' Perhaps this lends a little support to the idea of rendering *ras* by 'seed' (*semen* in the Vulgate); but more naturally one would equate it with 'il capo.' At present the evidence is hardly decisive; one may render *ras* as well by 'head,' 'sting' or 'seed' without abandoning the derivation from the Arabic *rás*.

M. MONTGOMERY.

CANADA.

* Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, p. 1257 a.

REVIEWS.

Poetic Origins and the Ballad. By LOUISE POUND. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1921. 8vo. x + 247 pp. 13*s.*

Few problems of medieval literature have aroused such general interest as that of the origin and history of the ballad. There have been wide divergences of opinion, the extremes being represented on the one hand by the late Professor Gummere who, carrying on the tradition of early romantic criticism, believed in their 'popular' origin in the widest and fullest sense, and on the other by Mr T. F. Henderson, who insists on the importance of the literary affinities of the ballad and will have nothing to do with the origin of the ballad by 'spontaneous generation.'

To this controversy Professor Pound makes an important contribution. In a series of incisive, pointed and well informed chapters she endeavours to demolish one by one the main positions of the romantic critics, while in another chapter she advances in highly tentative fashion her own views as to the literary history of the ballad.

During the last fifty years or so of ballad study appeal has often been made by the defenders of the 'popular' position to the evidence of folklore and anthropology. Miss Pound takes up the challenge and in her first chapter she shows how slender, indeed how shadowy, is the evidence for any such thing as communal authorship and what entirely different conclusions must be drawn from recent work upon early songs among the various Indian peoples. Here we must largely agree with her. She is a good deal less happy when in Chapter VI she deals with the way in which indigenous Ballads and Songs, especially cowboy songs, have been quoted as furnishing an exact literary parallel in their conditions of origin etc. to the medieval ballad. If we grant the parallelism of conditions, so injudiciously urged by some of the supporters of the 'romantic' position, it is clear that Miss Pound has an excellent opening for showing how bad poetry produced under such conditions can be. But the truth is, that the cowboy parallel ought never to have been drawn. The cowboys' songs may to some extent have been produced under communal conditions, but their whole manner of expression is not that of primitive unspoiled people but of persons whose speech is highly sophisticated, showing both in style and expression a distorted reflexion of literary forms derived from some of the least satisfactory types of modern literature.

Chapter II clears away a good deal of the misunderstandings which have arisen from the fact that modern literary historians after labelling a certain definite type of poetry, in rather arbitrary fashion, as 'ballad

poetry,' proceeded by a fatal etymological reasoning to assume that these 'ballads' must have taken their rise in the choral dance because the word *ballad* ultimately derives from L.L. *ballare* to dance, overlooking the fact that their 'ballad' is an entirely different thing from the *ballade* as first so named in France.

After this one feels that one must begin to join issue with Professor Pound. In Chapters III, IV and V she attempts to demolish the commonly accepted positions that the ballad is the work of the unlettered for the illiterate, that the ballad is 'popular' in its appeal, if not 'popular' in its origin, that the ballad has certain definite and uniform features of style, such as incremental repetition. She endeavours on the other hand to establish certain new positions, notably that there are close and hitherto largely unsuspected affiliations between the ballad and the carol, that the religious ballads are the oldest, and that the clerics had a large hand in moulding our ballad literature.

One cannot discuss these points at length, but one must point out that the author's conclusions seem largely to be based on a faulty interpretation of the evidence. Dr Pound exposes with some measure of justice the way in which the 'romantic' critics have built up their views of ballad history by assuming, without any critical weighing of evidence, that all good ballads must be old and all indifferent ones late. She then proceeds to expound her own views, largely on the basis of the dates of the MS. survival of the ballads. Nothing could be more misleading. The number of ballads that have survived in MS. form earlier than 1600 is so small that no safe conclusions as to priority of composition can be drawn. It is clear that the whole process of ballad survival must have been even more a matter of chance than that of medieval literature generally. It is quite unsafe to argue that survival in a late MS., still less survival in late oral form, means late composition.

How unsafe it is Dr Pound herself shows, for, following her own line of argument, she notes that most of the early MS. survivals are religious ballads, assumes therefore that these must be the earliest ballads, and is lured on to the very hazardous suggestion that the clerics were largely responsible for the creation of the ballad type. Surely, quite apart from the inherent improbability of her conclusions, the evidence has been entirely misread. Religious ballads have survived in early MS. form just because they were the work of clerics. They alone were fully and readily competent to commit them to writing. Their less educated rivals had largely to be content with oral transmission.

Much is made of the fact that ballads show a fondness for stories of high-born lords and ladies, court-trappings and the like, and all this is advanced in favour of a non-popular origin. One might contest the facts, but even admitting them true, do they prove aristocratic or learned origin? Surely unlettered people in all ages, like children, have liked to hear stories of those who are materially or socially better off than themselves, and to sing of courts and nobles does not necessarily mean that the singer or his audience must themselves belong to such circles, though they may well be familiar with them. Here and else-

where in the book a good many of the arguments are merely specious. To argue that because Mrs Brown of Falkland (to whom we owe many traditional ballads) was a daughter of a professor and the wife of a minister, we must not therefore regard her as the spokesman of a humble and homogeneous society, and to go on to suggest that if we claim that ballads are the work of the illiterate we must cut out from the corpus of English balladry those ballads for which she stands as an authority, is more ingenious than convincing. Mrs Brown herself heard the ballads from her mother and an old maidservant, so that their preservation was by no means due to the literate alone, and no inference as to the literary or popular origin of a ballad can be drawn from the fact that at a certain stage in its history it was learned and recited by a lady of birth and education.

The whole book is stimulating and provocative. It suffers, as the author herself admits, from being built up out of a series of separate and somewhat polemical essays. It is mainly and avowedly destructive in its criticism. On the constructive side it fails to produce conviction and the author herself seems not to have much confidence in her own theories on their constructive side.

ALLEN MAWER.

LIVERPOOL.

Exameron Anglice or The Old English Hexameron. By S. J. CRAWFORD. (*Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa,* X. Band.) Hamburg: Henri Grand. 1921.

In this volume Mr Crawford has adapted to the form of the *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa* his dissertation presented at Oxford in 1912 for the degree of Bachelor of Letters.

The Introduction describes the six MSS. of the *Exameron Anglice,* gives handy lists of their less usual forms and spellings, and presents the evidence for Aelfric's authorship in overwhelming completeness. A careful study of the Latin sources leads to the conclusion that, in addition to the Bible, Aelfric draws on the works of 'Beda, Gregory, Isidore, Alcuin, Augustine and probably Basil and Ambrose.' This disposes finally of the old title *Hexameron of St Basil* which, despite Wanley's censure (*vulgo sed perperam* S. Basilio *Cæsariensi tributum,* Catalogue, p. 90), still appears in the editions by H. W. Norman, London, 1848 and 1849. In this part of the work the editor has not been well served by his printer.

The Bodleian MS. Hatton 115 (*circa* 1075) provides the text. Its few errors are allowed to stand, but they are easily corrected by reference to the footnotes, where the variants of all other MSS. are minutely recorded. The *Exameron* is a good specimen of alliterative prose, a form which was probably adopted to make easier the memorising of sermons. The arrangement of the text in rhythmical long lines is a real help to the reader; though in a few places, e.g. ll. 18 f., 79 f., 537–9, the editor's division

is not convincing. One passage with the accompanying translation is worth quoting in full, because, above all others, it calls for reconsideration:

250 Da fugelas soðlice ðe on flodum wuniaþ
syndon flaxfote (*holuofete*) be Godes foresceawunge,
ðæt hi swimman magon *and* secan him fodan.
Sume beoð langsweorede, swa swa swanas
and ylfettan, ðæt hi aræcan him magon
255 mete be ðam grunde, *and* ða ðe be flæsc(*h*)e lybbaþ
syndon clyferfete *and* scearpe gebilode
ðæt hi bítan magon on sceortum swuran
and swyftra(*e*)n on flihte ðæt hi gelimplice beon
259 to heora lifes tilungum.

'The birds, indeed, that dwell in the waters are webfooted by God's providence, so that they may be able to swim and seek food for themselves.

Some are long-necked, like swans and cygnets, that they may reach their food upon the ground. And those that live on flesh are cloven-footed and sharp-billed that they may bite with short necks and (they are) swifter in flight, that they may be suited to the occupations of their life.'

First, in ll. 254-9 there is no alliteration; the middle pause is not marked; and while l. 253ᵇ is short, containing but one stress, l. 259 lacks a hemistich. If *and ylfettan* be taken up to complete l. 253ᵇ, the whole passage falls into alliterating long lines ending at *ylfettan, grunde, clyferfete, magon, flihte, tilungum.*

Next the punctuation is faulty: a full point after *fodan* divides two classes of water-birds, while only a comma (after *grunde*) marks the transition to birds of prey; nor is there anything in text or translation to show how the editor takes *on sceortum swuran*. Again, (*holuofete*), which represents a gloss by one of the hands that worked over so many Worcester MSS. about the beginning of the thirteenth century, should be read *holufete*, (note that another oddity—*andan* recorded as a late English gloss to *[illegible]* at l. 309—stands in the MS. over the preceding *[illegible]*, and is Latin *audax*). In the translation, 'cygnets' for *ylfettan* is hardly possible in the context; *grunde* should be rendered 'bottom', and if there is some incongruity in speaking of the 'occupations' of birds, 'cloven-footed' is still less happy: *clyferfete* means 'claw-footed', 'furnished with talons'. This is not a fair specimen of the editorial work which is generally unassuming, businesslike and sane. Anyone who realises the difficulty of completing in India a research that demands constant reference to MSS. and rare books, will not be inclined to stress faults of detail, but will welcome the volume as a sign of enthusiasm for the subject maintained in a land which hitherto has not contributed to Old English studies.

K. Sisam

London

Neue Anglistische Arbeiten. Herausgegeben von L. L. SCHÜCKING und MAX DEUTSCHBEIN. Cöthen: Otto Schulze. I. *Ophelia, Die Entstehung der Gestalt und ihre Deutung.* Von GERTRUD LANDSBERG. 1918. xii + 92 pp. III. *Shakespeares Abhängigkeit von John Marston.* Von FRIEDRICH RADEBRECHT. 1918. xiv + 122 pp. IV. *Draytons Anteil an Heinrich VI, 2. und 3. Teil.* Von ELSE VON SCHAUBERT. 1920. xvi + 219 pp.

Although belatedly, we welcome with unfeigned pleasure the inauguration of Schücking and Deutschbein's *Arbeiten.* The series brings back to us the authentic voice of German scholarship before the deluge; and in it the old familiar qualities are all finely preserved. Here are the same thoroughness of method, exactitude in detail and tirelessness in accumulation; here also occasionally is something of the dangers of the system just as of old, an absolute trust in what is after all but an empirical method, and a blindness to some of its most amusing consequences. Fortunately, only one of the three treatises is largely affected by these traits.

Thus, Dr von Schaubert's object is to prove that Drayton was Shakespeare's collaborator in the second and third Parts of *Henry VI.* Her criteria are 'Stilkriterien, Parallelstellen, Wortgebung,' etc.; and never for a moment does she suspect that the value of these criteria is perhaps a little less than absolute. Indeed, in a subsidiary argument, she tells us that 'die Tatsache, dass solche Parallelen vorhanden sind, konnte an sich unbedingt für S. als Verfasser sprechen.' In this spirit, she accumulates every particle of available evidence. But in fact, in the decision of what constitutes a stylistic parallel, mere observation must be guided by a power of judgment trained in the artistic usages of the nation and the period. There is no evidence whatever that Dr von Schaubert possesses this power. For instance the following are some of her 'parallels': 'Cease, gentle queen, these execrations' and 'Cease, shepherd, cease: reserve etc.'; 'Their music frightful as the serpent's hiss' and 'Shreekes be the sweetest musicke thou canst heare'; 'If my suspect be false, forgive me, God' and 'Ah God, forgive me if I thinke amisse'; 'Sent from a sort of tinkers to the king' and 'A sort of swine unseasonably defile.' Further, both in Drayton and in *Henry VI* a dead body is called a 'breathless corpse': tears are described as 'liquid': hard hearts are labelled 'flinty': cliffs are said to have 'ragged sides.' And the assumption is that these descriptions are so astoundingly strange and unexpected that they presuppose one and the same author. Even admitting that the method followed must rely more on accumulative evidence than on one or two specific instances, what weight can conceivably be gained by the above instances?

It has seemed to us necessary to set out these obvious objections, because, relying solely on data of this sort, the author categorically concludes that Drayton wrote such and such parts of the play: and then warns us that in the course of the research it has become manifest that Drayton also wrote parts of *Richard III,* of *King John* and of *The*

Comedy of Errors, and that the precise delimitation of these parts is to be her next work. We trust that she will talk seriously with her teachers before embarking on her task.

Of much greater interest and value is Dr Landsberg's *Ophelia*. A book in which the tracing of Ophelia's dramatic genealogy and a reconstruction of the *Urhamlet* are followed by a striking and in many ways original characterisation of Ophelia herself is necessarily brimful of interest. Briefly, Dr Landsberg's thesis is as follows. Ophelia belongs to none of the types of womanhood favoured by the Elizabethan dramatists. In certain traits, however, a faint likeness to her is provided by the Lucibella of *The Tragedy of Hoffman*. But this *Hoffman*, as we know it in Chettle's version, is in fact an anachronism, and is argued to be but a *rifacimento* by Chettle of a play which would appropriately have appeared *circa* 1588–89. And it was this old play which gave to Kyd precisely those hints which enabled him to vary and improve on his Bellimperia in the figure of the Ophelia he introduced in his *Hamlet*. To condense the argument baldly in this fashion is perhaps not fair to Dr Landsberg: it may give the impression that her thesis is based on nothing but the boldest assumptions. But in fact the most obvious assumptions implied in the bare synopsis—e.g. that *Hoffman* is a revision, that in its original form it influenced Kyd, that such and such qualities are to be found in the *Urhamlet*—are propositions to justify which the authoress advances a mass of cogent and frequently impressive evidence and argument. On the other hand, she is somewhat too prone to the assumption that in imaginative creation, imitation, in the neo-classic sense, plays a much larger part than invention. That, for instance, explains why in a book of 90 pages on Ophelia, *Hoffman* occupies 40 pages; and yet at the end of 40, we cannot but ask, 'Is Lucibella really needed as a model of the Ophelia of the *Urhamlet*?' Indeed, with unconscious naivety, the authoress puts the very question herself (pp. 57–58). Nevertheless, we agree that on other grounds it would have been a pity to have omitted the 40 pages. And only rarely does Dr Landsberg succumb to the crasser evils of her assumption: *Wortgebung* and *Parallelstellen* do not haunt her, although the record (p. 27) that Venus is named in each of two plays (in love-scenes, too, let us add) arouses fears which happily do not mature.

The main value of Dr Landsberg's book lies in the interpretation of Ophelia suggested by her origins, and more particularly, in the light thrown by them on the relation of Hamlet and Ophelia, both in Kyd's *Hamlet* and in ours. This is material of which all future interpreters of *Hamlet* will have to take note. We append one or two minor observations. P. 71: is not the spiritual credit of Polonius rated a little too high? P. 20: the comment anent Gascoigne's *Jocasta*, 'das Thema kam über Seneca von Euripides' is not accurate. *Ibid.*: the Tereus mentioned had, like the other three linked with him, already appeared on the stage; he appears of course in the *Progne* tragedies, e.g. the lost Latin *Progne* of Calfhill, acted at Cambridge in 1564. (This adds a little weight to Dr Landsberg's suggestion that the unknown author of the

first *Hoffman* was a 'University wit.') Lastly, one would like to hear Dr Greg's opinion on the authoress's attractive suggestion (p. 31) that Henslowe's *Danishe Tragedy* may be (a miswriting) for *Dantzicke Tragedy*.

For definitive scholarly value, however, Dr Radebrecht's examination of the relationship between Marston's and Shakespeare's tragedies seems to us the best of the three volumes. The author has perhaps less critical acumen of the æsthetic sort than has Dr Landsberg: but he has more positive material on which to work, and so his results are more firmly founded. The similarities between Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* and Shakespeare's *Hamlet* have of course long been noted. But the exact bearing of these similarities has not before been adequately realised. Dr Radebrecht's enquiry into the problem has thrown considerable light on still more difficult and important questions. His thesis is really a consideration of the inter-relationship of Kyd's *Hamlet*, Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* and Quartos 1 and 2 of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. The new orientation (together, as in Dr Landsberg's treatise, with the use of *Der bestrafte Brudermord*) provides fresh hints for the reconstruction of the *Urhamlet*. Amid these exciting problems, the author moves deftly and, as a rule, warily. That Shakespeare definitely borrowed from Marston, he has conclusively proved: and his suggestions anent Kyd's *Hamlet* are both reasonable and probable. In the second part of his treatise, Dr Radebrecht is much less stimulating in tracing affinities between *The Malcontent*, *Lear* and *Othello*.

A few comments may be added on details. A fundamental question is the date of *Antonio's Revenge*. Our author places it, we think rightly, about the end of 1599: but twice in the course of his argument, he risks much. First, by ignorance of Professor Wallace's works on the Children's Companies. Secondly, by relying on Collier's edition of Henslowe: it so happens that the Maston (*sic*) entry is, unknown to Dr Radebrecht, a forgery, although luckily it is not of such sort as to invalidate his inference. The point is mentioned because all three authors under review quote from Henslowe, and only Dr Landsberg is acquainted with Dr Greg's, the only reliable, edition. Lastly, on page 10 Nixon appears as Nixton, and on page 29 'vier' appears unaccountably for 'zwei.'

We cannot close our notice of these *Arbeiten* without expressing our envy at the lot of their authors in finding an opening for publication in such an excellent and cheap form. Possibly editors and publishers are finding that they have a little overreached themselves, for whereas Nos. 1 and 3 are priced as low as 4 marks on their covers, an advertisement on the back of No. 4 announces the price of the earlier volumes as Mk. 5.00 and 6.60 respectively, and there is no indication of the charge for No. 4 itself. We sincerely hope, however, that the editors' excellent undertaking will not be seriously curtailed by lack of means.

H. B. CHARLTON.

MANCHESTER.

Die Dialektliteratur von Lancashire. Von KARL BRUNNER. Vienna: Verlag der Hochschule für Welthandel. 1920. 57 pp.

This booklet, including notes and index, but lacking a full bibliography, is a sketch of Lancashire dialect literature from the eighteenth century to the present day. It takes John Collier's *View of the Lancashire Dialect* (1746) as the fountain head of that tributary brook of English literature, and in seven short chapters the author gives biographical facts and short accounts of the works of most of the writers who have composed poems and stories in the dialect of Lancashire, ending with the *Hindle Wakes* of Stanley Houghton, acted first in 1912. Samuel Bamford, Edwin Waugh, and Ben Brierley receive, as they well deserve, greater observation than the stars of lesser magnitude.

As a sketch of the outlines of the history of the literature in the modern dialect of Lancashire it is an excellent little book. The author is familiar with most of the poetry, and with many of the novels and plays into which the dialect enters. He revels in biographical and bibliographical facts. That is one excellent result of his training under Professor Brandl. But he is singularly free from delight in the objects of his studies and curiously devoid of critical appreciation. That again is a defect for which he is not responsible; but it is a defect, and a mortal defect in a scholar who wishes his works to be read. Dr Brunner has made no attempt to write for English readers, who are surely, together with their brothers overseas and their cousins in America, the most [illegible] of all world-dwellers to be interested in this their own corner [illegible]. He writes as an impartial outsider, without enthusiasm. He [illegible] illustrates his subject with original specimens of the art which [illegible] and his book is the dictionary [illegible] what is the use of [illegible] who wants to know something of [illegible] literature. The little that he has to say [illegible] years and impressions of its life, but [illegible] His account of English [illegible] and this chapter [illegible] been expanded. [illegible] and dialect by Burns [illegible] Wells [illegible] as in literary [illegible]

[illegible] writers [illegible] of times [illegible] great [illegible] surpassed by [illegible] which [illegible] [illegible]

something elementally human in their aversion from the massed labour and sweated poverty of the factory town, and in their love of roses and children and honest work? At least one can truly say that, in leaving a permanent record of the dialect in the nineteenth century, they have made a valuable contribution to the history of the English tongue; but, unless their literary genius is greater than Dr Brunner seems to believe, the familiar quotation 'what Lancashire thinks to-day, England will think to-morrow' should be reversed in order to make it true.

Only a Lancashire man, himself a poet and critic, can ever do full justice to these realists of provincial life and speech, and although Dr Brunner does not appear to have been bred in Manchester, that is not his fault, and we cannot attach blame to him for lacking the qualities which a reader has a right to expect in a work of this kind. Dr Brunner has assembled an interesting collection of valuable facts about Lancashire authors, which the lovers of Lancashire dialect will prize as a contribution, an introduction, to the history of its literature.

G. H. COWLING.

LEEDS.

Manual of Modern Scots. By WILLIAM GRANT and JAMES MAIN DIXON. Cambridge: University Press. 1921. 8vo. xxii + 500 pp. 20*s*.

The idea of this work, more or less a pioneer of its kind, occurred to the second named of these authors who felt the need of such in his lectures on Scottish Literature in the University of Southern California.

The idea is not altogether new, for the ancient Indian writers in their study of Phonetics and phonetic symbols had as one of their motives the desire that no jot or tittle of their holy writings should perish. Not only in California but nearer home much of our Scottish literature is in danger of perishing. The schoolmaster—no blame to him—is in large measure responsible.

The main purpose of the manual is found in the third part, which consists of (1) a series of extracts from modern Scots writers and (2) a selection of ballads and songs, with the original spelling on one page and a strictly phonetic spelling, that of the Association Phonétique, on the opposite. The first part of the *Reader* represents not only Scottish authors of repute, Scott, Ramsay, Burns, Galt, etc., but also the most important Scottish dialects from the Shetland Isles to the Cheviot Hills and the Solway Firth. It cannot be claimed that all the works from which extracts are taken can rank as Scottish Classics, but the ballads and songs of the second part of the *Reader* (Part IV) have all won an abiding place in the Scottish heart. Being no longer merely local, they are reproduced phonetically in the Standard Scots dialect. This is descended from the Old Northumbrian dialect and is now represented over a wide area of Scotland in what the authors call the Lothian type of Scottish speech.

Part I treats of the Phonetics of the Scottish dialects and their sounds in a thoroughly scientific manner. The sound-charts and com-

parative tables of the sounds of Old English, of the Standard Scots dialect, and of Modern English as spoken by the best speakers in Scotland and in England, combined with the use made of them in exposition, afford a sound foundation for the scientific study of Scottish speech, past and present. The phonetic descriptions of the individual sounds are reliable, but it may be doubted whether the vowel described as *high-front-lax-lowered* is of such frequent occurrence as the texts suggest. The present writer is of opinion that the symbol for that sound is employed in many words where some variety of the *high-central* is the real sound used in the living speech. But perhaps this may be merely a matter of phonetic interpretation. The glottal stop receives attention. As stated in the *Manual* it is used along with or instead of *p, t, k*. It is also used occasionally with final *l* and *n*. It is probably the most objectionable, i.e. the most cacophonous, of the dialectal sounds and a word of warning might therefore have been given against its imitation.

In Part II the term Grammar is used in the widest sense and here we have what is probably the fullest and most scientific treatment to be found anywhere of the usages of Scottish speech in word and phrase. We note the omission of an idiom found on the East Coast: 'Here it,' 'There it,' for 'Here it is,' 'There it is.' The omission is a little surprising, for the same or a similar idiom occurs in one of the extracts when Wee Macgregor exclaims 'I like potty. Here a bit.' Further there is no mention of an idiom still sometimes heard in fishing communities, the Scandian use of 'at' with the infinitive. In the list of strong verbs it might have been noted that the verb 'to saw' (wood) has in certain parts of Scotland the same form as the past tense of the verb 'to saw' (to sow seed), namely sju (= syoo). These omissions are referred to not as shortcomings but merely as indications that in spite of the fulness of phonetic and grammatical treatment something still remains to be done in the field of dialectal research. The authors have shown how it is to be done.

Parts I and II have each an Index, full, and, so far as tested, accurate, and the *Reader* is provided with a glossary as complete and thorough as the rest of the work.

The book has been put through the press with the utmost care. In some 150 pages of phonetic print we have found only three or four misprints. There are one or two inconsistencies of statement or of pronunciation which may however be explained as dialectal varieties.

To teachers and students of Scottish literature the book is fitted to be of great help, especially to those who believe that we get nearer to an author's meaning in proportion as we approximate to his original pronunciation. It cannot perhaps be claimed that these phonetic transcripts enable this approach to be made perfectly (there is no attempt to mark intonation), but they do help us to realise more exactly and satisfactorily than any other spelling we have, how the auld Scots tongue was formerly and, in spite of the schoolmaster and the journalist, is still spoken in many parts of the country.

The writer remembers once hearing Robert Fergusson's poem 'Braid Claith' (pp. 340–1) recited in Fifeshire with the pronunciation 'brēd claith' where the vowel of 'brēd' *low-front-tense-long* (almost rhyming with that of 'bread') represents a stage of evolution intermediate between OE. 'brād' and modern 'braid.' The pronunciation, which was probably that of Fergusson's time, gave to the familiar poem a fulness of meaning it had never had before.

The aim of the book is to further the appreciation of Scots literature through the better understanding of the language in which it is enshrined. In view of the efforts of the Vernacular Circle Committee of the Burns Club of London to encourage by every means possible the use of the vernacular language oral and written, the question naturally arises: What would be the attitude of our authors to this proposal? The answer is found in a chapter all too short on 'The Intrusion of English into Scots' given as a preface to the *Reader*. They urge that Scots writers 'ought to know something of the history of their language and of its grammar in so far as it differs from Standard English.' There ought to be 'a systematic study of our old national speech and literature in our Schools and Colleges.' But they admit that 'the Scottish Language can never be national in the same sense as it was' before the Union of the Crowns.

To readers who are not acquainted with the spoken dialect but who can read phonetic texts the transcriptions in the third and fourth parts of the volume must give a new insight into, and a quickened appreciation of, the stories and ballads and songs of the 'north countree.'

The whole work does credit to its authors alike in conception, in scholarship, and in execution. The reliability of the phonetic texts, the fulness and accuracy of the linguistic and grammatical parts provide much to praise, nothing to censure, and only a few details for the expert to disagree with.

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R. JACKSON.

DUNDEE.

Three Studies in Shelley, and an Essay on Nature in Wordsworth and Meredith. By ARCHIBALD T. STRONG. Oxford: University Press. 1921. 8vo. 189 pp. 10*s.* 6*d.*

The Professor of English in Adelaide University deserves thanks for these four essays. His method is straightforward, he gives all his documents, he writes easily and with elegance, and he penetrates into the subject. The 'faith of Shelley' is hard to disentangle from its poetic expression and from the poet's shifting and interlacing moods. Dr Strong traces afresh the double strain in his speculation; on one side, negative, necessitarian, anti-Christian, and oppressed with the evil of the world; on the other, aspiring, full of reverence for the man

Christ, dreaming of the return of a golden age of love, and sure of human perfectibility. But this apparent antinomy in Shelley is not absolute, for the first attitude of mind, while never abandoned, changes more and more into the second as he proceeds; and further, this transition is smoothed from the first by many curious blendings and concessions. For instance, Shelley holds that the golden age is latent in the present state of things, and that its achievement requires but the twitching off of a mystic veil, which is something like Wordsworth's 'lethargy of custom':

> 'He constantly expresses his belief that the principle of benevolence already *exists* in the nature of things, and is only waiting to be brought to light, and freed from the fettering and obscuring mechanism of ordinary life. Its fitful visitations are due to a partial lifting of the veil which at present conceals it from humanity. Were the veil wholly lifted, all beauty, charity, and truth would be at once realized. It is of the first moment, for the understanding of his faith, to realize the intensity of this conviction and its constant recurrence throughout his poetry' (p. 55).

This essay is too complex to summarise; but I think that any risk of overstating, as Stephen and some others have done, the lasting influence of Godwin upon Shelley, will be lessened by Dr Strong's account. Godwin gave a potent impulse, the poet's faith in the end not only outgrew but came to contradict the determinism of *Political Justice* (pp. 11–15).

The second paper on 'Shelley's Symbolism' is more than a study of the recurrent images—the veil, the stream, the serpent—which haunt his verse. They are images that betray his habits of thought and [illegible] expresses his sense of the illusiveness of [illegible] again signifies the sinister disguise [illegible] Rain and the Stream also have many meanings, the [illegible] stream of thought which [illegible] the Sun being the [illegible] the [illegible] the Serpent in [illegible]

poets but seems to sketch out a faith of his own. The method of exposition is the same; and in quoting his key-passages Dr Strong takes care to choose those that are good poetry. It would have been possible to go wrong in this respect, both with Wordsworth and with Meredith. But Dr Strong is chiefly concerned with their ideas and creeds. The faith of Meredith is that of a *naturalist*—though Dr Strong does not use the word. Meredith relies strictly on the life that we know, and on what Nature, in his own sense of the term, teaches about that life. She teaches us:

'that it is from Earth that we are sprung, and that though the Race is ever going on from strength to strength, and from height to height, such progress can only be realized by forwarding Nature, and never by thwarting her (p. 162)... No promise of personal immortality must be sought in her—none, indeed, but the psychically self-seeking would endeavour to find such a promise (p. 164)... If we look Earth and Nature full in the face, and try to see in them the Real, we have in that very act made ourselves one with Reason—Reason, man's germinant fruit, the eternal foe of self, the prompter to service and self-sacrifice' (p. 166).

These are but extracts, or headings, taken from a clear and fair exposition. Then come the 'grave difficulties involved in Meredith's philosophy.' One is this, that he ignores the case of the scientific and philosophical pessimist, who regards Nature not as a mother but as an *injusta noverca*, or as an embodiment of blind will. Certainly Meredith never faced this conception on its philosophical side; he could not think of Nature as merely blank or hostile to man, although such ideas were in the air when he wrote. But Dr Strong hardly pursues this difficulty; it is Wordsworth, not Schopenhauer, whom he compares favourably with Meredith, and in a sense puts up against him. He suggests that Meredith rather blinded himself with the notion of 'race-immortality,' which on his premises would be fallacious. It has no strict meaning, apart from the life of individuals, if the question of personal survival be regarded as one beyond our knowledge, and if no pantheistic substitute be accepted. But I am not sure that Meredith, except in poetic figure, thought of the race except as a series of transitory individuals. As I read him, he is content with these, if only by their combat with themselves and with circumstance they contrive to hand on the torch to 'certain nobler races, now dimly imagined.' Whatever the difficulties in this view, there is surely no metaphysical opium in it. Some passages in Meredith's letters, it is true, leave room for ambiguity. But he does not seem to stake his faith on any speculations that outstrip 'naturalism.'

Dr Strong's account of Wordsworth and of his temper towards Nature throws new light on an old theme. He emphasises the truth:

'that Wordsworth regarded Nature not merely as a being in some sense external to man...but as being in essence one with him, and part of the transcendent unity in which he was comprised... Hence, Spirit was not one thing in the transitory individual, and another in that persisting aggregate called the Race; it was immanent in each man and woman, and was the bond which attached them to one another, as to the immortal personalities which had passed beyond time and space' (pp. 187, 188).

The critic concludes that the elder poet sees deeper into the conception

of duty than the younger one; and that 'those who cannot breathe this [transcendental] air will fall back with relief on the sure and noble faith of Meredith.' The present writer is in that position, except that he does not consider it a 'falling-back.' No one will grudge Dr Strong the possession of what he deems to be a surer foundation of faith. He is in high company. In my own belief, those difficult consolations which rest in the long run upon some version of Idealism, and of which Wordsworth is a great interpreter, can never die out, partly because they will always appeal to a certain high and aspiring type of mind, and partly because they are incapable of disproof. This combination is irresistible. To other minds, differently built, the transcendental view is barred; they cannot take it as true in fact. The naturalistic view is good enough for them. Meredith, as Dr Strong freely grants, went far with it. The essay before us states the issue with great clearness, and rises to the height of its argument.

OLIVER ELTON.

LIVERPOOL.

A History of American Literature, supplementary to the Cambridge History of English Literature. Edited by W. P. TRENT, J. ERSKINE, S. P. SHERMAN, and C. VAN DOREN. Volumes III and IV. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; Cambridge, England: University Press. 8vo. x + 424, vi + 451 pp. Each 30*s*.

It would be difficult to maintain that the last two volumes of this important history sustain the interest of the two first. Perhaps this was inevitable. The period under review is roughly that from the Civil War to to-day, and living writers cannot very well receive the treatment that is proper for the dead; allusion alone is permissible. Such allusions in a history of literature must be graceful ceremonial rather than anything else, courtesy rather than criticism. The greater authors of the period overlap Volume II and are there treated. The rest are legionaries with a few centurions, hardly a captain; and it is hard to individualize legionaries outside the family circle. However if it be understood that many of the chapters are virtually bibliography or even index, with little more colour than ordinary indexes and bibliographies allow, the reader may escape some disappointment, and will recognize a value in the long lists of half-distinguished names.

The headings of some of the chapters will suffice after what is said: Minor Humourists; Later Poets (they might have been Minor too, the whole platoon of them); Later Essayists; Later Theology (a very callow effort with that blended suggestion of the supercilious and the superficial that some Seminaries are so successful in producing; the subject had better have been left alone); Drama; Magazines and Newspapers; Patriotic Songs and Publishers. Obviously they all belong to a survey, but they are a little saddening. 'Hovey's lyrics time will doubtless adjudge his best work'; perhaps time won't, but will put them with those of lyrists mentioned by Quintilian; perhaps time has done so.

The chapter on Publishers deals with the sense of nationality in publishing and competition with England. We are not done with such issues. We are told that 500,000 pirated volumes of Scott issued from the American presses between 1814 and 1823, and there were other authors against whom native talent competed in vain, and an odd list of ladies is given. In 1823 two cantos of *Don Juan* reached Philadelphia and were distributed to thirty-five or forty compositors and in thirty-six hours an American edition was for sale. It is significant that in 1858, two years before Lincoln's election, W. G. Simms could say that there was not a single publisher in the Southern States between the Chesapeake and the Mexican frontier.

Of course this book is written for America. If Matthew Arnold found a popular history of our literature 'written to the tune of *Rule Britannia*,' we may forgive complacent references to 'the joyously insolent Western American,' and his 'rollicking voice.' Perhaps it will be easier for a Briton to forgive it, when he reads that 'at present judicious Americans are importing their best current humour from Canada'—the one reference to Canada in the volume; and perhaps some British readers would be as content if the whole Montreal crop were absorbed south of the line. American style is not yet quite emancipated from the polysyllable, as 'rhetoricality' and 'rhetoricity' (neither very clearly distinguishable from rhetoric), and 'artisticality' may prove, while 'disgruntled' is still slang on this side of the ocean, if it has attained so much. But the most curious exhibition is in Miss Mary Austin's chapter on the poetry of those nowadays hideously nicknamed Amerinds —in better and less pseudo-scientific times Indians. She finds 'certain characteristic Americanisms' in their songs, but does not attempt to compare them with other primitive peoples; no, the character is given by 'the power of the American landscape to influence form and the expressiveness of democratic living in native measures.' And at the same time the Rio Grande valley at one period knew 'drama, which, given time to develop, might have resulted in a farce-comedy of the sort which undoubtedly gave rise to, or at least suggested, the comedies of Aristophanes.' Now think of James Russell Lowell, who also knew the American quality (and Aristophanes), and contrast that old-style criticism of his with this stuff.

Scale and proportion in such a history as this will be difficult to measure aright to please all. Four or five pages are given to Mr Santayana, though alive; considerably less to O. Henry. Ida Tarbell's work on Standard Oil, fruitful in fiction and perhaps in legislation, is dismissed as 'muck-raking.' Again to revert to the Indians, less of Miss Austin and more of George Catlin would have made for science. Further Mr Jenks' 266 pages on the Bontoc Igorots of the Philippine Islands get a paragraph, while the splendid four volumes of John Lloyd Stephens on Central America get half a sentence, one line apiece. Yet Stephens is about as good to read as the *Bible in Spain*, as full of revolutions and real people, with less braggadocio, and much more gain for real knowledge, a delightful work.

The Mark Twain chapter is pretty good, one or two whoops excepted when the writer echoes his author a little too loud. The work of Professor Bassett, the distinguished historian and biographer of Andrew Jackson, on American Historians is capital. So is the very interesting chapter on the Explorers, in spite of its neglect of Stephens. But the most suggestive and moving chapter of all is that on Lincoln. Much has been written on Lincoln, but the reader feels that future biographers must consider Professor Stephenson's pages. They may be wrong, but in any case they open a door to a new consideration of America's greatest man.

When all discounts are made, and misprints pilloried, when all dissentient notes are struck and divergent opinions recorded, what is left of a book? In the case of this sort of book a great deal. An enormous amount of matter is gathered, registered, chronicled, and generally made available. Here the reader may note an error, there he may violently disagree, but after all he would a great deal sooner have the book as it is than not have it at all; and in its mass of solid fact, in the very suggestiveness of its mere lists of names and catalogues of books, lies a promise of high usefulness for the student of American life.

T. R. GLOVER.

CAMBRIDGE.

Écrivains français en Hollande dans la première moitié du XVIIe siècle. Par GUSTAVE COHEN. Paris: H. Champion. 1920. 8vo. 756 pp., 52 planches. 50 francs.

L'attrait exercé par l'atmosphère tolérante des Pays-Bas sur l'action et la pensée françaises; l'apport de la pensée française à la pensée hollandaise et la réaction de celle-ci sur la première, dans le dernier quart du XVIe siècle et la première moitié du XVIIe siècle, constituent le fond de la thèse de M. G. Cohen que l'auteur développe en une exposition aussi animatrice que variée de faits établis avec une érudition et une critique des plus scrupuleuses. C'est le monde militaire où officiers et soldats se sentent soutenus et grandis par la conscience de servir la noble et sainte cause de la liberté des États contre la tyrannie de Philippe II; c'est la part prise à l'organisation et à l'enseignement dans l'Université de Leyde par le Parisien Louis Cappel, par le Rouennais Guillaume Feugueray, qui a sur ses collègues une autorité suffisante pour qu'on le charge de la rédaction du programme des études; c'est, encore à l'Université de Leyde, la parole et l'exemple de théologiens comme Lambert Daneau, Du Jon, Polyander, Saravia, Trelcat, Du Moulin, Rivet; de jurisconsultes comme Hugues Doneau; de botanistes comme de l'Escluse; de philologues comme Joseph Juste Scaliger et Claude Saumaise, qui donnent à cette université un lustre incomparable, en font le foyer des méthodes nouvelles et y attirent de nombreux étudiants venus de toutes les provinces de France, parmi lesquels on peut citer le poète Théophile de Viau et le grand artiste en phrase Guez de Balzac, et dont beaucoup portent des noms illustres dans l'histoire politique, militaire et littéraire

de notre pays; c'est enfin toute l'œuvre de Descartes naissant et se propageant tout d'abord dans les universités hollandaises.

L'auteur ne se borne pas à démontrer sa thèse: il nous dépeint avec un art magistral le milieu militaire, les mœurs des soldats, des professeurs et des étudiants et il nous trace des principaux personnages qu'il rencontre sur son chemin des portraits extrêmement vivants. Le plus fouillé de tous est celui de Descartes auquel est d'ailleurs consacrée la plus grande partie de l'ouvrage. C'est le philosophe, c'est le penseur, c'est le travailleur dont nous avons une image très fidèlement reconstituée; mais c'est aussi l'homme avec son tempérament sensible et même *sentimental*, le père tendre et dévoué pour la fille qu'il a eue d'une servante d'Amsterdam; entretenant des rapports de profonde amitié avec la Sérénissime Princesse Elizabeth, fille aînée de l'Électeur Palatin, Frédéric de Bohême, à laquelle il dédie en 1644 la préface de ses *Principia*; plein de prévenance et de délicatesse pour les humbles comme Ferrier, son lunetier, qu'il invite à venir passer quelque temps avec lui dans son 'désert' où il aura tout loisir de s'exercer, où il le défraiera de tout, pendant qu'il se livrera à ses travaux, où il l'hébergera aussi longtemps qu'il le voudra, d'où il le fera rentrer à Paris quand l'envie le prendra d'y retourner; comme Jean Gillot, un de ses domestiques, auquel il a enseigné les mathématiques, et pour qui il cherche, avec une bonhomie vraiment touchante, une place avantageuse où on le traite avec tous les égards qu'il mérite par son caractère et ses connaissances; comme l'arpenteur Wassenaer, son élève, en faveur de qui il intervient contre le mathématicien Stampioen, au risque de retarder l'impression de plusieurs feuilles de ses *Méditations*; et comme Dirck Rembrantsz van Nierop, ce paysan cordonnier auquel il communique sa méthode, auquel il donne ses enseignements en hollandais, auquel il ouvre sa maison et son cœur; généreux de ses conseils; confiant au point de faire part de ses découvertes à ses amis, sans trop se soucier de l'usage auquel il les destineront, quitte à rompre brusquement avec eux, quand il s'aperçoit de leur ingratitude et de leurs plagiats, comme cela lui arriva avec Beeckman, à qui, dans la chaleur du moment, il adresse de vifs reproches, pour renouer d'ailleurs avec lui, en dépit de tout, quand le temps a calmé son indignation; modeste, au point de ne vouloir mettre son nom à cet immortel *Discours de la Méthode*; ayant pour maxime de se tenir 'beaucoup plus redevable à ceux qui le reprennent qu'à ceux qui le louent'; très désintéressé puisque pour tous honoraires il ne demande à son éditeur que deux cents exemplaires de son *Discours*; infatigable dans la défense de ses idées; dur dans ses attaques contre ses adversaires, comme on peut s'en rendre compte par sa polémique avec Voetius; esprit curieux de tout, inventions, théories, doctrines; s'intéressant même aux idées des Rose-Croix; enclin à un certain mysticisme; se laissant impressionner par quelques-uns de ses songes, au point d'en ressentir une certaine terreur, et 'de prendre celle-ci pour un avertissement du ciel sur ses péchés et de promettre à la Sainte Vierge de se rendre en pèlerinage à Notre Dame de Lorette, promesse qu'il ne tint pas.'

L'ouvrage de M. G. Cohen inaugure de façon éclatante la *Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée*, que dirigent ces deux éminents maîtres Monsieur F. Baldensperger et Monsieur P. Hazard. Il met en relief les hautes qualités d'un enseignement qui, tout en étant fondé sur une érudition du meilleur aloi, sait rester artistique, littéraire et par-dessus tout *humain* et qui, d'ailleurs, n'a pas tardé à devenir des plus populaires parmi les étudiants de l'Université de Strasbourg où il a produit l'effet d'une véritable révélation. Ajoutons que ce livre a eu—chose bien rare pour une thèse universitaire—un grand succès de librairie, qu'il est déjà épuisé et que l'Académie Française a tenu à en reconnaître la valeur en lui décernant le grand prix Broquette, une des plus hautes récompenses qu'elle ait à sa disposition.

LOUIS BRANDIN.

LONDON.

France and England. Their relations in the Middle Ages and now. By T. F. TOUT. Manchester: University Press; London: Longmans, Green & Co. vi + 168 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

Modern Language scholars will find the requisite historical background for their literary or linguistic studies admirably supplied by this short, clear, authoritative account of the relations between France and England in the middle ages. These relations, more intimate and more continuous than those between any other two nations of Western Europe, show a long tradition of general hostility, which historians have amply discussed, but also a strong, persistent undercurrent of affinities, which Professor Tout finds more interesting. His tone is friendly—part of his material served for his course of four lectures at Rennes—he quotes French historians with approval and sometimes frank admiration, and when his documents point irresistibly to the closest conceivable interrelation between the two countries he is less dismayed than Freeman or Stubbs. For the period on which he is an acknowledged master, he arrives at conclusions more cheering and in completer harmony with the impression which the reader derives from mediaeval literature.

However it be with the historians, it is not easy for the student of literature to keep a clear head in dealing with the middle ages. He is apt to read modern conditions into the past, and requires Professor Tout's constant reminder that the meaning of 'nation,' 'France' and 'French,' 'England' and 'English' was not always what it seems. In mediaeval society, essentially cosmopolitan with its great super-national institutions, the Church, the canon law, the religious orders, the University, [illegible] personal allegiance to their lord better than devotion [illegible] and fluctuating frontiers. The difference [illegible] Frenchmen and Englishmen—there is none that can be proved [illegible] their political conditions and social [illegible] in ordinary daily life the difference was [illegible] and British fellow-travellers are

apt to range themselves in national camps on such a question as whether the carriage-windows should be open or shut.

Divergence on national grounds is the product of a later age. From the Norman Conquest (neither exclusively Norman nor yet, in the official view, a 'conquest') until well into the Hundred Years' War, there was plenty of fighting, but not as the result of national sentiment. For centuries, large numbers of the inhabitants of this country and of France mingled freely, unhampered by barriers of language or temperament. The picture is not lacking in piquancy: on the English side, Richard Cœur-de-Lion, the perfect *méridional*; the barons who wrested from Jean Sans Terre the charter of English liberty, and thereafter called in the future Louis VIII of France; in the days of Edward I, the Gascon merchant prince mayor of London and, a few years later, mayor of Bordeaux; the true English patriots, with the 'fine old Saxon names' of, let us say, Simon de Montfort or Aymer de Valence; the said Aymer, earl of Pembroke under Edward II, had, moreover, three French wives, of whom the last founded, in the year after Crécy, Pembroke College, Cambridge, on the distinct understanding that in all appointments to the foundation a preference should be given to Frenchmen over Englishmen. Or, on the French side, the great Norman baron Godefroi de Harcourt, who in 1346 invited the English into Normandy; the founding by the English of the Universities of Caen and Bordeaux; those innumerable members of the French-speaking cosmopolitan ruling class, largely French but partly English in blood, whom the French guide-books identify with *la domination anglaise* but who, could they rise from their carven tombs, might well inquire, What is meant by *domination* and what by *anglaise*?

To all such questions—and the Modern Language student will not fail to ask them—Professor Tout provides a dispassionate and reasoned reply. We could have wished he had extended his scope, to describe more fully the infiltration which took place in the reign of Edward the Confessor, and to show how, as a result of the Conquest, not only England but Scotland, Wales and Ireland came under the French influence. The Confessor's French *protégés* left their mark, and the linguist at least would like to hear more about them. The patriotic de Valence was on the English side of the field at Bannockburn; how came an equally patriotic de Bruce to be on the other? But within the limits chosen Professor Tout's book well serves a high purpose. It shows how France and England spring from a common civilization and share to this day a common heritage. It deals with the distant past, but it has on the present a bearing which the author never forgets, and from his life-long study of mediaeval history he brings us in these troubled days a message of hope.

R. L. G. Ritchie.

Birmingham.

Le Opere di Dante: testo critico della Società Dantesca Italiana. A cura di M. BARBI, E. G. PARODI, F. PELLEGRINI, E. PISTELLI, P. RAJNA, E. ROSTAGNO, G. VANDELLI. Con indice analitico dei nomi e delle cose di MARIO CASELLA e tre tavole fuor di testo. Florence: Bemporad. 1921. xxxi + 980 pp. 36 lire.

Il Fiore e il Detto d'Amore. A cura di E. G. PARODI. Con note al testo, glossario e indici. In appendice a le Opere di Dante edite dalla Società Dantesca Italiana. Same publishers. 1922. xx + 174 pp. 16 lire.

The beautiful sexcentenary Dante, the most permanent literary monument of the celebrations of last year, is the first attempt at a critical text of his complete works. It is the summary of the labour and researches, extending over a number of years, of the distinguished scholars whose names appear on the title-page. Michele Barbi, who has acted as a kind of general editor, impresses upon us in the preface that this is not the critical edition of the works of Dante which we are still to expect, the 'National Edition' which will include the critical apparatus that will enable the specialist to follow and appreciate the reasons that have led the editors to their conclusions; it is rather to be regarded as a reproduction in advance of the text that will form the basis of the National Edition. Therefore in the title they speak of 'testo critico,' but do not employ the more comprehensive phrase, 'edizione critica.' The purpose of the Società Dantesca Italiana was simply, on the great occasion of the sixth centenary, to present the student with a complete text of Dante's works as near to what we may believe the divine poet to have written as the ripest Italian scholarship could make it. It will, of course, be remembered that in no case have we an autograph manuscript of Dante's own; nor even any manuscript—save, possibly, for one canzone[1] which, by the wildest flight of imagination, can be regarded as directly derived from an autograph. The number of MSS. varies according to the work, but—whether many or few—they are for the most part relatively late and incorrect. There are even instances—the sonnets to Dante da Maiano and the *Questio de Aqua et Terra*—in which no MSS. are known to exist. Thus the task of establishing or restoring what Barbi calls 'le vere sembianze' of the works of Dante is a colossal one.

With respect to the language, the Latin works are presented throughout, rigidly and consistently, according to mediaeval orthography. In the case of the works in Italian, the editors have allowed themselves more liberty, and have adopted a compromise between the customary modernisation of the text and a complete reproduction of the mediaeval spelling, while preserving intact the words and grammatical forms and representation of sounds proper to Dante's time. The apparent inconsistencies are no doubt intentional, as reflecting the still unsettled condition of the vernacular in the fourteenth century, and the whole

[1] The canzone, 'Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore,' in the Cod. Vat. 3793.

result is unquestionably satisfactory. Parodi (in an article contributed last year to the *Marzocco*) wittily remarked that, in thus contributing to a great manifestation of *italianità*, 'la piccola anima filologica si sarebbe quasi, contro natura, fatta grande.'

We already possessed an almost ideal critical edition of the *Vita Nuova* by Michele Barbi, published in 1907. Here there was very little left to do. Barbi has slightly modified the orthography and punctuation of his text, and introduced one or two unimportant fresh readings, but the work remains essentially the same. The case is far otherwise with the *Rime* (the now happily discarded title of *Canzoniere* does not seem to have been applied to the collected lyrics of Dante or Petrarch until the nineteenth century). No complete or adequate edition of these wonderful poems has hitherto been produced, and Barbi's own preparatory researches have been for many years the student's chief guide. His treatment of them in the present volume is thus an event of the first importance in the field of Dante scholarship. Of the lyrics given in the Oxford Dante, he excludes absolutely four canzoni (including two sestine) which have long been known to students as spurious, twelve sonnets and four ballate, while relegating one canzone, three sonnets, and two ballate to the appendix as doubtful. On the other hand, he adds to the authentic poems one canzone, one ballata, one stanza, seventeen sonnets, and to the doubtful pieces one ballata and nineteen sonnets. We have thus—in addition to the lyrics of the *Vita Nuova* and the three canzoni of the *Convivio*—a canon of thirteen canzoni, thirty-four sonnets, five ballate, and two stanzas, with an appendix of 'rime dubbie' made up of one canzone (the trilingual canzone), three ballate, and twenty-two sonnets. We shall have to await the 'National Edition' to appreciate Barbi's reasons for acceptance or rejection, and he claims no absolute security for all the compositions included among the 'rime genuine.' Our own comparatively limited knowledge of the MSS. would have led us to place some of the latter among the doubtful lyrics, and to have included in the same class the sonnet, *E' non è legno di sì forti nocchi* (here rejected as probably by Cino da Pistoia). The arrangement of the *Rime* is broadly chronological (with subsidiary groupings according to subject matter), the final series of 'rime varie del tempo dell' esilio' being closed by the 'Lisetta' sonnet: *Per quella via che la bellezza corre.* Barbi has already shown weighty reasons why this sonnet—formerly regarded as connected with the 'donna gentile' group of the *Vita Nuova*—should be assigned to this later epoch[1]. We are tempted to think that he unduly restricts the number of 'rime allegoriche e dottrinali.' The splendid canzoni, *Amor che movi tua vertù dal cielo* and *Io sento sì d' amor la gran possanza*, seem to us to belong to this class. In the former the wonderful lines on the imagination (31–38), which invite comparison with *Purg.* XVII, 13–18 and *Par.* X, 40–48, and in the latter the tone of the two tornate, point to the poems being philosophical or allegorical, which is perhaps confirmed by the position assigned to them, immediately after the

[1] *La questione di Lisetta*, in *Studi danteschi*, I, pp. 61–63.

canzoni of the *Convivio*, by Boccaccio in his arrangement of the series. The critical reconstruction of the text of the *Rime* is a problem hardly less complicated than that of the establishment of a canon of authenticity. There are a few instances in which Barbi has surprised us by maintaining the hitherto accepted readings rather than adopting the more tempting variants offered by the MSS., but here too we must await his promised justification. Unquestionably this 'testo critico' of the *Rime* fulfils most satisfactorily one of the most pressing needs of all Dante students.

The previously accepted text of the *Convivio* was likewise most unreliable, though the researches of Dr Moore introduced valuable corrections in the third edition of the Oxford Dante. No fewer than thirty-nine MSS. are known, but the number counts for little, if the new editors—Parodi and Pellegrini—are right in their discovery that they all proceeded ultimately from a single copy (no longer extant) with mistakes and omissions and traces of the Aretine dialect. The task before the editors has again been one of special difficulty, and the general result—even if not a few readings or emendations may be open to considerable question—has certainly placed the study of the *Convivio* upon a firmer basis. We will cite just one instance, as it is among the readings discussed by Dr Moore in his *Textual Criticism of the 'Convivio'*. In Conv. III. ii. Dante is discussing the tendency of the soul to unite herself in love with what appears to be a revelation of the Deity. The Oxford Dante reads: 'E perocchè nelle bontadi della natura la ragione si mostra divina.' For this Moore would substitute the reading of the Milanese editors: 'E perocchè nelle bontadi della natura [umana] la ragione si mostra della divina,' and understand 'the important truth that the standards of moral excellence for man must correspond with those which we believe to exist in the Divine Nature.' Parodi and Pellegrini now read: 'E però che nelle bontadi de la natura e de la ragione si mostra la divina.' The divine goodness, which is the ultimate object and cause of love, is revealed in the excellences of nature and of reason alike. It is analogous with the 'quanto per mente e per loco si gira' of Par. X. 4, and the point of spiritual significance in the whole passage is surely unmistakable.

The two other Latin works stand in less need of revision. Pio Rajna published his admirable critical edition of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* in 1896. It is unnecessary to recount the history of the sensation caused in 1917 by the publication of Fraticelli by Ludwig Bertalot of an edition based upon a newly discovered MS. Only three MSS. are of no importance, but one could wish to know more. The mystery with which Dr Bertalot surrounds his MS. is not yet fully dispelled, but its readings, when we have been given them—have confirmed the conjectures of Rajna and suggested others, so that the text now presented to us—mainly a revision of his former edition—is definitive and final. The [illegible] Dante—his

been a comparatively sound one. In the new critical text, ably edited by Rostagno, we will mention two minor points. The title is now established as *Monarchia*, instead of *De Monarchia*, the latter being contrary to the tradition of the MSS. and the concordant testimony of Dante's early biographers. It is now generally realised that, in the famous passage upon free will in I, xii ('Hoc viso, iterum manifestum esse potest quod hec libertas sive principium hoc totius libertatis nostre, est maximum donum humane nature a Deo collatum'), all the MSS. contain the incidental sentence: 'sicut in Paradiso Comedie iam dixi[1].' Rostagno shows that, though the MSS. in this case are comparatively few (about twelve), the position is analogous to that of the *Convivio*; they all ultimately proceed from a single and unauthoritative copy, in which the reference to the *Paradiso* is to be regarded as the interpolation of the scribe. We cannot feel quite satisfied with this summary rejection of the incidental sentence. Is it not perilously like the old habit of regarding a sonnet as spurious because it appeared 'un-Dantesque'?

With respect to the *Epistole*, English scholars can point with legitimate pride to the researches of Dr Toynbee which bore fruit in his admirable edition published in 1920 by the Clarendon Press[2]. Apart from the Letter to Can Grande, the question of the MSS. is a simple one, and the task of the editor is reconstruction and emendation. The present editor, Pistelli, gives us the Letters in a form in external features more nearly approaching the Latin that Dante actually wrote, but in other respects his work for the most part confirms Dr Toynbee's results. This is especially noticeable in the Letter to the Italian Cardinals, where the English scholar's reconstruction was particularly searching. In the most familiar of the letters, *Amico Florentino* (which exists, it will be remembered, only in the Boccaccian MS.), there are two notable points where the two editions differ. Where Dante speaks of the source from which he has learned the dishonouring conditions under which he may return to Florence, Toynbee retains the generally accepted reading which is that of the MS.: 'per litteras vestri meique nepotis.' Now the letter is addressed to a religious, and Barbi, after a very exhaustive investigation as to all the poet's relations and connexions, could find no such personage who had a nephew in common with Dante. He therefore proposed an emendation: 'per litteras vestras meique nepotis'; which Pistelli adopts[3]. Strong though Barbi's arguments are, they seem hardly conclusive enough to necessitate the correction of a MS. which has come down to us in Boccaccio's hand. In the famous sentence at the end of the letter, the difference depends upon whether a contraction 'flor.' should be expanded as 'Florentino' or 'Florentineque.' Pistelli retains the previously accepted 'Florentineque': 'Nonne dulcissimas veritates potero speculari ubique sub celo, ni prius inglorium ymo ignominiosum populo Florentineque civitati me reddam?' Toynbee, correcting to 'Florentino,' reads: 'Nonne dulcissimas veritates potero speculari ubique sub coelo,

[1] Cf. C. Foligno, *The Date of the 'De Monarchia,'* in the Dante commemoration volume (University of London Press).

[2] Cf. *M.L.R.*, XVI, p. 183.

[3] See *Studi danteschi*, II, pp. 115 et seq.

ni prius inglorium, immo ignominiosum, populo Florentino, civitati me reddam?' Apart from the more plausible expansion, the latter is more in accordance with the personal and familiar tone of the letter, with which the official formula, 'populus Florentinaque civitas,' seems out of harmony.

The Letter to Can Grande stands on a different footing. All the extant MSS. have been fully and directly utilised for the first time by Pistelli, who has likewise edited the *Egloghe* and the *Questio de Aqua et Terra*. The text of the Eclogues is fundamentally that previously established by Albini; the *Questio* must now be regarded as definitely admitted to the authentic canon of Dante's works.

We know Boccaccio's story—strikingly confirmed by a sonnet of Giovanni Quirino—of Dante sending the *Divina Commedia* by instalments to Can Grande della Scala at Verona. The formal publication appears to be represented by the fact that, in April or May, 1322, some eight months after the death of the poet, his son Jacopo presented a complete copy to Guido da Polenta, who was then captain of the People at Bologna. It was probably from Bologna that the poem, 'el Dante,' came to Florence, which henceforth took the lead in multiplying copies. There is the pleasing legend that a worthy citizen made a hundred such copies, by the sale of which he procured dowries for his daughters. The earliest extant Florentine MS., signed by Francesco di Ser Nardo of Barberino in Val di Pesa and dated 1337, is in the Biblioteca Trivulziana at Milan; another, signed by the same scribe and dated 1347, is in the Laurenziana. A year earlier than the first of these, indeed the earliest known MS. of the *Divina Commedia*, is the Codice Landiano at Piacenza, which is dated 1336, and was written for the then podestà of Genoa, Beccaria de' Beccaria, by one Antonio da Fermo, a native of the Marches who tinged the text with his local dialect. A little later Boccaccio made several copies of the sacred poem, of which the one now in the Chapter Library at Toledo (including the writer's own *Vita di Dante*, the *Vita Nuova*, and the Canzoni) has acquired considerable celebrity with students. It has been estimated that, out of between 500 and 600 MSS. that are extant, more than one half are of Florentine or at least Tuscan origin[1]. But all this apparent wealth of MSS. does not represent a secure tradition. There are no MSS. which can be supposed derived directly from exemplars proceeding from Dante's immediate circle; the primitive tradition has been irretrievably lost; the corruption of the text had begun before any of the extant MSS. were written, and even the earliest commentators were acquainted with alternative readings. It is noteworthy that the Codice Landiano and the Trivulziano already differ on some of the points upon which textual criticism is still divided. The present editor, Vandelli, has found it

[1] See S. Morpurgo, *Il 'Dante' a Firenze*, in *Il Marzocco* (May 1, 1921). The Codice Trivulziano and the Codice Landiano have both been published in facsimile: *Il Codice Trivulziano* 1080 *della D.C.* with an introduction by Luigi Rocca (Milan, Hoepli, 1921); *Il Codice Landiano* with a preface by A. Balsamo and an introduction by G. Bertoni (Florence, Olschki, 1921).

impossible to construct a complete genealogy of the extant MSS. Consequently the selection between rival readings, the retention of those regarded as established or the substitution of others, has been part of a general and complicated task of critical reconstruction. Barbi aptly reminds us that, even if the new text does not differ substantially from the 'testo vulgato,' very many of the passages that appear unaltered have cost not less labour than those in which changes will be found[1]. As this edition will inevitably supersede the Oxford Dante as a standard of reference, it is a pleasant duty to say that a comparison of the two texts of the *Divina Commedia* leaves the reader with an enhanced appreciation of the scholarship of Moore, for in many cases the readings adopted by him may now be regarded as confirmed by Vandelli's researches, and his *Textual Criticism* (though published so many years ago) can still be studied with profit. The new text cannot be regarded as final or definitive, but it is at least a great step forward, and, from the philological aspect, with its retention of forms characteristic of the Trecento, it marks a considerable advance upon all previous editions.

We will only select a few of the passages where the 'testo critico' differs from the Oxford or from that generally accepted. In the words of Beatrice on the permanence of Virgil's fame (*Inf.* II, 60), the Oxford Dante reads: 'e durerà quanto il *moto* lontana'; where *moto* would be synonymous for 'time,' time being the enumeration of movement (cf. *Conv.* IV, ii, *Par.* XXVII, 115–120). Vandelli reverts to the more usual and perhaps easier reading *mondo*; but *moto* has the authority of the Codice Trivulziano and the Landiano alike. In the line about baptism (*Inf.* IV, 36), Moore followed the majority of the MSS. and the first four editions with 'ch'è *parte* de la fede che tu credi'; Vandelli prefers the more theologically accurate *porta* (which, indeed, the sense of the passage seems to require). We feel doubtful about the adoption of *Clugnì* for *Cologna* in *Inf.* XXIII, 63: 'che in *Clugnì* per li monaci fassi.' In *Purg.* VI, 111, the line of bitter sarcasm, 'e vedrai Santafior com'è *sicura*,' becomes almost meaningless by Vandelli's acceptance of the colourless *oscura*. Here the Codice Trivulziano reads *oscura*, the Landiano *secura*. On the other hand, the full philosophical sense of the passage on the impossibility of a creature hating God, in *Purg.* XVII, 111, is brought out by Vandelli's substitution of *effetto* (the reading of the Codice Trivulziano and three of the first four editions) for *affetto* (that of the Codice Landiano, the Oxford, and most modern texts): 'Da quello odiare ogni *effetto* è deciso.'

Probably the most severely criticised of the new readings is one in which again Vandelli has the Codice Trivulziano and three of the first four editions on his side. We refer to the famous passage (*Purg.* XX, 64–69), where Hugh Capet denounces the crimes of the royal house of France, beginning with the annexation of Provence:

> Lì cominciò con forza e con menzogna
> la sua rapina; e poscia, per ammenda,
> Pontì e Normandia prese e Guascogna.

[1] *Prefazione*, pp. xxi–xxvii.

> Carlo venne in Italia e, *per ammenda*,
> vittima fè di Curradino; e poi
> ripinse al ciel Tommaso, per ammenda.

Commentators have naturally emphasised the dramatic force of this thrice repeated ironical *per ammenda*; but, in the second case, the new edition substitutes *per vicenda*:

> Carlo venne in Italia e, *per vicenda*,
> vittima fè di Curradino; e poi
> ripinse al ciel Tommaso, per ammenda.

The change seems to us not to lessen, but to modify the import of the poet's sarcasm, as also the articulation of the passage. The crimes laid to the charge of the Capetingi would thus fall into two pairs: a French and an Italian. As the scene changes from France to Italy, the fashion of the crime alters from rapine to murder. Charles came to Italy, and, 'for a change,' murdered Conradin, and then, for amends, St Thomas Aquinas. However, it requires more courage than we possess to defend Vandelli's innovation; we would only suggest that it is capable of more defence than its critics have perhaps recognised.

To take a few examples from the *Paradiso*. The best loved line in the poem is perhaps in Piccarda's speech to Dante (*Par.* III, 85). Here the Oxford text reads: 'E la sua volontate è nostra pace'; which is the reading of the Codice Trivulziano. The alternative, 'in la sua volontate è nostra pace,' is that of the Codice Landiano. Vandelli gives: 'E 'n la sua volontade è nostra pace.' The retention of the *in* would perhaps be supported if we supposed the line a reminiscence of the sentence of St Augustine (*Conf.* XIII, 9): 'In bona voluntate pax nobis est.' But the meaning is far from identical: Augustine is thinking of the 'bona voluntas' of which the angels sang to the shepherds in the Vulgate version of St Luke. In the picture of the mystical espousals of St Francis and Lady Poverty, we have the famous image of Poverty united with her first Bridegroom upon the Cross (*Par.* XI, 70–72):

> Nè valse esser costante nè feroce,
> sì che, dove Maria rimase giuso,
> ella con Cristo *pianse* in su la croce.

Here Vandelli has returned to the reading more generally accepted (at least before the revival of Franciscan studies). The Oxford Dante followed Benvenuto da Imola in reading *salse*: 'ella con Cristo *salse* in su la croce.' But the Codice Landiano and the Trivulziano read *pianse*, which is the common reading of the MSS. and editions. The chief source of Dante's conception of the espousals with Lady Poverty was the [illegible] of Ubertino da Casale, and certain words in the [illegible] of Poverty which Ubertino puts into the [illegible] St Francis himself [illegible] might be cited to support either [illegible] praeter [illegible] crucis, quae tamen te [illegible] passionis tuae fuit [illegible] Paupertas [illegible] amplexata [illegible]

iuncta.' If this is doubtful, we think that most students will agree with Vandelli, in spite of Benvenuto and other early commentators, in the line about *il templo*, the Church (*Par.* XVIII, 123): 'che si murò di *segni* e di martiri.' Here the testimony of the MSS. is overwhelmingly against the tempting variant accepted by Moore: 'che si murò di *sangue* e di martiri.'

Our last example shall be one in which the generally accepted reading has hitherto been unquestioned. It is the prophetical passage at the end of *Par.* XXVII (144), where Beatrice foretells the coming renovation of the Church or society in general:

> *Ruggiran* sì questi cerchi superni,
> che la fortuna che tanto s' aspetta
> le poppe volgerà u' son le prore,
> sì che la classe correrà diretta;
> e vero frutto verrà dopo 'l fiore.

Here we take *fortuna* (as in *Purg.* XXXII, 116 and frequently in early Italian poetry) to mean, not 'fortune,' but 'tempest.' Vandelli emends the universally accepted *ruggiran*, 'shall roar,' to *raggeran*, 'shall ray,' a colourless substitution for Dante's powerful image of the roaring of the spheres to usher in the new age. But here we may confidently appeal to Dante's source to defend the established reading, for the image is surely suggested by Jeremiah (XXV, 30, 32): 'Dominus de excelso *rugiet*, et de habitaculo sancto suo dabit vocem suam...et turbo magnus egredietur a summitatibus terrae.'

It has been a wise decision of the Editors to exclude the *Fiore*—the famous rendering of the *Roman de la Rose* in 232 sonnets which not a few scholars would accept as Dante's—from the sexcentenary volume, and to issue the critical text separately as an 'appendice dantiana.' It has been admirably done by Parodi, who has united with it the less known and inferior *Detto d'Amore*, which he regards as the work of the same hand. The preface contains what seems to us the strongest case yet put forward against the attribution to Dante of the *Fiore*, and the little book—in external form a humble companion to the Dante volume—will be most welcome to every student of early Italian poetry.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

MANCHESTER.

Althochdeutsches Lesebuch. Von WILHELM BRAUNE. Achte Auflage. Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1921. viii + 278 pp.

Though it is close upon fifty years since the appearance of its first edition, Braune's *Lesebuch* still belongs to the indispensable outfit of every serious student of Old High German, and as it has been out of print for a considerable time, the new edition is sure to meet with a grateful welcome from all who are interested in the subject.

With the help of the material which has accumulated since the publication of the seventh edition in 1911, the book has been carefully

[illegible] and the editor acknowledges his special indebtedness to Elias von Steinmeyer's *Kleinere althochdeutsche Sprachdenkmäler* (1916) and Gustav Ehrismann's *Althochdeutsche Literaturgeschichte* (1918), and to the collaboration of Eduard Sievers.

The texts, to which additions had been made in every one of the preceding editions, have not been increased this time either in number or extent. A number of emendations suggested in recent years have been given in the foot notes, but very few of them have been taken into the texts. In No. XIII b (*Bruchstücke eines rheinfränkischen Psalters*), Braune, following Steppat and Steinmeyer, has altered 'in' (l. 1) to 'ne,' 'nuurdit' (l. 36) to '*neuuirdit*,' 'seilelin' (l. 69) to 'seileclin,' and 'aphlon' (l. 73) to 'aphilon.' In the so-called *S. Emmeraner Gebet* (No. XVIII b) the words not found in MS. B have been shown by small print, a helpful improvement. In ll. 3 and 4 of the *Hildebrandslied* Braune has returned to the punctuation of his earlier editions. While in the last two editions he had put the full stop after 'sunufatarungo,' he now puts it again after 'tuêm.' In *Hl.* 41 he has altered 'fuortôs' to 'fôrôs' accepting the view of Danielowski and others that the small 'u' which in the MS appears over the first 'o' of the word is a late addition. In l. 56 b of the *Ludwigslied* Ehrismann's convincing emendation 'kuning ansêlig' has been substituted for 'Kuning uuigsâlig' of the previous editions. In l. 130 of *Memento Mori* Braune now prints the MS reading 'daman' which in all former editions he had rejected in favor of Steinmeyer's 'damoh.'

The numerous misprints in the texts of the seventh edition have [illegible] with the only exception, I believe, of 'spuoll' (*Is.* iv. 77) [illegible] 'spuol' [illegible] 'spuol.' Several new [illegible] 'quad' for 'quad.' *Merb.* [illegible] The [illegible] the sub-heading [illegible]

the exclusion of 'gewagte änderungen und deutungen, die oft nur einer theorie zu liebe ersonnen sind.'

The Glossary has been much improved both by corrections and additions. The following words, however, are still omitted:—alsô *adv. ebenso, auch* (Pedíu héizet er Mars, álso mors. *N.* 11, 25).—ëban-alt, ëbenalt *adj. gleichalt* (táz síh nîoman iro negelóubti uuésen ébenált. *N.* 3, 12).—thara-fuoren, tharafuaren *sw. v. hinführen* (thia muater tharafuari. *O.* 13, 7).—hôh-setli *n. Hochsitz, thronus* (ih chisah druhtîn sitzendan oba dhrâto hôhemu hôhsetle. *Is.* iv, 81).—inleiten *sw. v. inducere, hineinführen* (chorungo pisuuicchilîneru incaleitit ni lazzês. *Murb. H.* ii, 10).—myrra *f. Myrrhe* (mýrrun inti uuírouh. *O.* 11, 65).—skînbârî *f. nitor, Glanz* (Jupiter túncheleta fóre sînero skînbari. *N.* 7, 6).—slâf-rag *adj. sopitus, eingeschlafen, schläfrig* (tagastern tac slâfragan uuechentêr. *Murb. H.* ii, 4).—ar-sterben [starbjan], erstarben § 27, 2 b *sw. v. töten* (Ih ne furhti die menigi des mih umbestandentis liutes samso er mih erstarben mege, ih ne irsterbe gerno. *N.* 15, 22).—un-tât, undât *f. Sünde* (thaz ih úndato ni findu in imo thráto. *O.* 38, 4).

Students would, no doubt, appreciate an extension of the plan of entering difficult variants in their alphabetical places with cross-references to their normal forms. It is indeed difficult to see why e.g. 'arbi,' 'ervi' = 'erbi,' 'heitar' = 'eitar' should have been so treated but not 'heribi' (XIII b, 69), or 'funt' = 'phunt' but not 'fending' = 'phending,' why there should be a cross-reference from 'intrâtan' to 'trâtan' but none from 'intrerteda' (*intemperies, N.* 19, 5) to 'rerteda,' and why 'guuun' (*N.* 11, 7) = 'gawin' should not have been given at all.

On page 213 'dannoh' should be deleted, as it has been replaced by 'dannan' in the text (42, 130); p. 214, col. 1, l. 35 read '*O.* 4, 85' for '*O.* 4, 58'; p. 214, col. 2, l. 24 'tîehsamo' for 'thiehsamo'; p. 216, col. 2, l. 23 '*N.* 11, 4' for '*N.* 12'; p. 217 insert '*n*' after 'einwerch'; p. 230, col. 2, last line insert § before 224; p. 236 read 'chelîg *s.* quelîg' for 'chëlîg *s.* quëlig'; p. 245, col. 1, l. 55 '*Is.* iv, 90' for '*Is.* iv, 87'; p. 265, col. 2, l. 13 '*Is.* iii, 51' for '*Is.* iv, 51'; p. 272, col. 1, l. 51 '43, 109' for '43, 53.'

'G.G.A. = *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*' should be added to the list of abbreviations on p. 169.

H. G. FIEDLER.

OXFORD.

Von Ludwig Tieck zu E. T. A. Hoffmann. Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des romantischen Subjektivismus. Von WALTER JOST. (*Deutsche Forschungen*, IV.) Frankfurt am Main: M. Diesterweg. 1921. x + 138 pp. 24 M.

This is the first of a new series of monographs on German literature and language under the editorship of Professor Panzer of Heidelberg and Julius Petersen, lately installed in Erich Schmidt's chair at Berlin. Of the five works promised by the publisher only one other (on Hölderlin's Lyrical Poems) has so far appeared, owing to the extremely unfavourable

condition of things in Germany, while two more may be expected in the course of this year.

Dr Jost's introduction sketches Hoffmann's personality as a romanticist in whose nature romantic 'Sehnsucht' played a decisive rôle and formed the basis of his affinity to Tieck. The expression of this 'Sehnsucht' in the two poets as irony, music, love and art and its fulfilment in the fairy tale are the theme of the book, showing at every stage the younger man's greater objectiveness and grasp of life. Wackenroder's (and Tieck's) Berglinger and Hoffmann's Kreisler are both romantic musicians at variance with the realities of their world; but while Berglinger is totally subjective, passive and weak, Kreisler's sorrows arise from his struggle against the opposing forces of life. Berglinger is a pale sigh, while Kreisler has flesh and blood, a tangible and visible form. Both Tieck and Hoffmann have the same ideas about the effect of matrimony on the artist: both see in the fulfilment of love, i.e., in marriage, the death of artistic inspiration and force. The 'eternal love' of the artist is 'love par distance'; but while Tieck's and Wackenroder's ethereal natures cannot even bear the sight of the earthly beloved, Hoffmann's more robust mind sees danger only in possession. This strongly realistic leaning in Hoffmann's art finds its most decided expression however in the fairy tales, the Märchen. This is the nucleus and the most important chapter in the book. The realm of pure imagination is the only ground where the yearning of the romanticist may find complete fulfilment, without the danger of a bitter awakening to fact. But it is significant that whereas Tieck's fairyland almost never succeeds in completely satisfying his heroes, who always wish to return to mother earth and the life of reality, Hoffmann actually finds in the realm of the spirit that repose and contentment which is denied him in the real world. For Tieck, fairyland is only a temporary resting place from the stress of reality, not a goal. For Hoffmann it is the end of his endeavours, where the spirit finds the perfect harmony it needs. Tieck's fairyland is something apart from reality, a subjective creation of the hero's longing imagination, existing only as a reflection of his soul. Hoffmann's fairyland is, to be sure, not less subjective, but much less dependent on the whims of his personages. It is not somewhere far away, but right here, permeating, and permeated by, the actual world. It *is* the world seen through a different medium and consequently possessing an actuality of its own apart from the existence of the hero or his whims. It is reality seen with the eyes, not of the senses, but of the spirit. It is the world of poetry.

This fundamental difference between Tieck and Hoffmann—the former's continual swinging from real life to imagination and back again as against the latter's constancy in pursuing his spiritual aim—is well founded in the lives of the two men. Tieck, who never was in a position to be more than a spectator of life, must of necessity have had moments of longing for an active participation in the realities of existence; while Hoffmann, who was daily chained to his jurist's desk, never longed for anything but the detachment of imaginative artistry. Tieck tired of the

endless Sundays which Hoffmann enjoyed with the contentment of a week-day worker. Tieck's mind, satiated with self-reflection, began longing for more tangible, for real things; Hoffmann's imagination was rooted in reality, never suffered Tieck's disappointments and grew all the stronger for its earthliness. He is the connecting link between the transcendentalism of romantic poetry and the realism of later generations.

Dr Jost has presented his case with the utmost thoroughness and with a rare literary finish. He never loses himself in a mass of details on one hand, nor in abstract generalities on the other, but has succeeded exceptionally well in delineating Hoffmann at once as a type and an interesting individual, always grounding his literary traits in the poet's own life and character. The book is illuminating on the peculiar mentality of the romantic age to an extent that very few books are, and is not only one of the best contributions to the literature on Hoffmann and the minor German romanticists, but also a help in exploring the depths of such tangent natures as Poe and Dickens.

H. LÜDEKE.

SCHAFFHAUSEN, SWITZERLAND.

MINOR NOTICES.

Another volume of the 'Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought' edited by Mr G. G. Coulton has now seen the light. This is *The Pastons and their England* by Mr H. S. Bennett (Cambridge, University Press, 1922, 15*s*.). In these 'studies on an age of transition' Mr Bennett has very happily systematised in seventeen chapters the information given by the Paston Letters concerning every-day life in fifteenth-century England, and has drawn further illustrations from many other sources. The result is a very readable and useful book, for the general accuracy of which the name of the General Editor is sufficient warrant. A specially useful Appendix gives the present home and designation of each of the Paston Letters, the only ones not examined being those still preserved at Orford Park, Suffolk. The seeming misprints in the book are few and far between—and the style is plain and businesslike. But why is the author so fond of the unpleasant modernism 'Once the ceremony was over,' etc.? Supplementary to the book is a list of corrections to Miss Deanesly's *Lollard Bible*, the first volume of the series, which has already been noticed in this *Review*.

G. C. M. S.

We are indebted to the Clarendon Press and to Mr C. H. Wilkinson, Fellow and Librarian of Worcester College, for a reprint of W. Goddard's epigrams, '*A Neaste of Waspes latelie found out and discouered in the Law-countreys: At Dort. Printed in the Low-countreyes. 1615*' (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 18*s*.), from the copy in the Worcester College Library. Only one other copy of the book is recorded. The author shows a pride

in his profession of soldier, but he is a very coarse-minded fellow with little gift for writing. However every poetical venture of the period has interest. Two wrong numbers and some turned letters have been corrected: otherwise it is claimed that this reprint is an exact reproduction of its original. A few misprints are pointed out in the Notes: the list might perhaps have been extended, e.g. 'Couser' (4, 2) = Courser, 'oue' (14, 14) = our, 'buy' (18, 6) = by, 'The' (25, 6) = They, 'plaie' (28, 2) = praie, 'pry' (37, 2; 38, 3) = pray, 'thriste' (riming with 'curste') (37, 3) = thirste, 'il' (41, 4) = it, 'oxe' (50, 11) = foxe, 'Streakes' (81, 4) = Skreakes, 'wans' (90, 1) = mans, &c. 'Both hath...' (riming with 'wrath') (14, 21) shows that Goddard wrote what Mr Dover Wilson calls 'compositor's grammar'; the rime 'benefio'—'buy ho' (18, 3, 4) that in spite of his residence in the Low Countries he had a good English pronunciation of Latin.

G. C. M. S.

M. Sainéan's well-known series of historical studies on the *argot* of former times is fittingly completed by his comprehensive volume, *Le Langage parisien au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Boccard, 1921, xvi + 590 pp.). It is a monumental labour of love for the country of his adoption. The words, the turns of phrase, the peculiarities of syntax and pronunciation which distinguish Parisian speech in the second half of the nineteenth century are here laboriously collected and carefully discussed. The index forms a useful and indeed indispensable repertory, for it is the common experience that much of the stock-in-trade of contemporary French novelists or journalists is not to be found in Littré or Bescherelle. M. Sainéan casts his net where the strangely conservative French lexicographers have scorned to fish, and his researches into the jargon of the *poilu* alone bring a large haul. But his work is neither exhaustive nor definitive. It is indeed difficult to say what is 'Parisian' and what is not, while with the present French dictionaries it is only too easy to assume that 'modern vulgarisms' are really modern. Thus '*tout plein*,' which M. Sainéan traces back to the sixteenth century, occurs in Joinville (§ 227: 'il courut sur *tout plein* de Sarrazins'), and '*les Angliches*,' whom he thinks to be so designated only in recent years, figure, to our knowledge, in an ancient fragment which we attributed, in *Romania*, and *nem. con.*, to Jehan de Prunay—and no doubt other readers could provide pedigrees for many of his other 'modernisms.' The remedy is the publication of a French Dictionary on the generous scale of Murray, and including non-literary words. Until then M. Sainéan's work will do excellent pioneer service.

R. L. G. R.

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March—May, 1922.

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SAPIR, E., Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech. London, H. Milford. 8*s.* 6*d.*

SHELLY, P. VAN DYKE, English and French in England, 1066–1100. Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania.

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TEGETHOFF, E., Studien zum Märchentypus von Amor und Psyche. Bonn, K. Schroeder. 36 M.

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(*c*) *Modern French.*

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THE MIDDLE ENGLISH PROSE PSALTER OF RICHARD ROLLE OF HAMPOLE.

II.

THE CONNEXION BETWEEN ROLLE'S VERSION OF THE PSALTER AND EARLIER ENGLISH VERSIONS.

IN addition to the prose Psalter, the manuscripts of which were discussed in an earlier article, a Middle English metrical version of the Psalter, often called the *Surtees' Psalter*[1], was at one time attributed to Rolle. It was included by C. Horstman in the second volume of his edition of the works of Richard Rolle[2], with the remark that 'a tradition ascribes this Psalter to R. Rolle.'

The origin of this remark is a note, written in what Horstman admits to be a modern hand, in the Egerton MS. of the Metrical Psalter[3]. The book to which the writer of the note refers is Wharton's *Appendix* to the first volume of W. Cave's *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria* (London, 1688–98), but neither Wharton nor Usher, to whom he in turn refers, appears to mention the Metrical Psalter[4]. The Psalter to which they refer can be no other than Rolle's Prose Psalter[5].

Besides the testimony of this note, now shown to be valueless, the only reason for attributing the *Metrical Psalter* to Rolle is the similarity of phrase and vocabulary between it and his prose Psalter. Since, however, the language of the *Metrical Psalter* points to its having been

[1] It was edited by J. Stevenson for the Surtees Society (1843–1847).

[2] Horstman, C., *Richard Rolle of Hampole*, London, 1896.

[3] The note runs: 'Videtur hoc Psalterium in linguam anglicanam transtulisse et versibus haud elegantibus concinasse Richardus de Hampole, vero nomine Rollus, gente Anglus, Ebor. comit., ord. August. eremita; in coenobio Hampoliense prope Doncastrum vixit; obiit anno 1349. Praeter hoc varia scripsit. Vide Cave hist. lit. vol. I, p. 35 Append.'

[4] Wharton, H., Appendix to *Script. Eccles. Hist. Lit.*, I, p. 35: 'Psalterium illum in linguam Anglicanam transtulisse, et in versum illum Davidis (ne auferas de ore meo verbum veritatis usquequaq;) judicium suum de necessitate Scripturarum vernacularum proposuisse ex MS. quodam Codice testatur R. R. Usserius in Historiae Dogmaticae Controversiarum Specimine MS.' The reference is to Psalm cxviii, 43. See Usher, J., *Hist. Dogm. Controversiae de Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis* (London, 1690), pp. 162, 163. Speaking of Rolle, he says: 'Psalterium in linguam Anglicanam transtulit, et in versum illum Davidis (ne auferas de ore meo verbum veritatis usquequaque) judicium suum de necessitate Scripturarum Vernacularum proposuit.'

[5] In the comment on Psalm cxviii, 43, as printed by Bramley, Rolle does not mention the need for translations of the Bible, however. Wharton in his book *Auctarium Historiae Dogmaticae J. Usserii* (London 1689), pp. 427, 428 adds the remark that no such comment is to be found, after again quoting Usher's remarks. Possibly Usher had seen some interpolated copy of Rolle's *Psalter*, which contained this comment, though none of the interpolated copies I have examined contain it.

written before Rolle's birth, or when he was very young, and it is not provable that it was originally written in the Northern dialect[1], this similarity must be explained in some other way than by attributing both Psalters to the same writer. An alternative suggestion made by Horstman is that 'the prose translator (Rolle) is largely indebted to the older (Metrical) Psalter[2],' and investigation has shown that, though the connexion between the two Psalters is not as simple as this, there can be no doubt that some relationship exists between them. The facts seem to indicate that the same source was used in both.

This statement can only be substantiated, and the nature of the source revealed, by means of a detailed comparison of the Psalters[3].

The following passages show how constant and close the similarity between the two Psalters is. Allowance must, of course, be made for the fact that one version is in prose and the other in verse. In order to make the similarity of the two translations as clear as possible, those words in the Metrical Psalter which do not translate any word in the Vulgate, and which serve no other purpose than to fill out the verse, are in italics.

Rolle's Version.	Metrical Version.
Psalm ii.	*Psalm ii.*
4. And wrath to lord selkouthed has [illegible] lord sall here me when I [illegible] to him	4. And wrath pat lauerd his haligh selkouthe is; When I to him crie, lauerd sal here me.
5. Wretches, and [illegible] sayne that [illegible]	5. Wretches, and ne wites sinne: Pat your hertes sayne withinne. And in your kleos pat [illegible] Sin pat ye stangen here.
6. [illegible]	6. [illegible] And wites it lauerd mare pan [illegible] Many [illegible] sayn: Wha sal gaddes schewe [illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible] lauerd [illegible] Pat gaddes [illegible] hertes sayne.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Rolle's Version.

Psalm iv (contd.).

8. Of the froit of whet of wyne and of thaire oile: thai ere multiplide.

9. In pees in it self: i sall slepe and i sall rest.

10. For thou lord: syngulerly in hope has sett me.

Psalm xvii.

8. And he herd of his holy tempile my voice: and my cry in his sight inȝede in the eris of him.

9. The erthe is stirid and it quoke: the grundis of hilles ere drouyd, stirid thai ere for he is wrethid til thaim.

10. Reke steghe in the ire of him, and ire brent of his face: coles ere kyndild of him.

11. He heldid heuens and he lightid down: and myrknes undire his fete.

12. And he steghe abouen cherubyn and he flow: he flow abouen the fethirs of wyndes.

22. And he out led me in breed: he made saf me, for he wild me.

23. And lord sall ȝeld til me eftere my rightwisnes: and eftere the purte of my hend he sall ȝeld til me.

24. For i kepid the wayes of lord: i bare me noght wickidly fra my god.

25. For whi all the domes of him ere ay in my sight: and his rightwisnesis i put noght fra me.

47. Thou sall out take me fra the gayn-saiynges of folke: thou sall sett me in heued of genge.

48. Folke that i knew noght serued til me: in herynge of ere he boghed til me.

49. Othere sonnes leghid til me: other sonnes eldid ere, and thai haltid fra thaire stretis (MS. Sid. Suss. stighes).

50. Lord lifes and blissid my god: and heghed be god of my hele.

Metrical Version.

Psalm iv (contd.).

8. Ofe fruite ofe whete, of his oli and wyne
Are þai manifolded *ine*;

9. In pees in himselfe *is beste*,
Sal i slepe and sal i reste;

10. For þou, lauerd, sengely
In hope set me *witerly*.

Psalm xvii.

8. And he herd fra his hali kirke mi steuen,
And mi crie in his sighte in eres yhode *euen*.

9. Stired and quoke þe erthe *þare*,
Groundes ofe hilles todreued are,
And þai ere stired, *ofe þaim be lath*,
For þat he es with þaim wrath.

10. Upstegh reke in his ire,
And ofe face ofe him brent þe fire;
Koles *þat ware dounfalland*
Kindled ere ofe him *glouand*.

11. He helded heuens, and doune come he;
And dimnes under his fete *to be*.

12. And he stegh ouer cherubin, and flegh *þare*;
He flegh ouer fetheres ofe windes *ware*.

22. And he led me in brede *to be*:
Saufe made he me, for he wald me.

23. And foryhelde to me lauerd sal
After mi rightwisenes *al*,
And after clensing ofe mi hende
Sal he yhelde to me *at ende*.

24. For waies of lauerd yemed I,
Ne fra mi god did I wickedly.

25. For al his domes in mi sighte ere þa,
And his rightwisenes noght put I me fra.

47. Outtake fra ogainsaghes (E. again-sainges) of folk þou sal,
In heued of genge me set *with-al*.

48. Folke, whilke I ne knewe, serued to me;
In heringe of ere me boghed he.

49. Outen sones to me lighed þai.
Outen sones elded er þai;
And þai halted *þare þai yhode*,
Fra þine sties *þat ere gode*.

50. Lauerd liues! and mi god blissed be!
And god ofe mi hele uphouen be he!

Rolle's Version.

Psalm xxxvii.

4. For my wickidnessis ouergane ere my heued: as heuy birthyn heuyd thai ere on me.

5. Thai rotid and thai ere brokyn, myn erres[1]: fra the face of myn unwit.

6. Wrechid i am made and krokid i am in til the end: all the day sary i ȝede.

7. For my lendis ful ere fild of hethyngis: and hele is not in my fleysse.

8. I am tourmentid and i am mekid ful mykill: i romyd[2] fra the sorow of my hert.

9. Lord bifor the all my desire: and my sorowynge fra the is not hid.

10. My hert is druuyd, my vertu has forsaken me: and light of myn eghen, and it is not with me.

11. My frendis and my neghburs: agayns me neghid and stode.

12. And thai that ware biside me stode olenght: and fors thai made that soght my saule.

Psalm lxxxvii.

1. Lorde god of my hele: in daye I cryid and in night before the.

2. In ga in thy sight my prayer: heilde thin ere till my bede.

3. For fulfilled is of illes my sawle: and my life neghid till hell.

4. I am wenyd with lightand in the lake: maide I am as man withouten helpe I mange dede free.

10. I till the lorde cryid: all day i sprad my hands till the.

11. Whether to deade thou sall doe wounders: or leches sall raise and thai sall shrive till the.

12. Whether any in grave sall tell thy mercy: and thi softfastnes in tinsill[3].

Metrical Version.

Psalm xxxvii.

4. For mi wicnesses mi heued ere ouergon,
Als heui birþin heuied me on.

5. Stanke and roten mine erres[1] ere ma,
Fra face of mine unwisdome *sara*.

6. Wrecched and croked til ende am I:
Alle dai dreried I inwent *for-þi*.

7. For mi lendes filled with bismers (E. H. beþinges) are,
And hele in mi fleesche es na mare.

8. I am twinged and meked *for unquerte*,
I romied[2] fra sighinge (E. sorgh) of mi herte.

9. Lauerd, bifor þe alle mi yorninge,
And fra þe noght hid es mi sighinge.

10. Mi hert is droued *withinne me*,
And forsoke mi might *with me to be*:
And light of mine eghen *tara*,
And it es noght with me *sara*.

11. Mine frendes and mine neghburs *gode*
Ogaines me neghed and stode;

12. And þat bi me ware, þai stode olenght,
And [þat] soght mi saule, þai maked strenght.

Psalm lxxxvii.

1. Lauerd, god of mi hele, in dai cried i
And bi nighte bifore þe, *sothli*.

2. Inga in þi sight bede mine,
Unto mi praier helde ere þine.

3. For fulfilled es mi saule of wa,
Mi life neghed to helle *als-sara*.

4. I am wened *in ilka land*
To þas þat ere in flosche falland,
Made am i als man *to se*
Withouten help, bitwix dede fre;

10. Lauerd, to þe al dai i cried,
Mine hend to þe i outspred.

11. Wher wondres to dede saltou do?
Ore leches sal rere (E. H. rise) and schriue þe to?

12. Wher ani in thrughes sal telle þi milthnes,
Ore in tinsel[3] þi sothnes?

[1] ate 'cicatrices.' [2] V. 'rugiebam.' [3] V. 'perdicione.'

Rolle's Version.	Metrical Version.
Psalm lxxxvii (contd.).	*Psalm lxxxvii (contd.).*
13. Whether sal be knawen in mirkenes thi woundirs: and thi rightwisnes in land of forgettyng.	13. Wher knawen sal be þi wondres in mirkenes, Or þi rightwisenes in land ofe forgetelnes? (E. Or in land ofe forgeting þi rightwisnes.)
Psalm ci.	*Psalm ci.*
3. In what day that i hafe inkald the: swiftly thou here me.	3. In whatkin dai i kalle þe, (E. In what dai kald haue I þe) Swithlike (E. H. Swiftli) þan here þou me.
4. For my dayes failyd as reke: and my banys as kraghan[1] dryid.	4. For waned als reke mi daies *swa*, And mi banes als krawkan[1] dried *þa*.
5. Smytyn i am as hay and my hert dryed: for i forgat to ete my brede.	5. I am smiten als hai, dried mi herte, For i forgate to ete mi brede *in querte*.
9. All day upbraydid til me my fas: and tha that louyd me agayns me thai sware.	9. Alle dai upbraided me mi faa, And þate me looued ogain me swore þa:
10. For aske i ete as brede: and my drynke i mengid with gretynge.	10. For askes (E. H. aske) als ite ware brede i ete, And i mengid mi drinke with grete:
11. Fra the face of the wreth of thi dedeyn: for upliftand thou downsmate me.	11. Fra face ofe wreth, ofe dedeinyhe of þe; For upheueand tognodded þou me.
12. Mine dayes as shadow heldid: and i dryed as hay.	12. Mine daies als schadwe helded þai, And i dried als it ware hai.

In these and many other passages, verse after verse corresponds in the two versions in vocabulary and sentence structure. It must be admitted, however, that in many passages which show similarities, no unusual words occur, and the constructions merely follow those of the Vulgate. In ii, 13, for instance, Rolle's *Psalter* has 'When his ire has brent in short,' and the *Metrical Psalter* has a similar phrase, 'When in schorte his wreth tobrent has he,' but both are clearly only literal translations of the Vulgate words, 'Cum exarsit in brevi ira eius.'

It may be contended, therefore, that many of the passages showing resemblances furnish little evidence that the two versions were connected, since both are translations from the Vulgate, and they were written within a century of one another.

While acknowledging the force of this contention, it is still possible to show that the facts point unmistakably to the existence of some connexion. In addition to the many continuous passages which correspond in the two Psalters, but which are simple in construction and

[1] V. 'cremium.'

vocabulary, there are numbers of more or less isolated verses which show striking and significant similarities. In some, the Vulgate is translated so curiously that it is hardly credible that two writers could have chosen the same words and phrases independently of one another. A verse in which both show the same unusual translation is xxvii, 3. The Vulgate is 'Ne simul tradas me cum peccatoribus.' Rolle's version is 'Gif me noght samen with synful,'—the Metrical version 'Ne samen gif me with sinnand.' The expression 'gif...samen' is unusual. The Wycliffite versions have 'Ne take thou me togidere with synneres,' or 'Bitake thou not me togidere with synneris.' Unusual words occur in both Psalters in Psalm ii, 1 (V. 'Quare fremuerunt gentes: et populi meditati sunt inania'). The *Metrical Psalter* has,

> Wharefore gnaisted gomes (H. genge) swo,
> And folke unnait thoght þai þo?

Rolle translates, 'Whi gnaistid the genge: and the folke thoght unnayte thyngs.' In cxxviii, 3, the Vulgate words 'Supra dorsum meum fabricauerunt peccatores: prolongauerunt iniquitatem suam,' are translated in the *Metrical Psalter*,

> Ouer mi bake smithed sinful *ai*;
> Þair wickednesse forlengþed þai.

Rolle has both the verbs used in the *Metrical Psalter*. 'Abouen my bak synful smythed: thei lengthid thair wickidnes.' The verb 'to smith' does not occur elsewhere in his *Psalter*. In vii, 2 (V. 'Ne quando rapiat ut leo animam meam: dum non est qui redimat neque qui saluum faciat'), both English versions translate 'rapiat' by the word 'reue[1]' and 'redimat' by 'byes.' The word mostly used in Middle English to mean 'redeem' is 'aȝenbie,' which is found in both the Wycliffite versions. Instead of the more common words 'searching' or 'seeking,' 'ransakand' is used in the *Metrical Psalter* and by Rolle to translate the Latin 'scrutans' in vii, 10. In xliv, 1 the rare word 'riftid[2]' occurs in both to translate 'eructauit.' Other rare words and phrases that are common to both versions are 'umgifen with sernes' (=circumdata varietate)[3], 'lopird' (=coagulatus)[4], 'shamel' (=scabellum)[5], 'be littid' (=intinguatur)[6], and 'offrandis merghid' (=holocausta medullata)[7].

The closeness of the two versions compared with any other English

[1] Rolle might have translated 'rapiat' by 'rauysche' as the Wycliffite versions do. The word was known to him, for he uses it in the comment on Psalm cvi, 5.

[2] The *N.E.D.* only records its use once (in a passage from the *Cursor Mundi*) before the sixteenth century.

[3] See xliv, 11. [4] lxvii, 16. [5] cix, 2. [6] lxvii, 25.

[7] lxv, 14. The word merȝ, mearȝ (= marrow) is common enough, but the verb 'to be full of marrow' only seems to occur in these two Psalters.

version of the Psalter again points to some connexion between them. When the most simple passages in Rolle's *Psalter*—passages containing nothing remarkable in vocabulary or syntax—are compared with the Wycliffite versions, the differences between them will be found far greater than those between Rolle's *Psalter* and the *Metrical Psalter*. Yet little more than fifty years separates the two later versions, and both are in prose.

The chief fact, however, which points to a connexion between Rolle's *Psalter* and the *Metrical Psalter* is one that has already been mentioned, but which needs emphasizing, since it is probably the most significant of all. It is the continuous appearance of similarities throughout the whole Psalter. There seems to be no Psalm in which there are not many verses similar in vocabulary and syntax in the two versions, and in the large majority of Psalms there are verses that are identical. Unimportant as many of the similarities undoubtedly are in themselves, their cumulative significance must be admitted. It can hardly be mere coincidence that in one Psalm after another the same words and turns of phrase have been chosen in both versions to translate the Vulgate. This fact, together with the other evidence, may be taken to prove some connexion between the two. The nature of the connexion has yet to be decided. An examination of the ways in which the two versions differ is likely to throw some light on the problem.

Differences in vocabulary occur most frequently. Often neither version uses an uncommon word, and, consequently, there is nothing significant in the differences between them. Different words of native origin, all in common use, are found in the following verses:

Rolle's Version, Psalm cxii, 1: Barnys louys oure lord louys the name of lord.

Metrical Version: Herihes lauerd, þat childer be;
Name ofe lauerd herihe ye.

Rolle's Version, Psalm xxi, 1: God my god loke in me whi has thou me forsakyn: fere fra my hele the wordis of my synnys.

Metrical Version: God, mi god, in me bise,
Wharfor forletedest þou me?
Ful fer fra mi hele ere þa
Wordes of mi giltes *ma*.

More often Rolle uses a word of French origin, where the older *Metrical Psalter* has a native word. The Latin word 'virtue' is always translated 'vertu' by Rolle, but 'might' by the author of the *Metrical Psalter*[1]; the

[1] See Psalms xvii, 43; xx, 1; xxi, 15; xxviii, 10; xxxvii, 10; etc.

word 'vox' is always 'voice' in the former, and 'steuen' in the latter[1]. Rolle uses 'ioy[2],' 'enmy[3],' 'bataile[4]' regularly where the Metrical version has 'blisse,' 'fa,' 'fight.' There are many verses in which all the differences are of this kind[5].

Occasionally the differences in vocabulary are more striking. The *Metrical Psalter* sometimes has an unusual word which is not found in Rolle's translation. The former sometimes translates 'malediccio' by 'mallok,' whereas Rolle has the more usual 'weriynge[6]'; the former has 'yhoten[7],' 'þild[8],' 'ferinkli[9],' where Rolle has 'geaunt,' 'paciens,' 'sodanly.' Some of these words must have been archaic in Rolle's time, and unintelligible to him. Some of them may even have been archaic at the time when the *Metrical Psalter* itself was written[10].

Different interpretations of the Vulgate are sometimes found in the two versions. Rolle translates 'pestilencie' by 'pestilens' (Psalm i, 1), but the Metrical version has 'storme.' In xli, 9 'catharactum' is translated 'gutters' by Rolle, 'takenes' in the *Metrical Psalter*. These readings from the *Metrical Psalter* perhaps hardly deserve the name of different interpretations. They are better classed with the many instances of faulty translation. Some of the mistakes in translation occur frequently, and are easily explained. The writer of the *Metrical Psalter* often chooses the wrong meaning for a Latin word which is capable of being translated in more than one way. In Psalm cxxxi, 5 the word 'temporibus' occurs in the Vulgate[11], meaning 'temples.' Rolle so translates it, but the earlier Psalter uses the meaning 'time,' and translates 'And rest to mine times.' The Latin word 'os' is wrongly rendered 'mouth' in the *Metrical Psalter* more than once[12], while Rolle has the correct translation 'bane.' A similar mistake is the apparent confusion between 'insipiente' which appears in the Vulgate, Ps. lxxiii, 23 (V. 'eorum que ab insipiente sunt,' Rolle, 'of tha that ere of the unwise'), and 'incipiente' (the *Metrical Psalter* translates: 'of þa whilke ai Are fra þe beginnand'). In Psalm lvii, 5 'venefici' is translated 'venym makere' by Rolle, and 'hunter' in two MSS. (E.H.) of the *Metrical Psalter*, evidently because it has been confused with the verb 'venari' (to hunt). The writer of the *Metrical Psalter* frequently mistakes the

[1] See Psalms v, 2; vi, 8; xvii, 8; xxvii, 2, 8; xxviii, 7; etc.
[2] Psalm vii, 5; viii, 6; xvi, 17; xxiii, 7, 8; xxv, 8; xxviii, 8; xxix, 14; etc.
[3] Psalm v, 9; vi, 7; xii, 3; xvi, 14; xvii, 4, 41, 44; etc.
[4] Psalm xvii, 37, 43; xxvi, 6; lxxv, 3; lxxxviii, 42.
[5] See xvi, 17; xvii, 8; xviii, 5; xx, 9; xxix, 11; etc.
[6] See ix, 29; xiii, 6.
[7] See xviii, 6.
[8] See lxi, 5.
[9] See lxii, 4.
[10] See p. 348 for a possible explanation of the appearance of these archaic words in the *Metrical Psalter*.
[11] V. 'et requiem temporibus meis.'
[12] See ci, 6; cxxxviii, 14.

significance of verb forms. He translates a perfect tense as a present when confronted by a verb in which the ending of 3rd person sg. is the same in both and even in some cases where the forms are distinct. For example 'conuertit' (xxii, 2) is translated 'tornes' (contrast Rolle's 'turnyd'), though the other verb in the same verse is in the perfect[1]. Less frequently he has the reverse mistake[2]. Sometimes he uses the active present infinitive to translate the Latin passive imperative (2nd person sg.)[3]. Deponent verbs confuse him too. In Psalm ix, 34 'oblitus est deus' is translated 'god forgeten is' (Rolle, 'god has forgetyn'); in cxliii, 9 'locutum est' is translated 'spekes' (Rolle, 'spak'); 'letatus sum' is translated 'I am faine' (Ps. cxxi, 1, Rolle, 'I was glad'). In lvii, 9 the wrong person is used, 'absorbet' being rendered 'salt þou... Swelyhe' (Rolle, 'it sall...swelugh'). In xxvi, 18 'sibi' is wrongly translated (V. 'mentita est iniquitas sibi'; *Met. Ps.* 'And leghed to þam þair wickenes'; Rolle, 'and wickidnes has leghid til it self'). In xxxiii, 3 'in idipsum' is rendered 'in him-selfe' (Rolle, 'in itselfe')[4].

All these instances of faulty translation are found in the *Metrical Psalter* only; Rolle steers clear of them. On the other hand there are a certain number of mistakes to be found in Rolle's version and not in the earlier version. Among these are the use of the 2nd person plural of the present indicative passive, 'ȝe ere heghid' to translate the imperative passive (*Met. Ps.* 'uphouen be yhe'). 'Hec' is wrongly rendered by 'there' in xli, 4 (*Met. Ps.* 'þis'), and 'surde' by 'doumbe' (*Met. Ps.* 'def') in lvii, 4. Middendorff in his study of Rolle's *Psalter*[5] mentions a good many more faulty translations, mostly due to misunderstanding of verb forms.

When these facts are brought to bear upon the problem of the connexion between Rolle's *Psalter* and the *Metrical Psalter*, it is clear merely from the number of differences that exist between them that the connexion cannot have been an extremely close one[6]. There are

[1] See also x, 8; xxi, 25; lxvii, 9; lxviii, 18. [2] See xi, 5; lvii, 7; cxii, 5.

[3] Psalm cix, 3; V. 'dominare in medio inimicorum tuorum'; Rolle 'be lord in middes of thin enmye'; *Metrical Psalter* 'To be lauerd thrugh þe land. In middes of þine illeuilland.'

[4] A mistake due simply to a misreading of the Latin is to be found in Ps. xxvi, 7 and is pointed out by Horstman, p. 157. The Vulgate has 'Unam pecii a domino,' which Rolle correctly translates 'Ane i askid of lord,' but the author of the Metrical version has read 'Vitam' instead of 'Unam,' and translates 'Life ofe lauerd asked i.'

[5] *Studien über R. Rolle von Hampole*, by H. Middendorff, Magdeburg, 1888.

[6] The instances of mistranslations of the Vulgate on the part of both versions are too few in number and too unimportant to be of any use in proving a close connexion. They might easily all be due to coincidence. In Psalm ii, 10 'erudimini' is translated in both by the 2nd person plural of the present indicative passive, whereas it is the 2nd pers. pl. of the imperative passive. (See both Wycliffite Versions.) In cxxvi, 4 the Vulgate has

three ways in which the two might have been connected. Rolle might have had a copy of the *Metrical Psalter* beside him as he worked and have constantly referred to it, or he might have read the *Metrical Psalter* (or heard it read or repeated) before he made his own translation. If he had read it or heard it several times, he would perhaps have known parts of it by heart, and the similarities between it and his work would occur when he remembered the words of the *Metrical Psalter*. Either of these suppositions implies a direct connexion between the two. Thirdly, there might have been an indirect connexion through some earlier Psalter version which the authors of both the later versions used. Whether the connexion was a direct one or not cannot be positively decided by considering differences in vocabulary. There was nothing to prevent Rolle from using the French words, which were becoming daily more common, instead of native words, even though he had the *Metrical Psalter* in front of him. Yet the number of these French words would be a little surprising if Rolle were actually referring to the earlier Psalter verse by verse. The fact that Rolle translates correctly where the *Metrical Psalter* has mistakes proves nothing, for we know that Rolle was a fair Latin scholar and he might easily have recognised and avoided the mistakes of the earlier version as he went along. Yet again the number of instances of this kind is surprising, since if Rolle were using as a source a complete Psalter written so near his own time, he would be less on his guard against such mistakes than if he were labouring unaided, or even with some far older or less complete version to help him. That Rolle makes mistakes where the earlier Psalter does not is more significant. This would hardly occur if there were direct connexion. Such mistakes are, however, not very numerous, and it is hardly safe to base any conclusion upon them.

These are indications only that the connexion between the two was not a direct one. There is one consideration that seems to prove this. Supposing that Rolle were reading the *Metrical Psalter* verse by verse, or were repeating what he remembered of it to himself, it would have seemed inevitable that he should introduce some of the tags which that version contains. Yet there is no instance of this in the whole of his

'ecce hereditas domini filii merces fructus ventris.' The later Wycliffite version translates 'lo! the eritage of the lord is sones (filii = nom. pl.), the mede is the fruyt of woombe,' but both Rolle and the earlier writer take 'filii' as gen. sg. (Rolle: 'lo the heritage of lord mede of sun, froyt of wambe'; *Met. Ps.* 'Loke eritage ofe lauerd ofe blisse Sones hires, fruite ofe wambe isse'). Both translate 'gratis' by a similar phrase 'of selfe will' (Rolle), 'selwilli' (*Met. Ps.*), thus differing from Wycliffe's translation 'without cause' (Ps. cviii, 2). Rolle's comment, however, runs, 'this thai did of selfe will, that is, withouten rightwis chesun,' showing that he knows the true meaning of the word.

Psalter; he does not even incorporate the little word 'swa,' which occurs so often in the Metrical version for the sake of the rhyme[1].

There remains only the possibility of an indirect connexion. The hypothesis of an early Middle English (Northern[2]) interlinear gloss on the Vulgate[3] would, I think, solve the problem of the connexion between the two versions. Its restraining influence would account for the numerous verses in which the Latin constructions, and sometimes even the Latin order of words are preserved in both[4], and would explain, to some extent, the poorness of Rolle's translation of the Vulgate, as compared with his other translations. The constant similarity in unimportant words and phrases between Rolle's *Psalter* and the *Metrical Psalter*, and the more striking similarities that occur less frequently would be accounted for if both used the same earlier Psalter. At the same time, if it were but a gloss, it would not be intended to be intelligible apart from the Latin, and consequently the authors who used it would continually be forced to rely upon their own wits in expanding it if they were making versions which purported to be real translations. Differences in construction between the two Psalters can be explained in this way. The gloss would be used, especially by a writer like Rolle, who had a considerable knowledge of Latin, rather as a dictionary than as a source. He would turn to it for suggestions, not use it as a model to be slavishly copied. Hence he would not scruple to introduce new words in place of those which were becoming archaic, and he would correct mistranslations he might find there. The writer of the *Metrical Psalter*, on the other hand, translating many years earlier, would be able to use many of the words which Rolle found archaic. He even seems to have preserved some which were out of date in his own day, probably because his knowledge of Latin, clearly inferior to Rolle's, was too slight to enable him to substitute others. This slight knowledge of Latin explains his numerous

[1] See *Met. Ps.* vii, 5; ix, 7, 16; xiii, 5, 7; xvi, 14, 15; xvii, 36; etc.

[2] I suppose it to have been Northern because of the numbers of words of Scandinavian origin that are found in both Psalters.

[3] The gloss may well have been of the same kind as the O.E. Vespasian Psalter. Like it, it may have had translations of the Canticles which Rolle could have used.

[4] Ps. ix, 42 is an instance. Neither author appears to grasp the meaning of the Latin. Each Latin word is translated into English, but the result is nonsense. The Vulgate version is 'ut non apponat ultra magnificare se homo super terram'; Rolle has—'that man sett noght ouer to wirschip himself abouen erth,'—the Metrical version 'and noght set he Our mikel him man ouer erþe.' If there were an early gloss something like this (the words in brackets are doubtful):

ut	non	apponat	ultra	magnificare	se	homo	super	terram.
that	noght	sett	ouer	(to wirschip)	him(self)	man	(abouen)	erth,

the clumsy versions of Rolle and the *Metrical Psalter* are explained as attempts to make something intelligible out of this gloss.

mistranslations, which he either inherited unknowingly from the earlier gloss, or perpetrated himself in elaborating that gloss.

A further indication of the nature of the gloss used by the writers of the two Psalters is possibly to be obtained by following up a suggestion of Horstman's with regard to the archaic character of the vocabulary of the *Metrical Psalter*. He suggested (see *Richard Rolle of Hampole*, II, p. 130, Note) that it might be due to the translator's having 'utilized ags. glosses or versions...retaining many of the words found there... even such as he no longer understood and therefore misread or misapplied.' M. Konrath[1] pours scorn on this suggestion, and declares it impossible that a translator of the thirteenth century should have been influenced by O.E. Glosses. Yet the instances of words and phrases which are similar, and often identical, in the *Metrical Psalter* and one or other of the O.E. Glosses are striking and numerous enough to prove some connexion. The commoner instances of similarity have have been omitted from the list below and only those which are remarkable are quoted[2]:

	Metrical Psalter.	*O.E. Glosses.*
Psalm		
[illegible]	Whate swa he dees sal sounde-fulle cf. xliv. 3	swahwæt swa deð beoð gesundfullude quecumque fecerit prosperabuntur. Cambridge Psalter. cf. Cant. Ps.
[illegible]	And hine aghte, mere of landes	[illegible] et possessionem totam terminos terre. Camb. Ps. cf. Vesp. Ps.
[illegible]	[illegible] to me. cf. [illegible]	[illegible] me [illegible] Camb. Ps. cf. Vesp.
[illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] were [illegible] Camb. Ps.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] Camb. Ps. cf. Camb. Vesp.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] Camb. Ps. see various MS. readings

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Psalm	*Metrical Psalter.*	*O.E. Glosses.*
xxix, 7.	I sothlik saide in mi might-somnes[1].	ȝenihtsumnysse abundantia (Camb. Ps., cf. Cant., Vesp.)
xxxvii, 7.	For mi lendis filled with bismers are.	ȝefyllyd ys bysmyrnyssum co[n]pleta est inlusionibus. (Camb. Ps., cf. Cant., Vesp.)
lix, 9.	In Ydume sal I þinne[1] mi scho.	ic aðennu extendam. (Vesp. Ps., cf. Camb., Cant.)
lxi, 5.	For fra him al þe þild of me.	forðan from him ys ȝeþyld min quoniam ab ipso est patientia mea. (Camb. Ps., cf. Vesp., Cant.)
lxiii, 4.	Ferinkli (E.H. feringli[1]) schote him sal þai swa.	færinȝa scotydon hine subito saȝitabunt eum. (Camb. Ps., cf. Vesp.)
lxvii, 4.	setelgange.	settlȝonȝ occasum. (Camb. Ps., see variant MS. readings.)
civ, 38.	...and come þe edissehenne...	...com heom erschenn (edischen, Spelman) uenit eis coturnix. (Camb. Ps., and note, cf. Vesp.)
cix, 2.	Schamel of þi fete.	...scæmel fot þinre scabellum pedum tuorum. (Cant. Ps., cf. Camb., Vesp.)
cxvii, 18.	ȝraihand lauerd me ȝrahed me[1].	...þreaȝynde he þreade me castigans castiȝauit me. (Camb. Ps., cf. Vesp.)
cxlvii, 17.	He sendes as snodes his cristal.	...snæda... bucellas. (Spelman.)

In every one of the instances given above the *Metrical Psalter* uses curious words or phrases, many of which are not found elsewhere in Middle English. In every instance, something similar occurs in the O.E. Glosses[2]. This can hardly be mere coincidence, and must point to a connexion between them and the *Metrical Psalter*. The author of the *Metrical Psalter* did not use as source any copy of the O.E. Glosses

[1] This word is mentioned by Horstman as one which was taken over from the O.E. Glosses and misread, because it was obsolete. It may, on the other hand, have been a new formation, as Konrath suggests, though the evidence of all the other similarities is against this. 'þinne' and 'ferinkli' may also be misreadings of the O.E. forms, and 'ȝraihand,' 'ȝrahed.'

[2] There are other curious words which are possibly to be explained as misreadings of the O.E. Glosses. Psalm lxxiii, 21 has the word 'sestrede' (E. cestered) meaning 'obscurati' (cf. also cxxxviii, 11), which may be derived by misreading or sound substitution from O.E. þeostrian. This is the suggestion of the *N.E.D.* The O.E. Glosses have 'aþystrude' (Camb.), 'aþeostrade' (Vesp.). There may be some remote connexion between the curious word 'storspeches' in the Harleian MS. of the *Metrical Psalter* (E. forspeches, Vesp. storest speches) meaning 'increpationes' and the word 'ongeþræorspreca' in the Cant. Ps. (Ps. xxxvii, 15).

known to us, however. There are several archaic or curious words used in the *Metrical Psalter* which do not correspond to anything in these O.E. Psalter Glosses. Such is the word 'lickam,' always wrongly used to mean 'face[1].' Others are 'liþerand' (malignancium, xxi, 16), 'rorde' (sonus, xvii, 4), 'beryhinges' (saluacionum, xxvii, 11). Moreover, those words which do correspond to forms in the Glosses, show, as a rule, signs of change[2], as though there were some intermediate stage between the O.E. Glosses and the Middle English words. May not this stage be a partially modernised form of the O.E. Glosses, written at some period between their compilation and the writing of the *Metrical Psalter*? If this hypothesis is accepted, there seems no serious objection against identifying the modernised gloss with that which Rolle and the writer of the *Metrical Psalter* both used. Naturally they did not treat it alike, and Rolle, being the greater scholar, and further removed from it, followed it less closely than the earlier writer.

DOROTHY EVERETT.

OXFORD.

[1] See x, 8; xv, 11; xvi, 3; xvii, 46, etc.
[2] See p. 347, note 4, and p. 349, note 2, above.

ANDREW MARVELL: SOME BIOGRAPHICAL POINTS.

I. His Home at Hull.

For a century and a half all lives of Marvell and all histories of Hull have consistently stated that his father, the Rev. Andrew Marvell, was Master of the Grammar School at Hull. This is an error. The facts are made quite clear by the Hull Bench Books, i.e. minute-books of the Corporation.

From these books we learn that in 1613 Robert Fowbery was succeeded as schoolmaster by James Burnett (also called Burnet and Burney). In 1632 Burnett, having obtained a benefice, resigned and was succeeded by the usher, Mr Stevenson. Stevenson resigned for a like reason in 1646. The master (sometimes called the headmaster) and the usher were both appointed by the Corporation and there would be no difficulty in compiling a complete list of those who held both positions, at any rate from 1586 onward—the most interesting name among the ushers being that of Robert Witty (1636–1642) for whose translation of Primrose's *Vulgar Errors* Marvell junior later wrote two commendatory poems.

Marvell senior was at Winestead from 1614 to 1624 and at Hull from 1624 till his death in 1641, so that there is no room whatever for him as master of the school. Further the Bench Books record that on the death in 1624 of Thomas Whincopp, who combined the offices of Town's Preacher (or Lecturer of Holy Trinity Church) and Master of God's House (an almshouse commonly known as the Charterhouse), the Rev. Andrew Marvell was chosen to succeed him in both offices. But there is no mention of any change whatever at the school at this time. Again in 1641 on Marvell's death he was succeeded in the same two offices by William Stiles, but no change is recorded at the school.

How did the mistake arise? The earliest published account of Marvell senior is that in Fuller's *Worthies*, where nothing is said about his having been a schoolmaster. Then Thomas Cooke in his edition (1726) of the son's poems has a short account of the father and calls him 'Minister and Schoolmaster of *Kingston* on *Hull*.' It is the son's next

editor, Captain Edward Thompson in 1776, who first calls the father 'master of the publick grammar school' at Hull.

Thompson had himself been educated at the Hull Grammar School, and, taking Cooke's description of Marvell as a schoolmaster as correct, he would be safe in inferring that he must have been master of his own old school. The origination of the error lies with Cooke and it only adds one more to the long list of those for which he is responsible. He was a young Whig writer of twenty-three with no qualifications for editorship, but he had talked with the poet's nieces. I suggest (grotesque as it may sound) that he had been told that Marvell senior was 'Master of the Charterhouse' at Hull, that he was acquainted with Charterhouse School in London, and that he therefore jumped to the conclusion that Marvell had been a schoolmaster[1].

These facts necessitate two corrections in current biographies of the poet. In the first place he had not the advantage (or disadvantage) of being at school under his own father. He was certainly a pupil at the school. Probability is turned into certainty by a passage from *Mr Smirke*, p. 6—'*Scanning* was a liberal Art that we learn'd at Grammar-School'—which Mr Birrell quotes in his book on Marvell in the *English Men of Letters* series. But his teachers were Burnett and Stevenson, not his father. Secondly the poet did not live from the age of three to that of twelve in the schoolmaster's house by Holy Trinity Church in the centre of the town, but at the separate house[2] of the Master of the Charterhouse in which the Master was obliged to live by the terms of his appointment, and from which he was not allowed to be absent without first obtaining leave from the Corporation. These almshouse buildings were outside the town, about a quarter of a mile north of the walls and some fifty yards from the River Hull. There were gardens belonging to the Charterhouse. It is worth noting then that Marvell, the 'garden poet,' Marvell, who in the inspired parts of *Appleton House* displays such an astonishing intensity of feeling for the country, did actually live in the country during the whole of his boyhood until he went to Cambridge in 1633, and not, as has been supposed, in the tightly-packed little town of Hull. Into Hull he merely made daily journeys to school.

[1] Tickell in his *History of Hull* (1796) says that Marvell was master of the Grammar School in 1620. Cooke said that Andrew junior was born at Hull in 1620. Tickell must have deduced from this that Andrew senior was living in Hull in 1620. But he knew that he was not Lecturer or Master of the Charterhouse till 1624. Therefore he must have been Master of the Grammar School then. Much of Marvell's early biography consists of error piled on error in this way.

[2] See *The History of God's House of Hull, commonly called The Charterhouse* by J. Cook (Hull, 1882).

II. His Capture by the 'Jesuits.'

This well-known story was first told by Cooke in the *Life* prefixed to his edition and Cooke, followed by everyone since, puts the incident in Marvell's undergraduate days. He expressly states that Marvell 'afterwards pursued his Studys with indefatigable Application; and in the year 1638 proceeded Bachelor of Arts.'

Cooke's other details are picturesque but not necessarily accurate. The main fact however is corroborated by a letter preserved among the Hull Corporation papers, which was first discovered by Grosart and printed in his edition of Marvell (1872). It was again printed, with a few minor corrections, by Mr T. T. Wildridge in the *Hull Letters* (1886), and by Mr Birrell, who took it from Grosart. The letter, which has no date and of which the signature is lost, is now printed exactly as it is to-day.

Worthy S^r^ Mr. Breerecliffe being wth me to day I related unto him a fearfull passage lately at Cambri^d^g touching a sonne of mine Bachelor of Arts in Katharine Hall wch was this:

He was lately invited to a supper in towne by a gentlewoman, where was one Mr. Nichols a felow of Peterhouse and another or two masters of arts I know not directly whether felowes or not: my sonne having noe p^r^ferment but living meerely of my penny they pressed him much to come to live at their house and for chamber and extraordinary bookes they promised farre: and then earnestly moved him to goe to Somerset house where they could doe much for p^r^ferring him to some eminent place and in conclusion[1] to popish arguments to seduce him soe rotten and unsavory as being overheard it was brought in question before the heads of the University: Dr. Cosens being Vice Chancelor noe punishment is inioined him: but one Ashwednesday next a recantation in regent house of some popish tenets Nicols let fall: I pceive by Mr. Breerecliffe some such prank used towards y^r^ sonne; I desire to know what y^u^ did therin: thinking I cannot doe god better service then bring it uppon the stage ei[ther] in Parliament if it hold: or informing some Lords [of] the counsail to whom I stand much oblieged, if a bill in Star chamber be meete to terrify others by making these some publique spectacle: for if such fearfull practises may goe unpunished I take care whether I may send a child [*about six words missing*] Yours in the lord

Grosart conjectured from the contents that this letter was addressed to the Rev. Andrew Marvell. He was certainly right. The fact that it is among the Hull papers shows that it was sent to someone there, the conclusion 'Yours in the lord' that it came from one clergyman to another, and the contents that the clergyman to whom it was sent had a son at Cambridge. All this fits in with Marvell senior and the reference to the son fits in with Cooke's story. Further Mr Wildridge in the *Hull Letters* notes: 'This letter is one of a number apparently at one time

[1] It looks as if the writer had inadvertently left out a verb here, such as 'resorted' or 'turned.'

bound in a book, and a fragment of an index indicates it to be a letter written by the Rev. Andrew Marvell. But his son, the greater Marvell, graduated at Trinity College, not Catherine's, so it is fairly clear the letter was to, not from, the elder Marvell.'

Several hundred papers were bound together in a book and numbered, perhaps by Abraham de la Pryme about 1700. Subsequently the book was dismembered and the numbered papers are now to be found among the various classified sets of documents preserved at Hull. This letter was numbered 498. The index (I have not seen the fragment referred to) must have been an index to the miscellaneous papers in the book, and the fragment must have connected 498 with the name of Marvell.

Grosart, followed by Mr Wildridge, conjectured 1638 as the date of this letter to fit in with the traditional place of this incident in Marvell's Cambridge career. In this he was wrong. Mr Birrell notes that 'the reference to Dr Cosens, or Cosin, gives a clue to the date, for Cosin was chosen Vice-Chancellor on the fourth of November 1639.' The authority for this is Worthington's *Diary* (Chetham Society), vol. I, p. 7. It is possible however to date it still more accurately than that. Cosens was Vice-Chancellor for one year only: therefore the Ash Wednesday referred to as still in the future must be Ash Wednesday 1640 which fell on February 18. Further, Worthington states in his diary that on January 16, 1640 Nicols was 'imprisoned for speaking against the King's supremacy and seducing to Popery.' This imprisonment may have been a punishment, in which case the letter was written before January 16. But I think that more probably it means the arrest by the University authorities, as a result of which Nicols was sentenced to 'a recantation in regent house.' This would date the letter about the end of January, and the mention of a possible Parliament supports the later date. The Short Parliament, the first for eleven years, met on April 13, 1640 and the elections for it were held in March.

The date of the letter therefore is January 1640. I have also succeeded in discovering that the writer was the Rev. John Norton, vicar of Welton, a village about ten miles west of Hull, but this fact has little bearing on Marvell's biography, and I have therefore relegated the steps by which it is established to an appendix, which will be found at the conclusion of this article.

Norton clearly wrote to the elder Marvell because he had just heard through a common acquaintance 'Mr Breerecliffe' that their sons had had similar experiences at Cambridge. It is impossible, especially considering the nearness of Hull and Welton, that the trouble with young

Marvell can have been two years or more old. We must certainly date his capture by the 'Jesuits' some time in the latter half of 1639, i.e. after he had taken his degree[1].

On April 13, 1638 Marvell had become a scholar of his college, and this fact combined with Cooke's misplacing of the 'Popish' escapade has enabled successive biographers to build up a story how 'it appears from his own handwriting' that 'the fugitive was once more received' at Trinity, the scholarship presumably taking the place of a fatted calf. As a matter of fact among the signatures of Scholars admitted April 13, 1638 (in the Admission Book for Fellows, Officers and Scholars) the sixth entry among 39 is 'Andreas Marvell discipulus juratus et admissus,' without doubt in his own handwriting. There is nothing to distinguish him from any of the other Scholars admitted, and certainly no indication of any scrape[2].

It may be that, when in 1639 young Marvell came for a short time under 'Popish' influences, he was persuaded to go to London as Cooke states. Somerset House, mentioned in Norton's letter, contained Queen Henrietta Maria's Roman Catholic chapel, and was therefore the natural centre of Roman Catholic influence and intrigue in England. But, if he did so, he did not stay long enough to interfere seriously with his Cambridge career, for in the Bursar's accounts for the year ending Michaelmas 1640 he appears as having received three shillings and fourpence *stipendium* for each quarter of the past year[2]. The Bursar's accounts for the two previous years 1637–8 and 1638–9 have not survived, nor have those for the following year 1640–1. We are therefore still left in doubt about the exact time at which Marvell abandoned his natural intention of proceeding to the master's degree, which he would normally have taken in 1642. This abandonment took place at some time later than Michaelmas 1640, and it was certainly some considerable time before the well-known Conclusion Book entry of September 24, 1641. The probable date therefore fits in very closely with that of his father's death, which Fuller gives as January 23, 1641 and which was certainly not long before March 15, 1641, when Stiles was appointed to succeed him. It is at any rate possible that his father's death somehow resulted in Marvell's leaving Cambridge. It is also possible that on leaving Cambridge he was employed at a business house in Hull. A tradition that he was so employed at a particular house in Hull, on the site of which

[1] He took his degree in 163$\frac{8}{9}$, *i.e.* on some day not earlier than January 1, nor later than March 24, 1639.

[2] I owe this information to the kindness of the present Senior Bursar of Trinity College.

stands what is now 80 High Street, certainly existed a century ago. The evidence that the *tradition* then existed is as follows:

(1) In the Wilberforce Museum, Hull, there is at present exhibited a small circular box inside which, both top and bottom, is printed the following—'In memory of Andrew Marvell, the celebrated patriot, of Kingston-upon-Hull, this box is formed from oak, out of the building wherein he served his clerkship, in the house formerly occupied by Sir John Rottenherring in High St supposed to have been erected previous to the Holy Trinity Church, and built of brick and of the same extraordinary dimensions, viz., 10 inches long, 5 broad, and 1½ thick. The building—in which his ancestors had long resided—was taken down at Easter, 1829, when the wood was carefully selected, and manufactured by John Stone, sail-maker and ship-chandler, Blackfriar-gate, the donor.'

I presume that 'his ancestors' means John Stone's.

(2) Sheehan, *History of Hull* (1864) p. 605, says that in a room in the White Hart was an armchair, in which was inserted a metal plate bearing this inscription—'This chair is made of oak taken from the building in High Street, where it is said the celebrated and patriotic Andrew Marvel served his clerkship.'

(3) *The History of the Streets of Hull* (reprinted from the *Hull Times* 1915) consists of extracts from the MSS. of a local antiquary named Richardson who died in 1841. On p. 20 we read that Marvell was said to have served his apprenticeship in a house at the N.W. corner of Rottenherring Street.

(4) Symons, *High Street, Hull* (1862) p. 6, says that Marvell 'lived at the South end of High-street, in a house upon the supposed site of which Harker's warehouse is erected.' This is the same spot as that mentioned in (3).

If Marvell did serve such a 'clerkship,' I should conjecture that it was under his brother-in-law Edmund Popple, sailor, ship-builder and merchant of Hull. Popple was of great service to Marvell later, from 1658 onwards.

III. Mrs Skinner.

The Rev. Andrew Marvell was drowned in the Humber early in 1641. There are three accounts of this which matter. The others are based on of these three, or, more often, on an uncritical mixture of them all. three accounts are as follows:

(1) Fuller, *Worthies* (1662), under Cambridgeshire has an account of Marvell senior in which he says 'It happened that Anno Dom. 1640[1], Jan. 23, crossing *Humber* in a *Barrow-boat*[2], the same was *sand-warpt*, and he* drowned therein, by the *carelessness* (not to say drunkenness) of the boat-men.'

* With Mrs Skinner (daughter to Sir *Ed. Coke*) a very religious Gentlewoman.

(2) Abraham de la Pryme in his MS. *History of Hull* (about 1700) writes: 'The same year[3] Mr Andrew Marvel Lecturer of this Town a very Learned Ingenious and Florid man goeing over the Humber in a small Boat or Skiff with Madam Skinner of Thornton Colledge and a Young Coupple that were going to be married, a Storm rose of a Suddain which in a little while over sett them, so that they were all drownded and never found nor heard on after.'

Gent in his *History of Hull* (1735) copied this, as he did other passages, almost verbatim from de la Pryme's MS. He makes the young couple 'a young beautiful couple.'

(3) *Biographia Britannica*, vol. v (1760) gives a different version which, 'as transmitted from persons intimate with both the families unhappily concerned in the sad catastrophe, is now first given to the public as a curious truth.' This version is too long to be given here in full, but it may be summarised as follows:

On the Lincolnshire side of the Humber lived a lady with an only daughter. These two were great friends of Marvell senior, who asked the daughter to be godmother to a child of his own. She crossed to Hull for the purpose. Afterwards she insisted, in spite of the roughness of the weather, on returning at once in case her mother should be anxious. Marvell, being unable to dissuade her, insisted on accompanying her. Both were drowned. The mother, going into her garden from which she could see the water, received a supernatural message about her daughter. After this she 'sent for our author [*i.e.* Marvell junior], charged herself with the expense of his future education, and at his death left him her fortune.'

It should be noted that in this account (1) no name is given to the lady, and (2) she lives on the shore of the Humber and can see the water from an arbour in her garden. But Thornton College is six miles south of the Humber and the country is flat.

[1] O.S.

[2] *i.e.* a boat belonging to Barrow Haven on the Lincolnshire shore of the Humber nearly opposite Hull.

[3] This must be 1640 (O.S.) though de la Pryme's chronology is not very clear here. Marvell senior was alive and signing his name on May 29, 1640 and his successor was appointed on March 15, 1641. Fuller's date cannot be far wrong.

One well-known detail, not to be found in this account, first appeared in Thompson's edition (1776). This is Marvell senior's last recorded utterance 'Ho for heaven.' Thompson must have got it from oral tradition and it rings authentic. The boatmen's cry would be 'Ho for Barrow,' and it accords with the character of the 'facetious' clergyman that he should have looked at the rough water and said 'Ho for heaven.'

The three versions given above agree only in stating that the Rev. Andrew Marvell was drowned and that he was in the company of a lady. But it can be proved that this lady was neither Mrs Skinner of Thornton College nor any daughter of hers. It is surprising that Fuller, who wrote so soon after the event, should be wrong, but it is noteworthy that the statement about Marvell's companion is given in a marginal note and was presumably the result of information received at the last minute. Bridget, the second daughter of Sir Edward Coke, was born in 1596 and married William Skinner (son of Sir Vincent Skinner) of Thornton College, Lincolnshire, who died in 1627. Mrs Skinner did not die, by drowning or otherwise, in 1641, but lived to make a will[1] on September 26, 1648, which was proved on June 18, 1653, by her youngest son Cyriack[2].

Further there is no mention in this will of Andrew Marvell. There are small bequests to her eldest son Edward, to her second son William ('though he was and is most undutifull to mee his mother') and to two daughters Elizabeth and Theophila.

After the death of her husband Bridget Skinner had a monumental inscription to his memory engraved in Thornton Curtis church, in which she stated that he was the father of three sons and four daughters, all of whom were living except one daughter Anne[3]. The daughter so far unaccounted for is the eldest, Bridget, who remains the only possible candidate for the honour of having been drowned with Mr Marvell. This honour is actually accorded to her by the author of a Skinner pedigree in *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, new series, vol. I (1874), where however the date is given as 1639 and the above-quoted passage from de la Pryme brought in to support it. This writer, following Grosart (1872), explains Madam as the appellation of a young lady of good family[4]. But Canon A. R. Maddison in his pedigree of the same family in *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol. III, gives the name of Bridget's husband, Alexander Emerson. The will of Alexander Emerson of Laceby was

[1] Somerset House, 90 Brent.

[2] Cyriack was a posthumous child and was presumably given his name (Κυριακός) as a gift from the Lord.

[3] Born 1621, buried 1623.

[4] point of fact I doubt whether this is correct with the surname. It was so used a Christian name, *e.g.* Madam Silvia in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

proved on April 18, 1678, by his widow Bridget. She herself must have lived to a hundred, for her will, made in a state of feebleness and waiting for death in 1711, was not proved till April 21, 1720[1]!

No lady of the Skinner family then was drowned with Marvell senior. Mrs Skinner did not leave her property to Marvell junior. It may have been she who enabled him to travel on the Continent, but there is no evidence at all that it was.

Nevertheless some connexion between Marvell and the Skinners did exist. He certainly knew Cyriack in later days. Apart from the reference in Marvell's letter to Milton of June 2, 1654, Cyriack is the 'Mr Skyner' mentioned in Marvell's letters to the Corporation of Hull of March 16 and April 15, 1669, which deal with 'the businesse of Mr South and Sir R: Cary.' This is proved by the existence among the Hull Corporation papers of a letter from Cyriack to the Mayor of Hull. In this letter, which is dated 'Strand Mar. 23, 166$\frac{8}{9}$,' he says that nothing is yet ripe in the business of South and Cary, but he expects that definite proposals will soon be put before 'Mr Recorder and Mr Marvell.'

It is also just possible that there may be another connexion of a less worldly kind. *The Picture of little T. C. in a Prospect of Flowers* is one of Marvell's most charming poems, but no plausible suggestion has ever been made about the identity of T. C. Girls' names beginning with T are rare, and I would suggest that Theophila Cornewall may have been the child about whose picture Marvell wrote. Theophila Skinner, mentioned above, was the youngest daughter[2] of William and Bridget Skinner. She married Humphry Cornewall of Berrington, Herefordshire, but seems to have spent some part of her married life at Thornton—perhaps because of the Civil War. For on August 23, 1643, their daughter Theophila was baptised[3] and was buried two days later. A second Theophila was baptised[3] on September 26, 1644, and it is she who may, I think, be Marvell's 'little T. C.' The premature death of the first Theophila would give point and poignancy to the last stanza, which otherwise seems almost gratuitously ill-omened:

> But O young beauty of the Woods,
> Whom Nature courts with fruit and flow'rs,
> Gather the Flow'rs, but spare the Buds;
> Lest *Flora* angry at thy crime,
> To kill her Infants in their prime,
> Do quickly make th' Example Yours;
> And, ere we see,
> Nip in the blossome all our hopes and Thee.

[1] *The English Emersons* by P. H. Emerson, and Appendix pp. xxx, xxxi.
[2] Baptised January 3, 1623. Extracts from the register of Thornton Curtis preserved in the Herald's College.
[3] Herald's College as above.

Perhaps 'little T. C.' did die in childhood. The Commonwealth proved a bad time for parish registers, but on September 24, 1673, we find Theophila Cornewall being married at Ludlow. This is certainly the daughter of Humphry and Theophila, whose deaths—in 1688 and 1678 respectively—are also entered in the Ludlow register. But, if it is the Theophila baptised in 1644, she must have been just twenty-nine, a most unusually advanced age for a woman to marry at in those days. It looks very much—if my identification is correct—as if the poet's fears were realised, so that it was not the second but a third Theophila who lived to be married in 1673.

Appendix.

The writer of the letter given above

(1) was a clergyman,

(2) was in January 1640 the father of a B.A. of St Catharine's, Cambridge, whose seduction to 'Popery' had been attempted by a Fellow of Peterhouse,

(3) announced his intention of bringing the matter of his son up before Parliament.

Further (4) this son had no scholarship or other 'preferment.'

The Short Parliament did not last long enough for anything to be done, but when the Long Parliament met in November 1640 Cousins was brought before it on a variety of charges and on Tuesday November 24 'one Norton a Minister being examined about Dr. Cousins, Deposed that certain Fellows of Peter-House indeavoured to seduce his Son to Popery, pretending that Dr. Cousins would make him Fellow; that thereupon he was forced to send for his Son' (Nalson, *Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State*, 1682, p. 568).

On turning to the Cambridge *Book of Matriculations and Degrees* we find that John Norton, pensioner[1], matriculated at St Catharine's 1635, proceeded B.A. 163$\frac{8}{9}$ and M.A. 1642. Clearly, therefore, this 'Norton a Minister' wrote the letter.

The Cousins affair lasted for some months, but in March 1641 he was able to prove that, far from being an accomplice of Nichols, 'finding hols guilty of holding Popish Tenents, he had severely punished him Recantation and Expulsion from the University' (Nalson, p. 792[2]). reference to a recantation further confirms the authorship of the

ne who pays all his own expenses, see (4) above.

raphers of Cousins have generally confused young Norton with Nichols.

house published register states that Nichols resigned his fellowship on The above extract explains this.

letter. Further confirmation is perhaps afforded by the fact that in *Persecutio undecima* (1648—reprinted 1682), p. 23, Lord Fairfax (*i.e.* Ferdinando, father of the great Fairfax) is said to have made a motion in the House of Commons that Cousins 'had inticed a young Schollar to Popery.' Perhaps Fairfax was one of the 'Lords of the counsail' to whom Norton thought of complaining.

At any rate the mention of Fairfax, combined with the fact that Norton wrote to Marvell at Hull, makes it probable that we shall be able to identify Norton in Yorkshire. This probability is turned into a certainty when we find that John Norton of St Catharine's is described in the register of that College as *Eboracensis*, of Yorkshire. Another Norton, Samuel, entered the same College three years later, also as a pensioner, and he also is described as *Eboracensis*[1]. Obviously this was a younger brother.

Turning to the Yorkshire Archaeological Society's Record Series, vol. LXI, p. 164, we find the following under date July 1643. 'To the right worshipfull the Committee for the Eastriding of the Countie of Yorke, the humble Peticon of Robert Clapham M.A....Sheweth that Mr. Norton, Parson of Welton, in the East Riding of thee Countie of Yorke, hath absented himselfe from his said cure and ioyned himselfe with his Majesties enemyes and is now at Hull remaineing with the Rebells...' (Mr Clapham goes on to ask for the living of Welton.) This is what we should have expected our Mr Norton to do. Later he returned to Welton and died as Minister there under the Commonwealth. His will[2], dated June 23, 1656, was proved in 1657. From it we learn that his Christian name was John, and in it he mentions two sons named John and Samuel. This clinches the identification.

H. M. MARGOLIOUTH.

SOUTHAMPTON.

[1] I owe this information to the kindness of the present bursar of St Catharine's.
[2] Somerset House.

TRAGEDY AT THE COMÉDIE-FRANÇAISE (1680–1778)[1].

READERS of Molière will remember how in his delightful *Impromptu de Versailles* he imitates the actors of the rival Hôtel de Bourgogne, contrasting their exaggerated declamation with the natural style of his own company. It was a bold attack, for the reputation of the Hôtel de Bourgogne chiefly rested on its interpretation of tragedy, in which it was regarded as decidedly superior to the Palais-Royal. Molière's illustrations are all taken from Corneille's plays, and he gives in turn imitations of Montfleury as Prusias in *Nicomède*, of Mlle Beauchâteau as Camille in *Horace*, of Beauchâteau as Don Rodrigue in *Le Cid*, of Hauteroche as Pompée in *Sertorius*, and of De Villiers as Iphicrate in *Œdipe*. Floridor, the best actor of the Hôtel, alone is spared[2], possibly not merely because he was a favourite with Louis XIV, but because he was not open to the same reproaches as his comrades. Of noble birth and fine appearance, he spoke with a natural diction, and all that was said against him was that his acting was cold. The allusion to Montfleury as 'gros et gras comme quatre,' 'entripaillé (a word apparently invented by Molière for the occasion) comme il faut,' and 'd'une vaste circonférence' was deeply resented by that actor, and he retaliated by presenting a petition to the king, in which he accused Molière of having married the daughter of his former mistress.

Such being Molière's relations with the Hôtel de Bourgogne and its leading actor one may imagine the 'surprise'—to use La Grange's temperate expression—of his company, when they learnt that Racine's play of *Alexandre*, which had been running at the Palais-Royal for a fort-

[1] The most recent work on the subject is H. Lyonnet, *Dictionnaire des Comédiens français*, 2 vols., 1912–13. In it full use has been made of the older work, *Galerie des Acteurs du Théâtre-Français*, 2 vols., 1810, by P.-D. Lemazurier, Secretary of the Comédie-Française. The majority of the articles in the *Nouv. Biog. Gén.* on the actors of the eighteenth century are by E. D. de Manne, author of *Galerie historique des Comédiens français de la troupe de Voltaire*, 1865. Much information will be found in Grimm, *Correspondance* (1753–90), ed. M. Tourneux, 16 vols., 1877–83; in Collé, *Journal et Mémoires* (1748–72), ed. H. Bonhomme, 3 vols., 1868; and in Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets*, 36 vols., 1777–85, of which Vols. I—V contain his own journal (1762–71), VI—XV the continuation by Mairobert (1771–9), and the rest that by Moufle d'Angerville. There is a useful abridgement of this in Barrière's *Bibliothèque des Mémoires*, vol. III. Vol. VI of the same collection contains the memoirs of Mlle Clairon, Lekain, and other actors.

[2] Molière, however, says, 'Mon Dieu, il n'y en a point qu'on ne put attraper par quelque endroit, si je les avois bien étudiés.'

night, was being simultaneously performed at the rival theatre. The reason no doubt was that Racine was dissatisfied with the acting of his friend's troupe and preferred to have the thoroughly Cornelian parts of Alexandre, Porus, and Axiane interpreted by Floridor, Montfleury, and Mlle des Œillets. There was still greater 'surprise' when Racine persuaded Mlle Du Parc, with whom he was passionately in love, to desert the Palais-Royal for the Hôtel de Bourgogne and to appear in the title-rôle of his new play *Andromaque* (November 1667). She died, however, in December 1668, and two years later her place at the theatre and in Racine's affections was taken by a much greater actress, Mlle de Champmeslé[1], who with her husband had migrated from the Théâtre du Marais. As Hermione, in which part she took Mlle des Œillet's place after Easter 1670, as Berenice, as Roxane, as Monime, as Iphigénie, and finally as Phèdre, she went on from triumph to triumph.

In 1673, the year of Molière's death, the Théâtre du Marais was closed, and by the king's order Colbert chose its best actors and actresses for the Palais-Royal, while the rest went to the Hôtel de Bourgogne. About the same time Molière's troupe bought from the Marquis de Sourdéac the lease of a theatre which he had constructed in a tennis-court in the Rue Mazarine[2]. It became known as the Hôtel Guénégaud from the street which runs into the Rue Mazarine just opposite to it. To this new theatre Mlle de Champmeslé and her husband migrated in 1679, two years after the production of *Phèdre*, and it was largely owing to this migration, which left the Hôtel de Bourgogne without a tragic actress, that in 1680 the king ordered that the two troupes should be united to form a single company. So the Champmeslés, La Grange, Du Croisy, Hubert, Mlle de Brie and Mlle Molière (now Mlle Guérin) of the Hôtel Guénégaud were reinforced by Baron, Hauteroche, Mlle Dennebaut, and Mlle Beauval from the Hôtel de Bourgogne[3]. Of the older members of the latter troupe Montfleury had died in December 1677 from the rupture of a blood-vessel while playing the part of Oreste, and Floridor had retired in July 1671 and died less than a fortnight later.

The chief tragedian of the united company, which in 1689 moved to the Rue des Fossés-Saint-Germain-des-Prés (now the Rue de l'Ancienne Comédie), was Baron, and the chief tragic actress Mlle Champmeslé. 'Il avoit formé la Champmeslé comme il avoit formé Baron' says Louis

[1] Marie Desmares (1644–98), wife of Charles Chevillet, Sieur de Champmeslé.

[2] The site is now occupied by the Passage du Pont-Neuf, which runs from the Rue Mazarine to the Rue de Seine.

[3] Baron and Mlle Beauval had migrated to the Hôtel de Bourgogne immediately after Molière's death.

Racine of his father, and probably there is not much more truth in the former statement than in the latter. No doubt the great dramatist took pains to make clear to his favourite actress the effects that he wished her to produce, and rehearsed with her in detail each subtle and delicate indication of character or emotion; but by the general testimony of her contemporaries she was an actress of genius, and it was her genius that enabled her to give embodiment, by expression, voice and gesture, to the creatures of Racine's imagination.

According too to Louis Racine, his father had a 'talent for declamation, which was not exaggerated or sing-song.' But Mlle de Champmeslé's declamation, if not exaggerated, was at any rate sing-song. Baron, on the other hand, was an admirable representative of the natural style; thanks to his noble figure and fine voice he needed no effort to sustain his part with dignity. Charles Collé, the dramatist and journalist, was only a young man of twenty when Baron died, and therefore only saw him in his old age, but he has given an admirable account of his youthful impressions:

> Baron, la Le Couvreur, et les Quinault, que j'ai vus, quoique je ne sois pas bien vieux[1], m'avoient donné une idée de la perfection, surtout Baron, auquel il ne manquoit quelquefois que de la chaleur pour être le plus accompli comédien qui ait jamais pu exister. Il faut supposer même qu'il avoit eu cette partie essentielle du comédien lorsqu'il était jeune. Quand je l'ai vu il avoit déjà soixante-douze ou soixante-quinze ans, et à cet âge on pouvoit bien lui pardonner de ne pas entrer aussi vivement dans la passion que l'eût pu faire un acteur de trente ans. Il suppléoit de reste à ce defaut par une intelligence, une noblesse et une dignité que je n'ai vues qu'à lui. Il excelloit surtout dans les détails d'un rôle ; il avoit un naturel qui alloit jusqu'au familier, même dans le tragique, sans par là en dégrader la majesté. Il n'étoit pas moins supérieur dans le comique ; je lui ai vu jouer divinement les rôles du Misanthrope, d'Arnolphe et de Simon dans l'*Andrienne*[2] ; il y avoit une si grande vérité dans son jeu et tant de naturel, qu'il vous faisoit oublier toujours le comédien, et il portoit l'illusion jusqu'à faire imaginer que l'action que se passoit devant vous étoit réelle. Il ne déclamoit jamais, pas même dans le plus grand tragique, et il rompoit la mesure des vers de telle sorte que l'on ne sentoit point l'insupportable monotonie du vers alexandrin. Aussi le beau vers ne gagnoit rien avec lui, et l'on avoit à peine à démêler dans son débit s'il récitait des vers de Racine ou de La Chaussée ; il ne rendoit jamais le vers, mais la situation, mais le sentiment ; il faisoit de si longues pauses, et jouoit si lentement que le spectacle duroit une demi-heure de plus, quand il y avoit un rôle....Il était fanatique de son métier, et c'est un grand point pour y réussir[3].

In this intelligent appreciation Collé indicates a defect, though he evidently does not regard it as such, in Baron's otherwise admirable acting. There is a middle course between the excess of a sing-song declamation and the defect of speaking verse as if it were prose. Baron's public should have been able to detect without any difficulty the differ-

[1] Collé was born in 1709. Baron died in 1729, having been born in 1653.
[2] An imitation of Terence by Baron himself.
[3] *Journal et Mémoires*, 3 vols., 1868, I.

ence between the harmonious music of Racine and the rough jog-trot of Nivelle de La Chaussée.

It was almost entirely in the classical rôles of Corneille and Racine that Baron and Mlle de Champmeslé obtained their successes. Since Racine's renunciation of the stage after *Phèdre* (1677) French tragedy had suffered from a rapid decline. Campistron and La Grange-Chancel, who claimed with little real justification to be Racine's disciples, added practically nothing to the *répertoire*. Campistron's best work, *Andronic* (1685), is a poor play, in which he has failed to take advantage of the dramatic possibilities of the subject, while La Grange-Chancel after the success of his first piece, *Adherbal* (1694), which he wrote at seventeen, produced nothing better during the remaining sixty-five years of his life.

In 1691 Baron, in the full maturity of his powers, retired from the stage. He was succeeded in many of his parts by Beaubourg[1], who declaimed in an exaggerated fashion. But in some he could not be replaced; for instance, *Nicomède* and *Sertorius*, the title-rôles of which could only be filled by an actor of Baron's majestic figure and quiet dignity, for a time dropped out of the *répertoire*[2].

In 1698 Mlle de Champmeslé died, having acted, though latterly with increasing intervals, to the very end. Her last creation was that of Iphigénie in La Grange-Chancel's *Oreste et Pylade* (1697). Her successor was Mlle Duclos[3], who since 1696 had been her understudy. Of a majestic appearance and gifted with a superb voice, she carried to excess the methods of Mlle de Champmeslé. It was said that, if the door of the box facing the stage was open, you could hear her at the Café Procope on the other side of the street. Another and more serious criticism was that from ignorance and lack of intelligence she was just the same in every part. For all this, she had the power of profoundly affecting her audience, and for the next twenty years, thanks to her and Beaubourg, the declamatory style reigned at the Comédie-Française almost unchallenged.

The natural style, however, was to some extent represented by Mlle Desmares, the niece of Mlle de Champmeslé, who succeeded to some of her aunt's parts and who added to them the rôle of Athalie, when Racine's masterpiece was first produced at Paris (1716), and those of Sémiramis—a repulsive part—in Crébillon's play of that name (1717), and of Jocaste in Voltaire's highly successful *Œdipe* (1718). Lesage

[1] Pierre Trochon, called Beaubourg.
[2] Collé, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 442 f.
[3] Marie-Anne de Chasteauneuf, called Duclos (*c.* 1668–1748).

praises her *beau naturel*, but he is apparently thinking chiefly of her as an actress of comedy, in which she was excellent.

Crébillon and Voltaire, the only tragic writers of the eighteenth century who achieved a solid reputation, were far from great dramatists, but they could provide effective situations for the actors and actresses who filled out their shadowy rôles. Crébillon's first play, *Idomenée* (1705), in spite of severe criticisms of its fifth act, was a decided success, which was doubly welcome because it promised a much-needed revival in French tragedy. One of his aims was to make tragedy more tragic. Accordingly for his next play (1707) he chose the repulsive story of Atreus and Thyestes, which had already been dramatised by Seneca, and he made the horror culminate with Atrée offering to Thyeste, as a pledge of pretended reconciliation, a cup filled with his son's blood. The same aim, as well as the love of complication which had led him to spoil the simple but impressive story of Electra and Orestes in his tragedy of *Électre* (1708), inspired him in *Rhadamisthe et Zénobie* (1711), which is generally regarded as his masterpiece. The central situation, that of a father and two sons who are in love with the same woman, is borrowed from *Mithridate*, but Corneille is Crébillon's real model and especially Corneille in *Rodogune*. For *Rhadamisthe et Zénobie* with its highly complicated plot, its dependence upon strong situations and extraordinary incidents, and its complete lack of psychology, is, like *Rodogune*, in spite of its classical form, a romantic melodrama. But it has an air of grandeur and heroism not unworthy of Corneille, and one scene at least, that in which Rhadamisthe and Zénobie meet (III, v), is of real pathos. With Mlle Duclos as Zénobie and Beaubourg as Rhadamisthe it had a great success and ran for thirty-two days. On the other hand *Xerxes* (1714) with its complicated and badly constructed plot had to be withdrawn after the first performance, and *Sémiramis* (1717) in which, as we have seen, Mlle Desmares created the title-rôle, was also a failure. After that Crébillon kept silence for nine years, and though *Pyrrhus* (1726), which ends happily, re-established in some measure his favour with the public, he again retired—for personal reasons—for another sixteen years.

Meanwhile the Comédie-Française had been strengthened by a new actor, Quinault-Dufresne, and a new actress, Adrienne Lecouvreur. Quinault-Dufresne[1], whose family was closely connected with the stage and who added the name of Dufresne to his own to distinguish himself from his elder brother, made his *début* in 1712 as Oreste in Crébillon's *Électre*.

[1] Abraham-Alexis Quinault-Dufresne (1693–1767) was the son of an actor.

He had an imposing figure, expressive eyes, and a highly musical voice, which he used in the sing-song manner then in vogue. He was remarkable for his good opinion of himself and his insolence to others. Destouches not only wrote *Le Glorieux* (1732) for him, but drew a portrait of him in the hero; in return he had to alter the *dénouement* at Dufresne's dictation.

In 1717 Adrienne Lecouvreur, or as she wrote her name, Le Couvreur[1], made a brilliant *début* in the title-rôle of Crébillon's *Électre.* It was not a bad choice, for Électre, in her lonely austerity, her indomitable resolution to avenge her father, which is shaken neither by love nor by fear, is a fine character, the only character of Crébillon's, with the exception perhaps of Palamède in the same play, that is really alive[2]. It is true that in places the part lends itself to declamation, but Adrienne Lecouvreur was a worthy pupil of Baron and from the first she strove to introduce a more natural style of acting into the Comédie-Française. Beaubourg, the worst declaimer of them all, retired in 1718, but she still had against her Mlle Duclos and the whole coterie of the Quinaults—Quinault *l'aîné,* Quinault-Dufresne and Mlle Quinault. The public, however, was with her, and in her first year (1717) she filled with success the great tragic rôles of Corneille and Racine—particularly Pulchérie (*Héraclius*), Monime, and Iphigénie—and that of Zénobie in Crébillon's play. In the following year (1718) she appeared as Aristie in Corneille's *Sertorius* and as Atalide in *Bajazet,* a part which she always preferred to that of Roxane. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu was greatly impressed by a performance of *Bajazet.*

> The play-house is not so neat as that of Lincoln's Inn-fields; but then, it must be owned, to their praise, their tragedians are much beyond any of ours. I should hardly allow Mrs O[ldfield] a better place than to be confidante to La ——. I have seen the tragedy of *Bajazet* so well represented that I think our best actors can be only said to speak, but these to feel[3].

In 1719–20 Mlle Lecouvreur's chief parts were Monime, Hermione, and the heroine of Voltaire's unsuccessful tragedy *Artémire.* In 1720–21 she played in *Bérénice* with Quinault *l'aîné* and Quinault-Dufresne, and the part of Jocaste in Voltaire's *Œdipe.* But the chief event of the theatrical year was the return of Baron to the scene of his former triumphs. On March 20 it was announced that he would re-appear in

[1] Her real name was Couvreur; she was born in 1692. See *Lettres de Adrienne Le Couvreur*, ed. Georges Monval (*Bib. Elzévirienne*), 1892; Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du Lundi*, I.

[2] The short scene between Électre and Clytemnestre (I vi) and the recognition scene between Électre and Oreste (IV ii)—'C'est Oreste, c'est lui, c'est mon frère et mon roi'—are really pathetic and effective.

[3] To Lady Rich, October 10 (O. S.), 1718.

Cinna on April 10, and the announcement was received with rapturous applause. Though he was now in his sixty-seventh year, he resumed all his old parts—Sévère, Horace, Don Rodrigue, Nicomède, Antiochus (in *Rodogune*) and Néron—and he added to these the new ones of Joad[1], Acomat, and Pyrrhus.

After Easter 1721 Mlle Desmares retired and left free some new parts for Adrienne Lecouvreur. An addition to her repertory in this year was the rôle of Zarès in *Esther*, which was now for the first time produced on a public stage. It was cut down to three acts and the choruses were omitted, but it was only a moderate success. In 1722–23, playing with Baron, she made a great hit as Queen Elizabeth in Thomas Corneillé's *Le Comte d'Essex*, and in the following year she appeared as Constance in Houdar de La Motte's new tragedy of *Inès de Castro*, the title-rôle being taken by Mlle Duclos and the part of Alphonse by Baron. It is far from a great play, but the pathos of the story appealed to the sensibility of the public, and it ran for forty-three days. Towards the end of the same theatrical year Mlle Lecouvreur and Baron took the leading parts in Voltaire's *Mariamne*, into which he had transformed the unfortunate *Artémire*. But it had even less success in its new form, for it did not even get to the end of the first performance. Voltaire, however, was undaunted, and after Easter 1725 he presented his play for a third time under the title of *Hérode et Mariamne*, and this time with considerable success. Mlle Deseine[2], the wife of Quinault-Dufresne, who had recently made her *début* as Hermione, played Salome. Her acting was not to Voltaire's satisfaction, and she apparently showed her vexation at his criticisms by insulting her more successful comrade, for the Archives of the Comédie-Française record that she was fined 100 *livres* 'pour inconvenance envers Mlle Le Couvreur.' She played subsequently with success in the parts of Émilie and Hermione and she created the rôle of Didon in Lefranc de Pompignan's play of that name (1734). She had a weak voice, but she acted more or less naturally. Mlle Clairon, who is generally merciless in her criticisms of her rivals, praises her highly,—but then she had retired in 1736, and this, as M. Lyonnet suggests, was doubtless her greatest merit in Mlle Clairon's eyes.

In 1726–27 Mlle Lecouvreur created the part of Éricie in Crébillon's *Pyrrhus*. In 1727 Mlle Balicourt made her *début* as Cléopâtre in *Rodogune*. She afterwards appeared in other rôles of queens, *e.g.* Agrippine

[1] He had played Joad at Versailles.
[2] Catharine Dupré, called Deseine (1705–67).

and Clytemnestre, but her career was a short one, for she retired in 1738 and she is chiefly interesting because Baron, we are told, saved her from falling into the declamatory style. Baron was now seventy-four, but in many of his parts he still retained his pre-eminence. Unfortunately his incurable coxcombry made him cling to parts for which he was no longer fitted, and more than once he moved the *parterre* to derision, especially on one occasion, when playing Rodrigue and having knelt at Chimène's feet he had to be assisted on to his legs by two attendants. In the very last year of his life he appeared in the part of Britannicus. The end came on December 22, 1729. Three months later (March 20, 1730) Adrienne Lecouvreur, who during the last three years had played chiefly in comedy, but who had also appeared several times in *Athalie* and in Voltaire's *Œdipe*, followed her old master to the grave. Nine days before her death she wrote in a letter to the Marquis de La Chalotais: 'Vous dîtes que vous voudriez que je vous aprisse l'art de la déclamation, dont vous avez besoin; avez-vous donc oublié que je ne déclame point? La simplicité de mon jeu en fait l'unique et foible mérite.' 'On lui donne la gloire,' said the *Mercure* in the notice which appeared after her death, 'd'avoir introduit la déclamation simple, noble et naturelle, et d'en avoir banni le chant.'

A more extended tribute to her genius was paid by the Abbé d'Allainval, the author of *L'École des Bourgeois* (1728) and other comedies in *Lettre à Mylord * * * sur Baron et la demoiselle Le Couvreur*...par George Wink, which appeared in 1730[1]. It reproduced besides several other pieces two epistles in rhyme to Adrienne Le Couvreur, one by Voltaire and the other by Godai de Beauchamps, from which the following lines are worth quoting:

A propos de la dispute qui s'est élevée depuis quelque temps au sujet de la déclamation des Dlles Du Clos et Le Couvreur.

Enfin le vrai triomphe et la fureur tragique
Fait place sur la scène au tendre, au pathétique.
C'est vous qui des douceurs de la simplicité
Nous avez fait connaître et sentir la beauté.

.....

La Nature et le cœur toujours d'intelligence
Veulent que tout soit simple, et l'excès les offense.
Je suis par des fureurs moins ému que surpris,
Je veux du pathétique et n'entends que des cris.
Je ris quand je te vois, insensée Hermione,
Rappeler en criant l'ingrat qui t'abandonne.
Non, ce n'est point ainsi qu'on ramène un amant,
Il faut plus de tendresse et moins d'emportement[2].

[1] Reprinted in 1870 with a notice by J. Bonassies.
[2] *Lettres*, pp. 276–8.

The epistle, it should be noted, first appeared in print in 1722 and therefore dates from the earlier years of the rivalry between the two actresses who represented the two schools of acting.

Another obituary notice, entitled *Seconde lettre du souffleur de la comédie de Rouen au garcon de caffe, ou Entretien sur les défauts de la déclamation*[1] and attributed to Du Mas d'Aigueberre, the author of a musical comedy, *Les trois Spectacles*, which provided Adrienne with her last part but one, is highly instructive. He insists on the singular expressiveness of her acting, on the rapidity with which she passed without any apparent effort from violence to perfect calm, from tenderness to fury, and how every emotion was reflected on her countenance...'Sa voix semblait moins s'exprimer que son cœur...Elle était noble au milieu de ses transports.' Then he proceeds to distinguish between the simple and the natural, and in particular between the simplicity of Baron and the natural acting of his pupil:

> Mlle Le Couvreur, qui s'est formée sur Baron, se contentait d'être naturelle sans trop affecter cette simplicité. Elle évitait l'enflure, mais elle ne descendait jamais au-dessous de la grandeur héroïque. Elle était simple, si vous voulez, parce que la nature a quelque chose d'aisé qui approche de la simplicité, mais non pas simple comme le sieur Baron[2].

In justice to Baron it must be remembered that this was written when old age must have diminished something of his former ardour, and when any little peculiarity must have become accentuated[3].

Among those who felt deeply the premature death of Adrienne Le Couvreur was Voltaire. In February 1729 he had returned from London full of ideas for the improvement of the French stage and with the nearly completed tragedy of *Brutus* in his pocket, which was to wipe out his two last failures. But it was not produced till December 1730, with Quinault-Dufresne in the important part of Titus (the son of Brutus). Its success was only moderate—it ran for fifteen performances—and he made another bid for favour with *Zaïre* in 1732, selecting Quinault-Dufresne for Orosmane, the chief male part, and a young actress of twenty-one, Mlle Gaussin[4], who had made her *début* in the previous year as Junie in *Britannicus*, for the part of Zaïre. The play, which shares with *Mérope* the honour of being Voltaire's masterpiece, and which with *Mérope* is the only play of his that is ever read or acted now, was a great success and made the reputation of Mlle Gaussin.

[1] Reprinted by Bonassies.
[2] *Lettres*, pp. 71–3.
[3] Cp. Collé's remarks (see above, p. 364).
[4] Jeanne-Catherine Gaussem, called Gaussin (1711–67).

Jeune Gaussin, reçois mon tendre hommage ;
Reçois mes vers au théâtre applaudis ;
Protège-les ; Zayre est ton ouvrage,
Il est à toi, puisque tu l'embellis.

In such neatly-turned verse was Voltaire wont to offer his thanks to the fair interpreters of his plays. Mlle Gaussin, the object of this particular tribute, was the most beautiful French actress of the eighteenth century, and she was graceful as well as beautiful. But in spite of her success in *Zaïre*, which she repeated in *Alzire* (1736), she was not a great tragic actress. Collé says that her voice was not strong enough for tragedy and that in her efforts to force it she became monotonous and declamatory. Mlle Clairon is invariably unfair to her rivals, but there is probably truth in her criticism that Mlle Gaussin played the parts of Zaïre and Rodogune with the same air of innocent tenderness[1]. According to Collé she was at her best in comedy, especially for instance as Célimène, or as La Baronne in *Turcaret*. She was also excellent as Agnès. Collé liked her less in *comédie larmoyante*, but this, he adds, is perhaps due to his prejudice against this class of play, and he believes that the success of Nivelle de La Chaussée and his 'accomplices' was largely due to her beauty and to her rendering of their tender heroines.

Two other recruits at this time were Sarrazin and Grandval, both of whom made their *début* in 1729, Sarrazin in *Œdipe* and Grandval[2] in *Andronic*. Sarrazin (1689–1762)[3] had a fine voice and possessed feeling and intelligence. But he lacked vigour and was best in pathetic scenes. His acting was perfectly natural—so much so that Voltaire complained that he spoke verse as if he were reading the Gazette. However he entrusted to him the parts of Lusignan in *Zaïre* and Alvare in *Alzire*. When he retired in 1759, he had been for thirty years the leading actor at the Comédie-Française. Grandval, who was only nineteen when he made his *début*, rose more slowly. It was not till twelve years later, on the retirement of Quinault-Dufresne, that he was entrusted with leading rôles. Like Mlle Gaussin he was better in high comedy than in tragedy, but his intelligence, his graceful bearing, and the warmth of his acting enabled him to retain the favour of the public till his retirement, nearly forty years later, in 1768. Long before this he had resigned the chief parts in tragedy to Lekain, whose superiority he recognised. He had

[1] 'Zaïre n'est qu'une touchante pensionnaire de couvent ; et Rodogune, demandant à ses amants la tête de leur mère, est assurément une femme très altière, très décidée' (*Mémoires*).

[2] François-Charles Racot (1710–84) was the son of a musician and man of letters who took the name of Grandval.

[3] See Grimm, *Corr.* v, p. 214.

one grave defect; he pronounced the letter *r* with his throat, or, as the French say, *il grasseyait*[1].

In 1733, the year after Mlle Gaussin's successful appearance in *Zaïre*, Mlle Duclos, who was now between sixty and seventy, retired—none too soon. Four years later her place was taken by a far more powerful actress in tragedy than Mlle Gaussin, namely Mlle Dumesnil[2]. She chose for her *début* the part of Clytemnestre in *Iphigénie*. Queen Elizabeth in *Le Comte d'Essex* and Phèdre followed, and her success in all these parts was so great that she was admitted as a *sociétaire*, contrary to general usage, only two months after her *début*. She was an unequal actress, trusting chiefly to the inspiration of the moment, and owing little to study and meditation. But in her best parts, Agrippine, Athalie, Cléopâtre, Médée in Longepierre's play of that name, which, a failure when it was first produced in 1694, had been revived with astonishing success in 1728, she carried all before her, and in the two latter parts she terrified the *parterre* by the energy and fury of her imprecations. Mlle Clairon, in a studiously unfair 'portrait,' admits that her voice was powerful and resonant and her pronunciation pure, that she was remarkable for warmth and pathos, and that nothing could be more touching than her presentment of the grief and despair of a mother[3].

It was, no doubt, this last characteristic which led Voltaire to select her for the title-rôle of his new play of *Mérope* (1743). He was very anxious that it should succeed, for he had had to withdraw his last play, *Mahomet*, on religious grounds after two performances. The success was complete; the audience went wild with enthusiasm and for the first time in the history of the French stage called for the author[4]. Mlle Dumesnil surpassed herself, and Voltaire's enemies hinted that the success was due to her acting. It was, says M. Lion, Voltaire's last fine tragedy and the last fine classical tragedy.

Nearly six months later, on September 19, 1743, Mlle Clairon[5], whose career was to be closely associated with Voltaire's, made her *début*, by order of the king, at the Comédie-Française. Hitherto she had only played parts of soubrettes and a few secondary tragic rôles in the provinces. The committee suggested a part with singing and dancing,

[1] 'Ce défaut,' says piquantly Mlle Clairon, 'dont la jeunesse et la beauté font dans le monde une grâce de plus, est un défaut insupportable au théâtre.' Will young English people please note.

[2] Marie-Françoise Dumesnil (1711–1803).

[3] Collé, writing in 1763, and Bachaumont, writing in 1762, are both unjust to Mlle Dumesnil.

[4] Desnoiresterres, *Voltaire & Cirey*, p. 362.

[5] Claire-Joseph-Hippolyte Leiris de Laméde, called Clairon (1723–1803).

but she wanted tragedy. When they suggested Constance in *Inès de Castro* or Aricie in *Phèdre*, she said that she preferred Phèdre. The committee laughed, but Mlle Clairon insisted. 'I have the right to choose, and I will play Phèdre or nothing[1].' Her audacity was completely justified, and she followed up her success with Crébillon's Zénobie and Électre, and with Thomas Corneille's Ariane.

Mlle Clairon belonged at first to the declamatory school. Even in 1750 Collé complains of her 'déclamation ampoulée, chantée et remplie de gémissements, comme celle de la vieille Duclos[2],' but five years later, after seeing her in *L'Orphelin de la Chine* (1755), he notes that 'elle se defait peu à peu de sa déclamation et marche à grands pas au jeu naturel.' For the history of her change in methods we must turn to the *Mémoires* of Marmontel, whose relations with her dated from his first and only really successful tragedy, *Denys le Tyran* (1748)[3], in which, after a difficult interview with her rival, Mlle Gaussin, he entrusted to her the rôle of his heroine, Arétie. This was a bitter disappointment to Mlle Gaussin, who had already been forced to give up to her the parts of Camille, Hermione, and Roxane, of Ariane, Didon, and Alzire, and who hated her with the intensity that a jealous actress feels for a younger rival[4]. In spite of Marmontel's affection for Mlle Clairon and his choice of her as his interpreter, he found, like Collé, a good deal to criticise in her acting. 'Je trouvais dans son jeu trop d'éclat, trop de fougue, pas assez de souplesse et de variété, et surtout une force, qui, n'étant pas modérée, tenait plus d'emportement que de la sensibilité.' They often argued over the matter, and Mlle Clairon met her lover's criticisms, which were softened by judicious flattery, by pointing to her triumphant successes, and by appealing to the authority of Voltaire, who, says Marmontel, 'lui-même récite ses vers avec emphase, et qui prétend que les vers tragiques veulent, dans la déclamation, la même pompe que dans le style.' There they left it, but an event happened which brought the actress round to the author's opinion. She was to play Roxane at the little theatre of Versailles, and when Marmontel went to her dressing-room before the performance, he found her to his surprise dressed like a sultana, without a *panier*, and in oriental costume. She explained to him that she had just been playing at Bordeaux, and that, finding the theatre a very small one, she had determined to try the simple style which Marmontel had so often begged her to adopt. 'I am now going to try it

[1] Clairon, *Mémoires* (*Bib. des Mémoires*, ed. F. Barrière, VI).
[2] *Mémoires*, II, p. 33.
[3] See Collé, *Journal*, I. p. 23; Grimm, *Corr.* I, pp. 134–8.
[4] Marmontel, *Mémoires* (*Bib. des Mémoires*, ed. F. Barrière, V), pp. 101–3.

again here. If it succeeds, good-bye to the old style of declamation.' The experiment was more successful that either she, or even Marmontel, had anticipated. Mlle Clairon kept her promise. 'I must reform my whole wardrobe; I shall lose 10,000 crowns worth of dresses; but I will make the sacrifice.' So with the ridiculous *panier* she gave up the exaggerated and monotonous declamation which Voltaire had taught her, and she played the Électre of Crébillon and the Électre of Voltaire naturally and with complete success[1].

She continued the same methods in Voltaire's new play of *L'Orphelin de la Chine* (1755) and was warmly seconded by Lekain. The traditional costume was again discarded, and she and Lekain appeared in wonderful habiliments which they and the public fondly believed to be Chinese[2]. Apparently the change in diction, at any rate as far as Mlle Clairon was concerned, was no less relative than the change in costume. The Margravine of Anspach (Lady Craven) relates in her memoirs that in 1763, when she was a girl of thirteen, she saw Mlle Clairon (without knowing her name) act in Voltaire's *Sémiramis*, and that she was so much impressed by her declamatory style that she imitated it twenty years later in a performance at Anspach. Grimm, too, writing after *Tancrède*, says of Mlle Clairon that 'elle chante beaucoup dans la tragédie[3].'

Mlle Clairon's most formidable rival during her whole career was Mlle Dumesnil, but the contrast between them was not so much between the natural and the declamatory style as between the actress who trusted to the inspiration of the moment and the actress who studied her parts with infinite pains. As everyone knows, this is the whole topic of Diderot's *Paradoxe sur le Comédien*, the object of his treatise being to establish the superiority of those who 'jouent de réflexion' over those who 'jouent d'âme.'

Garrick, who was at Paris for a fortnight in the autumn of 1763, and then, after his return from Italy, for six months from October 1764 to April 1765, and who became on intimate terms with several members of the Comédie-Française, especially with Lekain and Mlle Clairon, was evidently not of Diderot's opinion, for he is reported to have made the owing comparison between the two actresses. 'I have never seen a rfect actress than Mlle Clairon; but when I see Mlle Dumesnil, think of the actress, but only of Agrippine, Athalie, or Sémi-

, 196–8.
, *Corr.* III, p. 89, and for a portrait of Lekain as Genghis-Khan, F. A. *Garrick*, p. 259.
298.

ramis[1].' And in a letter written to a Danish friend he pronounces that Mlle Clairon was an excellent actress, but not an actress of genius[2].

Grimm's view was much the same. Writing after the first representation of Saurin's *Blanche et Guiscard*, at which Garrick was present, he says:

'Belle Clairon, vous avez beaucoup d'esprit; votre jeu est profondément raisonné; mais la passion a-t-elle temps de raisonner? Vous avez ni naturel, ni entrailles.... Belle Clairon, jouissez de votre gloire; vous la méritez à beaucoup d'égards; mais vous perdrez le Théâtre-Français[3].' Similarly after her appearance in *Tancrède* he says, 'Elle a beaucoup d'esprit, une finesse, un art infini; mais j'aperçois toujours l'art et jamais la nature[4].'

Mlle Clairon frequently played with Lekain, who made his *début* at the Comédie-Française in 1750 as Titus in Voltaire's *Brutus*[5]. Nature had not been over kind to him: he was very ugly, with a thin face and hollow cheeks; he was only 5 ft. 3 ins. in height; and his voice, though strong, was harsh and lacking in resonance. But he had certain gifts—grace of gesture, a grave and majestic walk, perfect aplomb[6]—and study, perseverance, and genius did the rest. Hostile critics said that he only excelled in Voltaire's tragedies because Voltaire had written parts to suit him; but the great comic actor Préville declares that he was not less admirable in the rôles of Cinna, Antiochus (*Rodogune*), Oreste (*Andromaque*), and Rhadamisthe. Perhaps his greatest part was Néron in *Britannicus*. He was a well-educated man and his taste was formed on a profound knowledge of the dramatic masterpieces of his country[7]. In private life he was as much beloved and esteemed as he was admired and applauded in the theatre, for he was a sure friend, charitable and generous—he supported ten unfortunate families—and, unlike so many of his comrades, unassuming and modest. He became warm friends with Garrick and kept up a correspondence with him[8], but we do not know what Garrick thought of his acting. A correspondent, indeed, of Garrick's, writing in 1774—a Mrs Pye—says that she could never discover Lekain's merits, and that what the French call the

[1] *Mémoirs*, 2 vols., 1826, I, pp. 218–9.

[2] Hedgcock, pp. 243–5 (*The private correspondence of David Garrick*, 2 vols., 1831–2 [ed. Boaden], I, p. 358).

[3] Grimm, *Corr.* V, p. 398.

[4] *Op. cit.* IV, p. 298.

[5] Henri-Louis Cain called Lekain (1728–78).

[6] Molé in *Bibl. des Mémoires*, VI, pp. 245–58.

[7] Préville, *ib.*, pp. 184–90. Both Préville's and Molé's appreciation of Lekain are admirable. So is Grimm's (*Corr.* X, 50–3). Collé in 1750 is very hard on him. In 1780 he added a note in which he says that he was probably mistaken, but that he did not care for his acting (*op. cit.* I, p. 233).

[8] See Hedgcock, *op. cit.*, pp. 246–56. Lekain's *Mémoires* were published by his son in 1801, and were reprinted in 1825, preceded by reflexions by Talma. The recent account of his life and career by J.-J. Olivier (1907) is a sumptuous work with numerous illustrations.

amazing beauty of his declamation, revolts her nature and does not please her judgment[1]; but it does not follow that Garrick agreed with her.

In their task of reforming the French stage in the direction of truth and nature Lekain and Mlle Clairon had a willing and able ally in Brizard[2], who, after acting for several years in the provinces, made his *début* at the Comédie-Française in 1757, and won the suffrages of every one. Tall and handsome, with a pure and simple diction, he acted naturally, but with warmth and feeling. His white hair, the result of an accident on the Rhône, fitted him for imposing parts, such as kings and nobles. He played chiefly in tragedy but he created the rôles of Henri IV in Collé's *La Partie de Chasse* and of Vanderk in Sedaine's *Le philosophe sans le savoir*. He was noted for the regularity of his private life, and when he retired in 1766 he carried with him the esteem of everyone.

The next recruit of the Comédie-Française, Molé[3], who joined the society in 1760, after an unsuccessful *début* seven years earlier, was a complete contrast to Brizard. He had an agreeable countenance, a graceful figure, and a fine voice. But he was as conceited and arrogant as Quinault-Dufresne and he ranted prodigiously. According to Collé he 'bellowed' the part of Hamlet in Ducis's arrangement of Shakespeare and he made Diderot's *Père de famille* (1761) a quasi-success by the violence of his acting[4]. It was owing to his insistence that *Le Fils naturel* was produced ten years later, and damned at the first performance[5]. Another part into which he introduced an exaggerated energy was that of Alceste. In spite of his declamatory style—perhaps, by reason of it—he was a great favourite with the public.

The year before Molé's *début* a very important change had been made at the Comédie-Française. The Comte de Lauraguais had given the company 60,000 francs to abolish the seats on the stage, and this was done during the Easter holidays. Voltaire was enchanted, and on the very day, April 22, on which the work was completed, he began writing a new tragedy, 'd'un goût nouveau, pleine de fracas, d'action, de spectacle[6],' inspired by the vision of an unencumbered stage. The first [illegible]as completed on May 18, but *Tancrède*, as the new tragedy was

[illegible]k, *op. cit.*, pp. 257 f.; Boaden I, pp. 617–18. Mr Hedgcock prints a similar but [illegible]ndiced opinion by Mrs Montagu, the 'blue stocking.'

[illegible]iste Britard, called Brizeux (1721–91). See Bachaumont, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

[illegible]ené Molé (1734–1802).

[illegible], p. 238. M. Lyonnet is too favourable to him.

[illegible]325.

[illegible] Denis, May 5, 1759.

called, was not produced till September 3, 1760. It was a brilliant success; Mlle Clairon as Aménaïde and Lekain as Tancrède surpassed themselves; all Paris applauded and wept[1]. Yet, though the two chief characters excite our sympathy, they are little better than puppets; they have little or no character. Nor did Voltaire take full advantage of the clearance of the stage. The play is neither one thing nor the other; it lacks the psychology of a classical tragedy and the visible action of a romantic drama. Mlle Clairon, true to her newly-found realism, wanted to have a scaffold on the stage; but Voltaire, with his usual timid conservatism, would not consent to this violation of classical convention[2].

Twenty years later (1780) the representation of the burning funeral-pile on the stage made Lemierre's *La Veuve du Malabar*, which had failed in 1770, a brilliant success, and in 1786 equal applause greeted the scene of the apple in the same writer's *Guillaume Tell.*

Tancrède was Voltaire's last triumph in the field of tragedy. Younger rivals were threatening his preeminence. In 1757 the *Iphigénie en Tauride* of Guimond de La Touche, with Lekain as Oreste and Mlle Clairon as Électre, had obtained an extraordinary success in spite of its feeble and declamatory style[3]. In 1760, *Spartacus*, with a hero who is a philosopher and a philanthropist, was equally successful, at least at its second representation, and opened to its author, Saurin, the doors of the Académie Française[4]. In 1763 the same dramatist produced in *Blanche et Guiscard*, a free translation from Thomson's *Tancred and Sigismunda*, an experiment in the direction of domestic tragedy[5]; the principal parts were played by Mlle Clairon, Lekain, and Brizard. In the same year a new writer, La Harpe, made his *début* with *Warwick*, which ran for fifteen performances, but the success of which he only once repeated[6]. Then on February 15, 1765 Du Belloy's national play of *Le Siège du Calais* was received with transports of admiration, and ran till the Easter holidays with hardly an interruption. Collé writes in his journal that with the exception of *Inès de Castro* he had never seen anything like so successful a play[7]. It was announced for the first day (April 15)

[1] For an analysis and criticism see Grimm, *Corr.* IV, pp. 281–8, 292–9. Grimm was less satisfied with Mlle Clairon's acting than with Lekain's.

[2] 'Cela n'est bon qu'à la Grève, ou sur le théâtre anglais' (Voltaire to Lekain).

[3] See Collé, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 96–105.

[4] For a detailed analysis and criticism of the play see Grimm, *Corr.* IV, pp. 188–96.

[5] Grimm calls it 'une pièce froide et ennuyeuse' and adds that Saurin 'has neither force, nor truth, nor feeling, nor logic, nor pathos.' He also tells us that Garrick, on his way to Italy, was present at the first representation (*Corr.* V, pp. 396–9).

[6] See Grimm, *Corr.* V, pp. 403 ff.; Collé, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 320 ff.

[7] *Op. cit.* p. 15. Grimm's judgment is unfavourable, *Corr.* VI, pp. 201–3; 241–7. Bachaumont writing just after Du Belloy's death in 1775 prophetically says that the play's reputation will not be ratified by posterity (*Mémoires*, p. 392).

after the reopening of the theatre, but, as a protest against the refusal of a certain actor named Dubois to pay his doctor, Lekain, Molé, Brizard, and Mlle Clairon all declined to act with him, and were in consequence imprisoned in the Fort l'Évêque for twenty-four days. Mlle Clairon, however, was released at the end of five days on the plea of illness[1]. At the end of the year she retired from the stage. Mlle Gaussin had preceded her in 1763[2], but for the last four years of her career she had ceased to act in tragedy.

The view that the reforms of Mlle Clairon and Lekain were only relative finds confirmation in the history of Jean Rival called Aufresne, a Swiss by birth, who made his *début* just after the closing of the Dubois incident, and was admitted as a *sociétaire* a month later. An enthusiastic partisan of natural and simple diction, he tried to introduce it into the Comédie-Française, but he met with so much opposition that he retired five months after his admission, and later made a reputation in various European capitals and finally in St Petersburg, where he died in 1804.

It was not till 1772 that a possible successor to Mlle Clairon was found. This was Mlle Raucourt, who at the age of sixteen made her *début* on December 23 in the title-rôle of Le Franc de Pompignan's *Didon*[3]. She produced an immense sensation. 'Nothing like it,' says Bachaumont, 'has been seen in the memory of living man....She is very beautiful, with a noble figure, the most enchanting voice, and a prodigious intelligence; she did not make a single false intonation, or a single false gesture.' After Didon she played Émile and Idamé (*L'Orphelin de la Chine*) and a month after her first appearance Bachaumont refers to the great difficulty in obtaining a place in the theatre when she was acting[4]. She was a pupil of Brizard, a fact which the public acknowledged by always including him in their plaudits. Unfortunately her later career did not bear out the promise of her *début*. Her chief asset was her majestic appearance, which made her look older than she was. Her diction was good, but her voice (in spite of Bachaumont) was hard and she lacked feeling. Thus it was only in rôles like Rodogune and Athalie and Sémiramis that she really excelled. In 1776, owing to the scandals of her private life, she suddenly disappeared, and was struck off the rôle of *sociétaires*, but three years later she was re-admitted.

[1] Collé, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 24–32; Clairon, *Mémoires*, pp. 34–7. See also letters from Mlle Clairon, Mme Riccoboni, Molé and Préville to Garrick (Boaden I, pp. 432–5; 440 f.).

[2] She died in 1767, partly from the effects of ill-treatment by a worthless husband, a dancer at the opera, whom she had married in 1759.

[3] Françoise Saucerotte, called Raucourt, was born at Paris on March 3, 1756 and died in 1815 (Lyonnet).

[4] *Mémoires*, pp. 272–3. See also Grimm, *Corr.* X, pp. 138–43.

Her later career does not concern us, for I do not propose to carry this sketch beyond the year 1778. On January 24 of that year, Lekain, after appearing in the part of Vendôme in Voltaire's *Adélaïde Du Guesclin*, was taken suddenly ill. At each ensuing performance the *parterre* called for news of their idol, and on February 8 the 'orator' uttered the three words, 'Il est mort.' Two days later Voltaire arrived at Paris after an absence of twenty-eight years, and almost the first news that his old friend D'Argental gave him was the death of his 'cher Roscius.' It affected him deeply, for he loved Lekain and regarded him as, in a sense, his pupil. Less than three months later, on May 30, the master followed the pupil.

French tragedy had been steadily declining for many years—ever since *Mérope* (1743). Now and again there had appeared on the horizon a new writer, as for instance Marmontel and La Harpe, who seemed to promise future excellence, but the promise had been belied. There had also been some phenomenal successes, such as La Touche's *Iphigénie en Tauride*, Saurin's *Spartacus*, and Du Belloy's *Le Siège de Calais*, but the success was not repeated. Writing in February 1778, Grimm is very despondent; 'Tous les ressorts de notre système dramatique semblent usés; après deux ou trois mille pièces jetées pour ainsi dire dans le même moule, comment ne le seraient-ils pas[1]?'

On the whole, during the hundred years that the Comédie-Française had existed the declamatory style had greatly prevailed. When Baron retired in 1691 there was no one of note left to represent the natural style. Mlle Champmeslé, herself more or less declamatory in her methods, was succeeded by Mlle Duclos who carried these methods to excess, and Baron's place was taken by Beaubourg and Quinault-Dufresne. For twenty-six years (1691–1717) declamation reigned unchecked. Then came Adrienne Lecouvreur, and she with her master Baron, who returned to the stage three years later, restored the balance in favour of nature. When Mlle Lecouvreur died in 1730—Baron had died a few months previously—it was left to Sarrazin, Grandval, and Mlle Gaussin to carry on the contest, but none of the three could rival Quinault-Dufresne in rôles which demanded vigour and passion. Quinault-Dufresne retired in 1741, and two years later began the rivalry of Mlle Dumesnil, who had made her *début* in 1737, and Mlle Clairon. Mlle Dumesnil may be fairly regarded as a representative of the natural style, but from instinct rather than from reflection. Mlle Clairon for the first twelve years of her career was frankly declamatory, and even when she deliberately

[1] *Corr.* XII, p. 49.

changed her style she does not appear to have done so with anything like thoroughness. The evidence as to Lekain is somewhat contradictory, but probably we may believe Grimm when he says that Lekain was not so natural as Baron, and that he could 'faire sentir tout le charme des beaux vers,' without being untrue to nature[1]. The story of Aufresne, however, seems to show that even Lekain's diction was not entirely natural and simple.

No doubt the tragedies of the eighteenth century, and even to some extent Corneille's, tended to encourage a declamatory style, and we have seen that this was the style which Voltaire encouraged in the interpreters of his parts. He was only converted after Mlle Clairon's rendering of Électre at Ferney, and Mlle Clairon was only herself half converted. It was left to Talma, who made his *début* in 1787, to introduce a real revolution in the methods of the Comédie-Française.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

CAMBRIDGE.

[1] Corr. x. p. 50.

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH AND SPANISH LITERATURE

I

ELINOR OF AQUITAINE, daughter of Henry II, when she married Alfonso VIII of Castile in the year 1170, brought Spain within the inner circle of European diplomacy. Henry managed to maintain the peace on his southernmost frontier, and so did Richard, but the matrimonial connection itself became a cause of strife when Alfonso championed the Aquitanian rights of his wife against the usurping John. He reduced all the country except Bordeaux and Bayonne, and had the enterprise succeeded the Hundred Years' War would have been fought, not between England and France, but between France and Spain, and the question of the Latin hegemony debated not in the sixteenth century but in the fourteenth. But Alfonso was summoned away to face and conquer the Moorish peril at the great battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), and was never again at liberty to raise the Aquitanian question, which was at last amicably concluded by Edward I's Spanish marriage in 1254. Queen Elinor was, however, also a great literary accession to Spain. From her mother, and along with her brother Cœur de Lion, she had inherited the traditional patronage of Provençal letters, and she presided with her husband, who continued the cultural efforts of Alfonsos VI and VII, at literary meetings.

E cant la cort complida fo
Venc la reyn' Elionors
Et anc negús no vi son cors.
Estrecha venc en un mantel
D'un drap de seda bon e bel
Que hom apela sisclató,
Vermelhs ab lista d'argen fo
E y hac un levon d'aur devís.
Al rey soplega, pueis s'assis
Ad una part, lonhet de lui[1],

sings Ramón Vidal de Bezaudú. From her father, on the other hand, Elinor inherited the Arthurian legend—fashioned 'per amor del Rey Anrich'—and we find that an allusion to King Arthur is welcome and understood at the Castilian Court in 1211. Of D. Fernando it is said,

Qu'en lui era tot lo pretz restauratz
Del rey Artús qu'om sol dir e retraire,
On trobavan cosselh tug besonhós[2].

[1] Milá y Fontanals, *De los trovadores*, *Obras*, II, p. 133 n.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 123.

It is uncertain how much of the Arthurian legend Elinor had packed in her trousseau, though the contemporary allusions by Catalan poets would suggest a large range of romances: but the *Anales Toledanos* make it clear that Geoffrey of Monmouth's History afforded means of commenting on the allusions of the Troubadours. The citations of these latter could hardly have been sufficient in themselves to spread knowledge of the Arthurian Cycle in Spain, though doubtless influencing certain social circles: for allusive poetry requires that the matter of the allusion can be checked by reference to other sources, and these would doubtless be the romances of the *langue d'oil*. At that time, however, the court absorbed the stock of Arthurian knowledge, without its reaching the monks of the 'mester de clerecía,' and still less the epic poets of Burgos.

Other political events which may have influenced or effected the introduction of the 'matière de Bretagne' were the elevation of Affonso de Bolonha to the Portuguese throne in 1248—a date which is supported by the authority of D. Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos (*Rev. Lus.*, VI, p. 27); the visit of Prince Edward to Burgos (and Compostella ?[1]) in 1254, where he received from Alfonso the Wise a knighthood and a wife; the return visit of courtesy paid by D. Sancho to the Prince in London during the following year; and the imperial connection with the Hohenstaufens which Alfonso X owed to his mother, Beatrix of Swabia. In this last connection one may remark that with him Geoffrey is found united with, and somewhat subordinate to, the imperialist Godfrey of Viterbo, and that the manuscripts of Abbot Joachim's *Prophecies of Merlin* and Gervase of Tilbury's *Otia Imperialia* (both in the Bibl. Nac.) indicate the same provenience. But whatever influences may be adduced for the Arthurian legend, it seems desirable—at least in the present stage of our knowledge of Mediaeval Spain and Portugal—to lay no stress on the supposed racial predilection of the Portuguese people for this type of literature. The bulk of surviving Arthurian work is Castilian, and the analysis of the texts is neither complete nor clearly favourable to the assumption; neither *saudade* nor the Celtic strain nor the Sebastianism nor the superior gullibility of the Portuguese should be urged, without surer proofs, in favour of this type of theory; nor were the Castilians rendered immune from Arthurian morals by the *prisca virtus* of their Burgalese epics. Spain, at least outside Bardulia, was as ready as Portugal to receive [illegible] soon as the rich Andalusian conquests had [illegible] class of gentry with interests no longer

[illegible] *Hist. de la santa Iglesia de Santiago*, t. v, pp. 76

heroic but cultural, and as soon as a prose style had been evolved that was sufficiently pliable to cope with imaginative narration. These are the developments which fill the silent half century between the battle of Las Navas and the historical works of Alfonso the Wise.

II

The first Spanish citation of Geoffrey's History occurs in *Anales Toledanos Primeros* (*Esp. Sag.*, XXIII), which attain the year 1219 and are the work of a contemporary of Alfonso VIII and Elinor. This reference is the well-known: 'Lidio el rey Citus con Mordret en Camlenc. Era MLXXX.' Era M.lxxx = M.xxxxij p. Chr. n., in which the M is a misreading of majuscule D (Ꝺ)—such a D is given in Muñoz Rivero's *Paleografía, siglos XII al XVII*, p. 47—and the result is D.xxxxij[1], the 'anno ab incarnatione dominica quingentesimo quadragesimo secundo' of G.M. XI, ii. D. Pedro (quoted infra) calculates the era correctly: 'Esta batalha foy na era de quinhemtos e oytenta annos'; though it would be too much to infer that both he and the *Anales Toledanos* were referring to a text in which the date was written according to the Julian era. 'Citus' for 'Artus' is also an obvious palaeographical equivocation (CITUS for ARTUS).

III

Amador de los Ríos noted that Alfonso the Wise was acquainted with certain fictions that originated in Geoffrey of Monmouth; but the ambiguity of his 'se extractan[2]' seems to have induced the impression that Alfonso was actually making extracts, and might, as so often, be retailing his information at second hand. For Alfonso does not mention the author's name (G.M. I, i, VII, ii, XI, i), nor those of his friends (XI, xx and *locc. cit.*), but only Gildas (II, xvii); on the other hand, the name 'maestre godofre' refers to Godfrey of Viterbo. The fact is, however, that Alfonso's translators produced a continuous version or clinging paraphrase of G.M. I, iii—III, viii. Omitting the dedication to Robert of Gloucester (I, i) and the *Laus Britanniæ* (I, ii), and starting with the separation of Brutus from the other Aeneadæ (I, iii), they follow Geoffrey's narrative until it re-enters the History of Rome with the Gallic Invasion of 390 B.C. But

[1] D.xxxvij for D.xxxxij is the error of *Annales Cambriae*: '537. Gueith Camlann in qua Arthur et Medraut corruerunt.' Wace: 'Sis cens et quarante deus ans.'

[2] *Hist. Crit. de la Lit. Esp.* V, p. 29: 'En la Grande et General Estoria *se extractan* [illegible]rónica de Monmouth, a que da el rey el título de Estoria de las Bretañas, [illegible]as atribuidas al hijo de Silvio, no olvidadas tampoco las historias de Corineo [illegible]ofia Guendolonea y Mandan, Porex y Flerex, Belmo y Brenio, etc. (IIª Parte, [illegible]ól. 98, IVª, fól. 112 de los códices Y. j. 7, 9 y 11 de la Bibl. del Escor.)'

when Brennus and the Allobroges are about to invade Italy (G.M. III, viii), Alfonso prefers to follow the imperial historian, Godfrey of Viterbo (*Pantheon*, XV, xxvi): 'Senones Galli et Suevi intrant Ytaliam,' and, though still once referring to Geoffrey's narrative, he ignores his testimony and relates the vulgate legends of the Capitoline goose and the defeat of the Gauls.

The edition of the History which Alfonso used, and to which he always refers as the *Estoria de las Bretannas*, was that to which we are accustomed. It was, however, numbered somewhat differently: Alfonso cites G.M. III, x as the fifty-fifth chapter of the first book—in Geoffrey it is the forty-fifth from the beginning (18 + 17 + 10 = 45). At G.M. I, xi blanks occur, left probably for the rubricator, for 'los viessos de latī,' but paraphrases are given 'en el lenguaje de castiella': the omission of the Dedication and the *Laus Angliæ* has already been noted. This translation is by no means without interest for the history of Spanish prose style. Conscious of the youth and inexperience of their language, the Alfonsine translators do not attempt to follow the Welshman into Vergilian tropes and abstract expressions. 'Cleaving the level fields of the sea with a fair wind' becomes 'e ell yendo por la mar e auiendo muy bien tiempo,' and 'having thus drawn the affection of every man unto himself, he deliberated inwardly in what manner he might take his revenge upon his brother Belinus, and when he announced his plans unto the people that were his lieges...' gives concretely 'despues desto llamo Brennio de sos amigos a aquellos que el mas amaua e en que mas fiaua. E ouo so conseio con ellos en qual manera podrie fazer por que pudiesse vengar de so hermano Belinno.' The need for recapitulation, caused by the wide spacing of the excerpts, is sufficient to make a momentary confusion in the style. This is generally direct, adequate and surprisingly uniform, though not stamped with personality. In the architecture of the *General Estoria* that of Britain complements the central narrative of profane history, which in turn runs parallel to the translation of the Bible. From the first to the third transitions are made easy by Geoffrey's own biblical allusions (Eli, I, xviii, David, II, vii, Solomon, II, ix, Isaiah and Hosea, II, xv): at each of these places the royal Editor-in-Chief functioned like a pair of scissors. He did not embarrass himself by critically examining conflicting accounts, but followed literally the author which in any given case he has preferred. As the Quinta Parte contains only the biblical section, it is impossible to say how Alfonso would have treated King Arthur, or whether he would have been influenced by the chronology of the *Anales Toledanos*: in the *Primera Crónica General* he happens to be translating

a different set of authorities, and so ignores Arthur, does not consult Geoffrey for Gratian Municeps or Constantine or Helena, and reversed the tradition which connects Iberians and Ivernians. Geoffrey's Barclenses settle in Ireland (III, xii): Alfonso's Almujuces come from Ireland to Spain[1].

IV

Titulo II of the *Nobiliario* of the Conde D. Pedro de Barcellos is headed: 'Dos Reys de Troya e como vem do linhagem de Dardano que povoou primeyro a Troya Dos Reys de Roma e de Iulio Cesar Augusto e de Bruto que povoou a Bretanha e de Constantin de Roma e del Rey Artur etc.'; to which the editor of 1640, Estevam Paolino, adds: 'Dexouse tambem este Titulo pella mesma razão que o precedente,' *i.e.*, 'por não necessario ao intento com que se ordenou este Livro.' Herculano has edited the chapter from the MS. of the Torre do Tombo (late fifteenth or sixteenth century), and it contains a very brief summary of the History of Geoffrey of Monmouth. As the purpose of the author is genealogy, he omits Book VII (the Prophecies) together with all the personal history of Merlin, all the dedications, the name of the original author and the title of his work, the *Laus Angliæ* (I, ii) and *Mirabilia Britanniæ* (IX, vii). Merlin is named, however, when dealing with G.M. VIII, xix: 'E elrrey foyo çercar com toda sa oste e emuiou por Merlim e veo a elle por seu comsselho.' The narrative closes, as in Wace, with the return of Ivor and Ini (G.M. XII, xix), where D. Pedro concludes: 'Atáaqui vem direitamente o linhagem dos rreys da Troya e de Dardanus. Dardanus que pobrou primeiro e rrey Priamo e seus filhos. E Brutus pobrou Bretanha, e Vterpamdragom e rrey Artur de Bretanha. Costantim que foy primeiro que rrey Artur de grandes tempos, e de Cadualech atáa Cauadres. Aqui

[1] G.M. I, iii–III, viii = General Estoria MS. (For facilities in making this collation I am indebted to Sr. Solalinde, of the Centro de Estudios, the genial editor of the *General Estoria*, who placed his collection of photographs of the MSS. at my disposal for the purpose. For the paragraph on Ferrex and Porrex I rely on Ríos, v, 29, quoted above.)

Primera Parte (Genesis to Deuteronomy, MS. Bibl. Nac. 816, 1280).

Segunda Parte (Joshua to Jephtha (fol. 205), Jupiter to Dido (fol. 205), MS. Esc. Y, i, I, 1405). Fols. 129 v.–137 v. = G.M. I, iii–xvii. Commences: 'Cuenta la estoria de las bretañas a que dizen agora ynglaterra como el rrey ascanio poblo la cibdat de alba...' The Segunda Parte should continue to the Siege of Troy and King David.

Tercera Parte (Solomon to Zedekiah, Odyssey to Early Rome, MS. Bibl. Nac. 7563, fourteenth century, paper, 306 fols.). Fols. 123 r.–125 v. = G.M. I, xvii–II, viii, fol. 184 v. = G.M. II, ix (Brut Verdescut and Leil), fol. 195 r. = G.M. II, ix (Hudibras), fols. 233 r.–256 v. = G.M. II, x–xv. MS. Esc. Y, i, 9, fol. 98 = G.M. II, xvi (Ferrex and Porrex).

Cuarta Parte (Daniel to Sirac, Nebuchadnezzar to Ptolemy Philopator: MS. Vatican, vellum, 1280 A.D.). Fols. 162–165 = G.M. II, xvii–III, viii. Fol. 165: 'Cuenta maestre godofre en el xxvi capitulo de la quinzena parte del libro Panteon...' Fol. 171: 'Cuenta la estoria de las bretannas en el lv capitulo del primer libro que brennio...' (G.M. III, x).

Quinta Parte (New Testament history only, MS. Escorial).

fiim este linhagem dos rreys de Bretanha, daqui adeante foy a terra em poder doutros rreys que forom senhores de Bretanha a que nós chamamos Imgraterra[1].' As an indication of the light but secure literary touch of the author, one might cite his account of King Lear, the only episode of the History on which he allows himself space:

(p. 238) De rrey Leir filho de rrey Balduc o voador, e de suas filhas e do que lhes aqueçeo.

Quamdo foi morto rrey Balduc o voador rreynou seu filho que ouue nome Leyr. E este rrey Leyr nom ouue filho, mas ouue tres filhas muy fermosas e amauaas muito. E huum dia ouue sas rrazoões com ellas e disselhes que lhe dissessem verdad quall dellas o amaua mais. Disse a mayor que nom auia cousa no mumdo que tanto amasse como elle, e disse a outra que o amaua tanto como ssy meesma, e disse a terçeira, que era a meor, que o amaua tanto como deue d'amar filha a padre. E elle quislhe mall porem, e por esto nom lhe quis dar parte no rreyno. E casou a filha mayor com o duque de Cornoalha, e casou a outra com rrey de Tostia, e nom curou da meor. Mas ella por sa vemtuira casousse melhor que nenhuma das outras, ca se pagou della elrrey de Framça e filhoua por molher. E depois seu padre della em sa velhiçe filharomlhe seus gemrros a terra e foy mallamdamte, e ouue a tornar aa merçee delrrey de Framça e de sa filha a meor a que nom quis dar parte do rreyno. E elles reçeberomno muy bem e deromlhe todas as cousas que lhe forom mester e homrraromno mentre foy uiuo, e morreo em seu poder. E depois se combateo elrrey de Framça com ambos os cunhados de sua molher, e tolheolhes a terra. Morreo elrrey de Framça e nom leixou filho uiuo. E os outros dous a que tolhera a terra ouuerom senhos filhos e apoderaromsse da terra toda, e premderam aa tya, molher que fora delrrei de Framça e meteromna em huum carçer, e alli a fezerom morrer.

The *Nobiliario* was written by various hands at various dates extending from the death of Philippe III in 1285 to that of Pedro el Cruel. But as the Titulo belongs to the plan of the work, and as this was substantially completed within the reign of D. Diniz, we can confidently regard 1325 as the latest date for this epitome. D. Pedro was not dependent here on the *Grande et General Estoria*, though he uses it elsewhere, and consequently does not pervert the account of Brennus and Belinus' Italian campaign. Compared with his great-grandfather, he shows a marked tendency to omit Latin endings and to give romance spellings[2]. Romance influence is suggested especially by such forms as

[1] Ed. A. Herculano, *Port. Mon. Hist.-Scriptores*, I, p. 245.

[2]

Wace	D. Pedro	Alfonso
Aschanius	Ascanus	Ascanio
Brutus	Brutus	Bruto
Silvius	Filinus	Siluio
Corinéus	Torineus	Corineo
Locrin	Socrim	Locrino
Humbert	Imbereth	Humbro
Ebrac	Ebrat	Ebrauco
Ruhundibras	Juliam d'Euras	Rrud Hudbras
Margan	Margat	(C) Marganio
Cunedages	Gouedagos	Cunedigan
Rival	Rinal, Reynall	Riuallio
Donvalo (2323)	Dom Valo	Dunuallio
Brenne	Brene	Brenno, Brennio
Bélin	Belim	(V) Belinno

Ars, Gormon, Brene, Belim, Juliam d'Euras (Hors, Guermon, Brenne, Belin). Scriptural reminiscence has resolved Goëmagot into Gog e Magot. Palaeographical decay is another conspicuous feature of the nomina propria, and in some cases the error is provably as old as the Titulo. Thus, as the form Imbereth has destroyed the connection of Humbert and the River Humber (Hombre), the author resorts to popular etymology: 'E por aquelle homem qui hi morreo ouue nome Agua-homem.' Similarly, the forms Dom Valo and Juliam d'Euras doubtless are other instances of popular etymology; and the gap left between Torineus and Cornoalha is glossed over—'ne sai par quel controvaille!'—in this manner: 'E deu a huuma parte da terra a Torineus, *e ouue nome depois Corinus*, Corinea, e depois foi corrumpido o nome e ouue nome Cornualha.' The alternation of b and u for [b̄] is native to the Iberian languages; that of m for n is peculiar to Portuguese. The principal palaeographical confusions are of j, i, n, m, u, v (singly or in combinations); t (ꞇ), c, e; l, I, f, ſ, together with li, h, and hu, Im; perhaps G, C (Gouedagos for Cunedages), and less probably r (ꝛ) with I. The series I, l, f, ſ, h probably all had looped heads. Most of D. Pedro's errors can be explained by these blunders: *filinus, focrim, ꞇorineus, Ieyr* (for *leil*), *elotet* (for *cloten*), *Lucius liber* (for *hiber*), *rinal*, etc. *Imbereth* covers *Humbert* (*hũbert*) with an epenthetic e and otiose h. *Juliam d'Euras* covers *Ruhundibras* (*ꝛuhũdibras*—*ꝛuhũ|d|iuras*). The alteration of h to li, and b to u has already been mentioned; *ũ* was resolved into am; the whole word was redistributed on a French knightly model, and J would be supplied as the correct initial for -uliam, even if the long r (ꝛ) did not give occasion for a palaeographical confusion with I. *Rrey de Tostia* (Wace: *rois d'Escoce*: 1886) adds haplography to the usual confusion of c, t (*rreyde(es)coscia*).

The two dates, on the other hand, stand closer to Geoffrey than Wace does. The battle of Camlan is correctly calculated in Julian eras, as already mentioned, where Wace is in error. That of the death of Cadwallader reads: 'ante as calendas mayas, e esto foy em abril. Esto foy a cabo de seteçentos annos meos huum dia da encarnaçam de Jesu Christo.' 'Dia' is a blunder and should be omitted, leaving 'anno' understood: the calculation is thus $700 - 1 = 699$, reading D.c.lxxxxix for D.c.lxxxix in G.M. XII, xviii. Wace also translates Kalends into months of our reckoning—'Al disetisme jor d'avril,'—but gives the year erroneously as

> Sis cens ans puis que Jhesu Crist
> En sainte Marie car prist.

The text of the epitome is too brief to be pressed for evidence as to whether any version lay between D. Pedro and Geoffrey's Latin text, and

as the dates contradict the impression left by the decay of the Proper Names, it is best to allow that he is making a direct use of the Latin rather than to indulge in a risky hypothesis.

V

The three paragraphs of the *Nobiliario* which refer to King Arthur are of great interest. They read:

De rrey Artur filho de Vterpamdragom e das côrtes que fez, e aqueeçeo aa rrainha sua molher com seu sobrino Mordrech a que leixou a terra passamdo em Bretanha.

Morreo Vterpamdragom e rreynou seu filho rrey Artur de Bretanha, e foy boo rrey e leal e comquereo todolos seus emmiigos, e passou por muytas auemtuyras e fez muitas bomdades que todollos tempos do mundo fallarom dello. Este rrey Artur fez um dia em Chegerliom sa çidade côrtes. E estas côrtes foram muy boas e mui altas. A estas côrtes veerom doze caualleiros messegeiros que lhe emuiaua Luçius Liber que era emperador de Roma que se fezesse seu vassalho rrey Artur, e que teuesse aquella terra de sua maão. E se este nom fezesse que lhe mandaria tolher a terra per força e que faria justiça de seu corpo. Quamdo esto ouuio rrey Artur foy muito irado e mandou chamar toda sa gente que armas podiam leuar. E quando foy a Sam Miguel em monte Gargano combateosse com o gigante que era argulhoso e vençeo e matouo. Lucius Liber quando soube que rrey Artur hia sobrelle chamou sa oste e toda sa gente e sayolhe ao caminho. E lidiarom ambos e vençeo elrrey Artur, e foy arrancado ho emperador. E elrrey Artur quando moueo de Bretanha por hir a esta guerra leixou a ssa terra a huum seo sobrinho que avia nome Mordrech.

De Mordrech sobrino delrrey Artur.

Este Mordrech que auia a terra em guarda de rrey Artur e a molher, quando elrrey foy fóra da terra alçousse com ella e quislhe jazer com a molher. E elrrey quando o soube tornousse com sa oste e veo sobre Mordrech. E Mordrech quando o soube filhou toda sa companha e sayo a elle aa batalha. E elles tiinham as aazes paradas pera lidar no monte de Camblet, e acordousse Mordrech qui avia feito gramde traiçom e se emtrasse na batalha que seria vençido. E emuiou a elrrey que saysse a departe e falaria com elle, e elrrey assy o fez. E ellas que estauam assy em esta falla sayo huuma gram serpente do freo a elrrey Artur, e quando a vyo meteo maão á espada e começeo a emcalçalla e Mordrech outrossi. E as gentes que estauam longe viram que hia huum após ho outro, e foromsse a ferir huumas aazes com as outras e foy grande a batalha, e morreo Galuam o filho de rrey Artur de huuma espadada que tragia sobresaada, que lhe dera Lamçarote de Lago quando emtrara em róto ante a çidade de Ganes. Aqui morreo Mordrech e todollos boos caualleiros de huma parte e da outra. Elrrey Artur teue o campo e foy mall ferido de tres lamçadas e de huuma espadada que lhe deu Mordrech, e fezesse leuar a Islaualom por saar. Daqui adiante nom fallemos del se he viuo se he morto, nem Merlim nom disse del mais, nem eu nom sey ende mais. Os bretõoes dizem que ainda he vivo. Esta batalha foy na era de quinhemtos e oytenta annos.

Da rrainha molher delrrey Artur e dous rrex que depois delrrei Artur ouue em Bretanha e como perdeo o seu nome de Bretanha e poseromlhe nome Ingraterra.

A rrainha sa molher de rrey Artur meteosse monja em huuma abadia e a pouco tempo morreo alli. E no rreyno de Bretanha ouue depois de rrey Artur dous rreys, e huuma parte ouve Loth de Leonis e a outra partida ouue Costantim o filho de Candor o duc de Cornualha. Depois da morte de rrey Loth de Leonis ouue hi outros dous rreys em Bretanha que forom do linhagem de rrey Artur e ouuerom gramdes batalhas sobre a terra, e emtanto veo Gormon que conquereo a terra e deitou todollos christaãos á perdiçom. E por esto perdeo Bretanha seu nome e poseromlhe nome Inglaterra.

It will be seen that the second paragraph contains virtually the same account of the death of Arthur and of Guenevere as Malory XXI, and the poem *Le Morte Arthur*, depending on what H. O. Sommer has named the *Suite de Lancelot*. As that work extended from the embassy of Lucius to the coronation of Constantine son of Cador, it was easy to combine it with Geoffrey. D. Pedro probably adheres to the History except in G.M. XI, i and ii, and even here he copies Geoffrey's date, though this may also have been in his other original. There are a number of differences of detail as between Malory and D. Pedro, some of which must be due to the compression or carelessness of the latter. Thus, the battles of Dover and Baramdown are omitted, Gawain's death misplaced, Gawain is the *son* of Arthur, Arthur does not dream nor send an embassy to Mordred, he himself and not his knights give the fatal signal for the battle, and Lancelot's part is minimised. Mordred, doubtless, had reasons to accede to an interview, which, in the Vulgate, he implores. Arthur dies of three lance thrusts and one sword blow. The reference to the authority of Merlin is omitted in Malory XXI, vi–vii: 'More of the deth of kyng Arthur coude I neuer fynde but that ladyes brought hym to his buryellys .....Yet somme men say in many partyes of Englond that kyng Arthur is not dead.' But the 'Frensshe book maketh mencyon' of Merlin in this connection, as this had been traditional since Wace 13688–92:

> Maistre Gasse qui fist cest livre,
> N'en valt plus dire de sa fin
> Qu'en dist li profètes Merlin.
> Merlins dist d'Artus, si ot droit,
> Que sa fin dotose seroit.

And 'Merlin' means the poem by Geoffrey.

It is not possible to make a sure connection between this summary of the *Suite de Lancelot* and any peninsular *Morte d'Arthur*. The account by Bivas in the *Merlín y Demanda* is closely similar to the Vulgate, and has the additional inconvenience of terminating in King Mark of Cornwall. The other Grail trilogy, that of João Sánchez of Astorga, has survived only in its first part. The Catalan *Queste* (Ambrosian MS. *Lancelot*) is brought to a close with the end of that adventure. The Madrid *Lancelot* contains only a second part: the Catalan *Lancelot* is but one folio. No one has read the *Historia de Lancelot, Leonel y Galvan*, but the name of Leonel disconnects it from a *Morte*. On the other hand, the proper names are in peninsular garb, especially Leonis, Galuam and Lamçarote de Lago[1]; and the brevity of the narrative is the best hint

[1] Contrast 'don Ançaroth' in the rubric of *Canc. Col.-Branc.* lai 5, where D. Pedro may have been referring to a French manuscript.

that it was well known. We are not entitled to exclude the possibility of a Spanish or Portuguese translation of all the *Suite de Lancelot* before 1325.

VI

During the second half of the fourteenth century and all the fifteenth Geoffrey suffered eclipse. The vast Arthurian literature had silted over his authority, a tendency already observed in D. Pedro, and King Arthur eked out his precarious individuality in the *Triunfo de los nueve preciados de fama* (Lisboa, 1530 etc.), on the festal banners of Pedro IV of Aragón (A.D. 1347 and 1351), and in tableaux (*Tirant lo Blanch*: ch. clxxvi of Aguiló's edition). Merlin's prophecies (book VII) were the most perishable section of his work. With each new reign there was a new Merlin, as Gutierre Diez de Games remarked; and as examples of this type of work can be quoted Rodrigo Yáñez, *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* (coplas 242–6, 1808–41); prophecies inserted in the *Baladro del Sabio Merlin* at the conclusion (and additional to those prophecies which were translated from Boron); *Cancionero de Baena*, No. 199, etc. The most noteworthy of these 'new Merlins' is the attempt by D. Pedro López de Ayala (*Crón. de D. Pedro I*, año vigésimo, cap. iii) to use the wizard as Thucydides uses the Melian dialogue; and if the long commentary by the Moor Benihatin of Granada on the seven meanings of the text:

> En las partidas de occidente entre los montes e la mar nascerá una ave negra, comedora e robadora, e tal que todos los panares del mundo quería acoger en sí, e todo el oro del mundo querrá poner en su estomago; e después gormarlo ha, e tornará atrás, e non perescerá luego por esta dolencia. E dice (Merlín) más, caérsele han las alas, e secársele han las plumas al sol, e andará de puerta en puerta, e ninguno la querrá acoger, e encerrarse ha en selva, e morirá y dos veces, una al mundo, e otra ante Dios, e desta guisa acabará.—

if this pains us as an anticlimax to an otherwise powerful and Tacitean narrative, it was probably far from so affecting his contemporaries. Brutus and Geoffrey were longest companions; but Diez de Games prefers to rely on an unidentified French *Brut* for his account of the Marriage of Brutus and Dorothea, the Settlement of Britain, the Gigantic and Saxon Wars, the colonisation of Brittany, and the commencement of English interference in Guyenne.

The Renaissance revived confidence in Latin texts, but consigned many of them to an honourable retirement in libraries or set works of erudition. Juan Luis Vives read Geoffrey, and condemned him: 'fabulosa sunt magis quæ de Britannæ originibus quidam est commentus, a Bruto illos Troiano deducens, qui nullus unquam fuit' (*Op. omn.* VI, p. 388). Brutus and Arthur are found in Rodrigo Cuero's *Historia de*

Inglaterra llamado Fructo de los Tiempos, 1509 (Esc. MS. x, ii, 20) by way of Trevisa's version of the *Polychronicon*; and again in the *Chronica ...de todos los reyes que ha avido en yngalaterra y esquozia...hasta nuestros tiempos*, which reaches A.D. 1543 (Madrid Bibl. Nac. Ms. 1455). The former was Catherine of Aragon's textbook of British history and geography, compiled from English sources by one of her personal attendants on the occasion of her marriage; the latter draws on Italian originals, and names not Geoffrey but Gildas[1]. Neither is literature. To the bibliophiles we must owe the *Liber Bruti et prophetae Merlini* (Bibl. Nac. MS; fourteenth century), whose last English possessor was Thomas Norton, and first Spanish mark Felipe V 1718; and the *Prophetia Anglicana, hoc est Merlini Ambrosii Britanni...a Galfredo Monumetensi latine conscripta, una cum septem libris explanationum...Alani de Insulis germani* (Toledo Cathedral MS; seventeenth century), which belonged to Cardinal Zelada. How feeble was Geoffrey, and indeed the whole Arthurian Cycle, in the living literature of the Siglo de Oro, is known to every reader of *Don Quixote*.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

MANCHESTER.

[1] Fol. 29: 'Constantino, en cuyo tiempo floresçio gildas baron sanctissimo que escriuio la historia anglica y fue el mas antiguo escritor.'

NOTES ON NORTH FRISIAN (SYLT) ETYMOLOGY.

II[1].

kaieri 'to stroll,' cf. W. Fris. *kuijerje.*

kees-beeti 'to gnash the teeth,' cf. for the first constituent W. Fris. *kieskauje,* Du. *kieskauwen.*

kink 'a kink, also a difficulty, scrape (like Engl. metaphorical use of 'coil').' The Sylt phrase *üt di kink* 'out of a scrape' gives a clue to the German nautical slang phrase *sich aus den Kinken bergen* 'to show a clean pair of heels.' W. Fris. also has *út 'e kinken* and uses *in kink yn 'e keabel* fig. for a 'hitch'; Du. *uit de kink.*

kjaarel 'curds.' The *l*-suffix occurs in a by-form in Engl. *curdle(s)* sb., cf. N.E.D.

kjamli 'to chew,' cf. English dialect forms *chamble, chimble* and *chibble.* In a recent volume of verse Robert Graves makes an effective use of the word in 'clashing jaws of moth, *chumbling* holes in cloth.'

klaamp 'a stack,' cf. *clamp* in English dialects, also W. Fris. *in klampe turf* and Jut. *klamp.*

klaier 'clay-digger,' cf. W. Fris. *klaeiker.*

klapi 'to clap the hands' as Engl. and W. Fris. (*yn 'e hannen klappe*). Cf. also D.Wb. v. col. 960, s.v. *klappen.*

kle. The specialization of this by-form of *klau* to the meaning of the 'cloven hoof' is also seen in W. Fris. *klei.*

klin 'peat,' cf. W. Fris. *klyn* 'a bog, fen' and *kleaun(e)* 'a lump.' With the second W. Fris. word may be compared the Banff (Sc.) dialect word *cloan* 'a lump of dirt.' Cf. Jut. *klyne.*

klinki 'to clench, clinch' does not show assibilation like W. Fris. *klensgje* and may be a loan-word.

klooter in *ön klooter* 'in a tangle.' English dialects show *cludder* 'cluster, heap' and *clutter* 'disorder, mess, confusion'; Jut. *kludder* 'a mess.'

klöö̆werfjuur 'four-leaved clover'—like the shamrock, reputed to bring luck. W. Fris. *klaverfjóuwer,* E. Fris. *klaferfêr* and Du. *klavervier.*

klöt 'punt pole.' W. Fris. *kloet,* vb. *kloetsje.*

kluar in the special sense of 'width of dress material' (German 'Bahn')

[1] Continued from p. 271.

as in W. Fris. *kleed.* Cf. also *cloth,* 1, 8 in N.E.D. for a length or 'piece' (quotations 1469—1721), now obsolete.

knaakendrüch 'bone-dry.' The N.E.D. has also modern quotations for the English compound. D.Wb. adduces Low Ger. *knakendrög* in the article on *knochendürre.* Cf. further W. Fris. *biendroech,* synonyms *hoarndroech* and *koarkdroech*; Jut. *knastör, knagtör.*

kofigrums 'grouts of coffee,' cf. W. Fris. *kofjegrom* (in Dongeradeel dialect), Jut. *kaffegrums.*

könstenmaaker 'conjuror, clown.' Dijkstra considers W. Fris. *kinstemakker* to be a Hollandism for, like the Englishman *in Fries 'docht' kinsten, hy maket se net.* Old Du. has *constenare* 'juggler,' W. Flem. *kunstenaar.* Cf. further Jut. *kunstner* and *gøre kunster.*

kramen 'crumbs.' *Molk en kramen* as in Engl. *bread and milk,* a food known jocularly in Germany as *Engelssuppe.* W. Fris. has *môlk-en-bak, môlk en twiebak.*

krölet 'curly.' For the phrase *krölet hiir, krölet haur* (*haud*), cf. W. Fris. *krol hier, krol sin*; Du. *krullend haar, krullende zinnen* or *kroes haar, kroeze zinne*; Ger. *krauses Haar, krauser Sinn* (D.Wb. vol. v, col. 2091, s.v. *kraus*). Verdam quotes s.v. *kroes* from Bartholomeus van Glanville: Van den proprieteiten der dinghen (1485) the statement 'Colerici syn...doncker bruun van verwen, swart in den haer ende cruust.' The proverb indicates the confused reactions of the choleric temperament, a fact confirmed by modern observation, cf. Ach, *Willensakt und Temperament,* pp. 320 f.

kü 'cow.' For the proverb *di kü wel-t ek weet, dat-s en kualev wesen heer,* cf. W. Fris. *'t Is de kou forgetten, dat se in keal wêst het.* Cf. Wander II, 1667, s.v. *Kuh* 55.

kuul sesken 'issue of a marriage, to which both husband and wife have already brought children from a former marriage'; cf. W. Fris. *kâlde omke- of moikesizzers* 'nephews or nieces by marriage; children of a previous marriage of a brother-in-law or sister-in-law' and *in kâlde snoar* 'deceased brother's widow.' Cf. further West Jutland *kol bror, søstər* 'det sammenbragte börn uden slægtskab,' synonymous with *træbroder, træsøster* etc. Du. has *familie van den kouden kant* (i) 'aangetrouwde familie,' (ii) one with which one does not mix.

kwer-kaui 'to chew the cud' is erroneously referred by Möller to *twērt,* Ger. *quer.* The Föhr equivalent *kwĕdkāwi* shows that the first component is rather the Ger. **kwedu, kwedwa-,* cf. Engl. *cud* from O.E. *cwidu* (cf. M.L.G. *queden* 'Bauchfell der Eichhörnchen'). M.L.G. renders 'ruminari' by *eder-, ader-, ârkouwen.*

laapen 'in heat (of cattle),' cf. with the suffix *-isk* W. Fris. *loopsk* (of dogs), Westfalian *löpsk*, Ger. *läufisch*, Dan. *løbsk*.

lam 'lame.' For the saying *hi is ek sa lam, üs er hinket*, cf. Jut. *han ær it så lam som han leyker te* (Dan. *linke* = to limp).

lek 'luck' in *jest lek es katlek*, cf. W. Fris. *de earste winst is kattewinst*, i.e. precarious, apt to slip away; Westfalian *érstgewinn es kattengewinn*; Jut. *førstvinn æ katvinn* and Dan. *den første vinding er kattevinding*.

lēng 'to get longer, draw out' in the phrase *Wan di daagen bigen to lēngen, bigent di wunter tö strēngen*, cf. Jut. *nè dawən læyəs, wel wenteren stræyəs* (Feilberg, III, 1067).

ler[1] (*led*) 'lid' in *diar di leest söop üt di krük haa wel, di slair* (*slaid*) *di ler üp nöös*, cf. W. Fris. *dy 't onderste út 'e kanne ha wol, kriget it lid oer de noas* and Du. *die het onderste uit de kar wil hebben, krijgt het lid op den neus*.

ler[2] (*led*) 'limb.' To the Dan. *sætte i led* adduced, add English *to set a limb*.

lir (*lid*) 'people.' For *üüs lir* cf. W. Fris. *úsliu, wyliu*, but not in the specialized Sylt sense of the wife's relatives.

ljungslachster 'heather cutter,' cf. Jut. *lyngslætter*.

lö[2] 'scythe,' also occurs in English dialects in the form *lea*.

löt 'oven-rake,' cf. W. Fris. *loete* (Du. 'ovenpook').

luaslaap 'to run loose' (of cattle in period of free pasturage from 29th September till 10th November). The W. Fris. *losloope* and *losrinne* apparently not thus specialized.

lüngkual 'cauliflower,' cf. Jut. *langkål*.

maat 'mate' in *üs maat* 'quidam,' cf. W. Fris. *ús maet* a euphemism for the devil.

maldaarig 'wanton,' cf. W. Fris. verbal substantive *måldwaen*. The Föhr equivalent is *malləg*. W. Fris. also has the adjective *baldadich* 'petulans,' Du. *baldadig*, which in N. Fris. may have been contaminated by *mal* 'mad.'

manigfual' 'omasum,' cf. further Jut. *mangefold*, Engl. *manyplies*, Engl. dial. *manifolds* (quoted by Baskett, *Parts of the Body in the Later Germanic Dialects*, p. 96) and Swed. dial. *mangfaldu* (quoted by Arnoldson, *Parts of the Body in Older Germanic and Scandinavian*, p. 149). Arnoldson does not adduce the Jutish synonym *mærregrõv*.

mārig 'sausage,' cf. further W. Fris. *marge* (Du. 'bloedworst') and for *mārighuurn* W. Fris. *march-, margehoarntsje*.

markmansknet 'a species of knot made in a tether,' cf. Jut. *markmandskast*.

matiari 'matter, pus,' cf. W. Fris. *matearje*, Westfalian *matirge*. According to N.E.D. the first occurrence in English (in the expression *corrupt matter* like Lat. *materia peccans*) is in 1400. Dan. has *materie*.

mērelk 'eye (of a hook)' in *haaken en mērelken*, cf. O. Engl. *mærels* 'a cord.' In contradistinction to this W. Fris. has *heakke en eagen* like the Engl. and Old Du. *haken ende ogen*.

mes used attributively in *di mes ech* 'the wrong side, i.e. inside,' cf. W. Fris. use of *mis* in *it misse paed*.

miil[2] 'amount of milk from one milking,' cf. W. Fris. *in miel môlke, moarnsmiel, jounsmiel* and vb. *mielje*. Possibly connected with O.E. *méle*, cf. further Epinal glossary *meeli* as a gloss for 'alvium.' According to the N.E.D. *meal* signified 'tub, bucket' and is used in the expression *milk meales* in a quotation from 1567. In the sense of 'a milking' the word is still in frequent use in some Engl. dialects. Cf. further Falk-Torp's Danish dictionary, *op. cit.* s.v. *mæle* II, who refers to Gothic *méla* 'a bushel,' Old Norse *mælir*, a more acceptable etymology than Möller's reference to Gothic *mél* 'time.'

mjolbuurt 'mould board (of a plough).' The N.E.D. adduces the Du. *molbord* and gives the earliest Engl. quotation *moldboorde* from 1508. W. Fris. has *molboerd* and *moudboerd* (*moude* 'dust'); Jutish has *muldbræt*.

mok 'a mug,' cf. further W. Fris. *mok* 'tin cup,' in the Ameland dialect 'a child's mug.' Schleswig *mugge* 'can with a spout.'

molksētj 'a milk cooler,' cf. Jut. *mælksætte*.

müs 'mouse' in *en ring müs, diar man jen hol heer*, i.e. 'a wretched mouse that has but one hole,' cf. Jut. *de ær æn sølø mus, dær hår kon jæn hwål å kryß i* and Du. *'t is eene slechte muis, die maar één hol heeft*.

müsiardapel 'a variety of early potatoes,' cf. West Schleswig Jutish *musekartoffel*.

müsnēster ön haur 'whims, a bee in the bonnet,' cf. W. Flem. *muizenest* 'worry, qualm.'

müster, müsted 'milk-teeth,' cf. Jut. *musetand*, Du. *muizetand*.

müsuaret 'mouse eared,' cf. Jut. *museøret*.

nachtertir 'night-time' in *bi nachtertir*, which I was at first tempted to collate with the Chaucerian *at nightertale*, which the N.E.D. refers to an Old Norse genitive form of *nát*. Perhaps in this phrase the *-er* in Frisian is due however to influence by an expression like M.L.G. *bi slapender dêt, bi slapender tîd*, but Möller indicates that there are other compounds with *nachter-*. The Föhr and Heligoland words do

not afford any assistance. The Jut. form *nattetid* shows a disyllabic form of the first constituent. *nachtermol* in Sylt might have arisen from a hypothetical *nachtert* (cf. Heligoland *nochtert*) and then the *-er* form have become generalized.

negeri 'to neigh.' The same suffix in Engl. dialects *nicker*, *(k)nucker*.

nēsk 'nesh,' cf. further W. Fris. *nesk*.

njöölˈ 'to dawdle, hesitate,' cf. further W. Fris. *neulje*, Du. *neulen*.

nüüner 'a reed used as a Jew's harp,' cf. Jut. *nynne*.

prot 'sting, thorn.' Nearer than the forms with initial *b* is the Engl. *prod*, of which the etymology is obscure, as also its connection with *brad*. If the word *prod* is Indo-european or a very early borrowing in Germanic, we should expect a form with initial *b* in the cognate languages, and I suspect some connection with Irish *brot* 'sting,' Welsh *brathu* 'to sting.' The Germanic forms with *b* (*brad* etc.) might then be due to a later borrowing from Celtic after the completion of the first sound-shift.

reft equivalent to Engl. *rift*, which is assigned a Scandinavian origin in the N.E.D. The connected verb *riva* is, however, found in Old Fris.

riin 'clean' in *riin kant maaki* 'to clear up a matter,' cf. Jut. *gøre ren kant* and Du. *het werk aan kant maken*.

rimel 'border,' cf. Jut. *rimle* 'a row of drying peat.'

saalt 'salt,' used attributively like W. Fris. *sâlt* in *sa sâlt as pikel*, Du. *zout* etc. For further parallels of this usage cf. N.E.D.

seegen[2] 'greaves, sediment of fat.' No etymology given. The word appears to be derived from Lat. *sagina* 'grease,' which survives in French *saindoux* 'lard.' M.L.G. shows a form *sei, seig* 'dregs or draff of malt.' E. W. Selmer refers the Sylt word to Old Fris. *sīga* 'to sind.'

senighair 'object of desire,' cf. W. Fris. *sinnicheit* 'strong inclination,' Du. *zinnigheid* 'lust, desire.'

sēter 'a robust woman,' cf. W. Fris. *in grouwe setter* 'a strapping girl, tomboy.'

siili 'to sift,' cf. W. Fris. *silje*. The Engl. dialect form *sile* esp. of 'straining' milk. For further cognates cf. Falk and Torp's article on *Sil* I in their Danish dictionary.

sirlings 'sidelong,' cf. further W. Fris. *sídlings*; Du. *zijdelings*; Dan. *sidelængs*.

sirroop 'a trace (for a horse),' cf. Engl. *siderope* (15th–16th cents.).

sjuk in the phrase *tö sjuks* 'missing, *to seek* (as early as Chaucer),' cf. W. Fris. *to siik* and Du. *te zoek*; Jut. *te søøks*.

skaar[2] 'shade (of a hat),' cf. in the same sense W. Fris. *skaed*; Dan.

skygge in *hatte-*, *hueskygge*. W. Fris. uses *-skaed* in *reinskaed* and *sinneskaed* (cf. Engl. *sunshade*) as well, but Sylt follows the German usage with *riinskirem* and *senskirem*, cf. Föhr *rinn-*, *sannskirrəm*. Du. has *schaduwhoed*.

skeet 'crepitus ventris' in *hi maaket fan en skeet en tön 'erskrabel*, i.e. 'much ado about nothing,' cf. W. Fris. *hy makket fen in skeet in tongerslach* and cf. D.Wb. vol. VIII, col. 2463, s.v. *Scheiss*. Cf. further W. Jut. *han gor æn skiđ te æn tårenskrall* and Du. *hij maakt van een scheet een donderslag*.

sken in the phrase *en blö sken fo* 'to be refused (of a suitor)' is referred by Möller ultimately to the calf's skin offered to the rejected suitor, though he thinks that both in Sylt where *sken* means (i) 'skin' and (ii) 'shin' and in the Low German phrase *ene blaue schene lopen* we have to deal with a popular etymology substituting the idea of *shin* for *skin*. But for Frisian, at any rate, it seems possible that the meaning *shin* is primary and not secondary. W. Fris. has the same idiom *in blauwe skine rinne* (*krije*), although *skine* can only denote the 'shin,' and the phrase is as easily comprehensible as *de skinen stiette* 'to knock one's shins; fig. to fail.' For the use of the adjective *blau* in such collocations, cf. W. Fris. *ik ha myn earm blau staet; bont en blau* (like *black and blue*); *it komt blau út; hy is dêr blau weikomd*. The last two sentences express the idea of failure. The more specific application to the refusal of a suit is seen in *mei in blaue blês* (mark, blaze) or *op in blauwe kjedde* (horse) *thús komme*. Cf. further Wander IV, 162, s.v. *Schienbein* 2, 3, 5, 6 and Du. *eene blauwe scheen*.

skep-natji 'a net provided with bait but without hooks,' cf. W. Fris. *skepnetsje*, Du. *schepnetje*.

skööl 'shoal, school,' cf. further W. Fris. *skoal*, Du. *school*.

skööten melk 'curdled milk,' cf. W. Fris. *de molke is sketten, gearsketten* and Engl. dial. *shotten milk*. Cf. further Jut. *æ mjælk skyđər sammel*. M.L.G. used *schift* in this sense.

skot-hak 'a pen for stray cattle,' cf. W. Fris. *skutstâl*.

skrenkelbiinet 'spindle-shanked,' cf. Jut. *skrinkelbenet*.

slachsīr (*-sīd*) 'list (of a ship), heeling over,' cf. W. Fris. *it skip leit slachside*; Du. *slagzijde* and Ger. *Schlagseite*; Dan. *slagside*, Swed. *slagsida*.

slang 'hosepipe,' cf. W. Fris. *slang*, Ger. *Schlange* (D.Wb. vol. IX, col. 450, sec. 9 i) and Dan. *slang*.

slapdok 'child's bib,' cf. W. Fris. and Du. *slabbedoek*.

slink 'a hollow, combe,' cf. W. Fris. *slink(e)*, Föhr *sleenk*, Du. *slenk* 'a

combe' and possibly the Engl. dial. *slink* 'a small patch of wet meadow land.' Also Jut. *slink* 'a hollow between cliffs etc.'

smöri fig. 'to beat, thrash,' cf. W. Fris. *immen ôfsmarre* or *de ribben smarre*, Du. *smeren*; Ger. *wichsen* and *schmieren* (D.Wb. vol. IX, col. 1085 f.); Jut. *smöre*.

snejacht 'snow-drift,' cf. W. Fris. *sniejacht*, E. Fris. *snejacht*; Du. *sneeuwjacht*. W. Fris. has also the verb *sniejeije*.

snoopi 'to be a sweet tooth,' cf. W. Fris. *snobje*. American-English *snoop* is derived from Dutch.

somtirs 'sometimes,' cf. also W. Fris. *somtiids*; Du. *somtijds*.

söötji 'crowd,' lit. boiling, cf. Engl. *the whole boiling* (slang); W. Fris. *soadtsje* (dim.) and the phrase *hja hawwe in hiele soad bern*.

Spaans 'Spanish' in *di Spaans see* 'the Bay of Biscay,' cf. Jut. *den spanske sø*.

springhingst 'stallion,' cf. W. Fris. *springhyngst*, Du. *springhengst* and *dekhengst* (as in German). Cf. Jut. *springhest*.

stach in *aur stach gung* 'to yaw,' cf. W. Fris. *oer 'e staech*; Ger. *über Stag gehen* and Engl. *upon the stays* (N.E.D.).

stakels 'pitiable,' cf. further W. Fris. *stakker(t)*, E. Fris. *stakker(t)*.

stap[2] 'a wooden bucket,' cf. also E. Fris. *stappe, stap*; Engl. dial. *stop* 'a small well-bucket, milk-pail,' and O.E. *stoppa*.

stiif-, stiip- 'step-.' W. Fris. also shows double forms, viz. *styfmoer* (or *stiemoer*) and *stypmoer*. E. Fris. only shows *stêf-*. In Jutland are also found doublets *stymor* < *stifmoder* and *šybmor* (Fjolde dial.), *stesön* < *stifsön* and *šybsön*.

stintjis 'Delft tiles,' cf. W. Fris. *stientsjes*.

stjabli 'to shuffle, totter.' The corresponding W. Fris. word is *sjaggelje*.

stjüür 'control.' For the phrase *riin üt stjüür* 'wild, in a mess,' cf. W. Fris. *út stjur*, E. Fris. *buten, afer stjur*. Engl. substantive *steer* 'control' as early as *Beowulf*.

stofriin 'drizzle,' cf. W. Fris. *stof-, stourein*, Du. *stofregen*; Westfalian *et es am stuwen*. Cf. further Jut. *stövregn*.

stokstel 'stock still,' cf. also W. Fris. *stôkstil*, Du. *stokstil*.

strebloom 'immortelle, cud-weed,' cf. W. Fris. *strieblom*, Du. *stroobloem*.

streek 'stroke.' For the group *üp streek* 'in order,' cf. W. Fris. *wer op streek komme, bringe*. For the phrase *he es fan streek of* 'he has gone off his head,' cf. W. Fris. *fen 'e streek wêze*, which is used of physical indisposition and is equivalent to our 'not to be up to the mark.' Cf. Wander, IV, 909, s.v. *Strich* 12, 13 and Du. *van streek*.

striils 'litter' in the proverb *wit hingster mut fuul striils haa*, lit. 'white

horses must have much litter,' cf. W. Fris. *wite hynsders hawwe in bulte striujen nedich.* Cf. Wander, III, 1307, s.v. *Pferd* 648.

strük 'a doddering old man.' For *en ual' strük*, cf. W. Fris. *âld strûk.* I suspect association of ideas with some word like Low Ger. *strûkelen* 'to stumble.' Föhr shows *strük* in the sense of a 'poor devil.'

stumpli 'to stumble,' cf. also W. Fris. *stompelje.*

swekstelíng 'device for regulating windmill sails,' cf. further Jut. *swekstel(ing).*

sweli 'to rake up the hay,' cf. W. Fris. *swylje* and Engl. *sweal* (N.E.D.).

tetj (n.) 'mother's milk,' an easily understandable semantic development, cf. W. Fris. *myn bernte moat hwet tit hauwe* and *tate* 'milk.'

tiiđerslach 'extent of ground grazed by tethered cattle,' cf. Jut. *töjreslag.*

tingwal 'official notice,' cf. Jut. *tingvol* and Feilberg's note III, 805.

töbruar 'bread thrown in extra, make-weight.' Möller quotes Swed. *på bröd*, to which add Engl. (Scottish) *to-bread* and *in-bread* and Old Du. *toebroot*, which however is glossed 'coëdulum.' Jut. *tilbrød* signifies 'what is smeared on bread.'

tön'erbüü 'thunderstorm,' cf. W. Fris. *tongerbui*; Du. *donderbui*; Dan. *tordenbyge.*

tön'erhaur (*-haud*) 'thundercloud,' cf. W. Fris. *tongerkoppen* and Du. *donderkop.* Jut. has *tordenhat.*

tön'erstiin 'belemnite,' cf. W. Fris. *tongerstien*, Du. *dondersteen*, Engl. *thunderstone* (from 16th cent.), Jut. *tordensten* (many references in Feilberg III, 826).

top 'top (nautical).' For the phrase *fuar top en taakel siil* 'to drift before the wind with bare poles,' cf. W. Fris. *driuwe for top en takkel*, Du. *voor top en takel drijven.*

totbuat 'a boat used for fishing with bait but without a hook'; *totliin* 'bait line' etc., cf. W. Fris., Du. *totebel* and Engl. (Scottish dial.) *tootnet.* There is an Anglo-American word *tote* 'to pull, carry,' of obscure etymology, but it is difficult to connect it. Cf. further Jut. *tatte* and Feilberg's description of this mode of fishing in vol. 3, p. 778.

treerels 'cock's tread, treadle,' cf. W. Fris. *trêdsel* and vb. *trêdzje* 'copulari' (of fowls).

trekpot 'teapot,' in more frequent use on Sylt than *teepot.* Apparently borrowed from Du. *trekpot* (same in W. Fris.), as is the corresponding Heligoland word, cf. Siebs, *Helgoland und seine Sprache*, p. 171.

tualighaker 'great titmouse' (*tualig* 'tallow'), cf. Jut. *talghakker*, *talgpikker.*

tuuti 'to toot.' The saying *hi weet nochweder fan tuutin of fan blaasin*, i.e. 'he is stupid,' cf. W. Fris. *hy wit fen tûtsjen noch blazen* and E. Fris. *he wêt fan gên tuten of blasen.* Cf. Wander, IV, 1380.

tümspiker 'thumbtack' (a modern word on the evidence of the N.E.D.). W. Fris. has the compound *hânspiker*, Du. *handspijker* as well as *duimspijker*. Jut. has *tommesöm.*

twenter 'two-year-old cattle,' cf. W. Fris. *twinter* (of horses and cows), *trinter* 'three-year-olds' and *inter* (Sylt *enter*) 'one-year-old.' For further parallels cf. N.E.D. s.v. *twinter.*

ualwüfenknet, lit. 'old wives' knot,' cf. W. Fris. *âldwiveknop, -knotte*; Engl. *granny-knot* (quotations from 18th cent.). Cf. further Jut. *kjællinge-knude* < *kjælling* 'an old woman,' and Du. *oudewijven-knop.*

*uarkröök*er 'earwig,' cf. W. Fris. *earkrûper*; Jut. *ørekryb.*

uarmark 'earmark' (from 16th cent.), cf. *Ohrmarke* in D.Wb. vol. VII, col. 1266 (quotation from Göttingen dial.), Du. *oormerk.*

uasterfuar 'eastwards,' cf. Jut. *østenfor.*

ütdrai spec. 'to carry out a corpse.' W. Fris. says *in lyk wirdt yn 'e kiste it hûs ûtdroegen.*

ütfan 'away from Sylt, away from home.' W. Fris. uses *útfenhûs* of 'lodging out.'

üthüüsig adj. 'gadabout,' cf. W. Fris. *úthûsk, úthûzich*; E. Fris. *ûthûsig* and Du. *uithuizig.*

ütkiiring 'the *turning over* of property on the execution of a will,' cf. W. Fris. *Goasse waerd erfgenaem, mar hij moast tûzen goune oan de tsjerke ûtkeare* and Du. *uitkeering.*

ütpröökeli 'to clean out a pipe,' cf. W. Fris. *útpreugelje* with synonym *útplúzje* (subs. *útplúzer* 'pipe-cleaner').

wacht in the phrase *di wacht önsii* 'to give a piece of one's mind,' cf. Jut. *æ ska nåk sæt dæ æ vakt an.* Cf. Wander, IV, 1717, s.v. *Wache* 5 (quotation from Frischbier) and Du. *de wacht aanzeggen.*

wai 'way.' For the phrase *üp wai wiis*, cf. Engl. *to be in the family way.* W. Fris. has *hja habbe twa bern en it tredde is op kommende wei*, i.e. on the way. Cf. further Jut. *vær o (guwwə) væj.*

wangloov 'superstition,' cf. W. Fris. *wangelove, wanleauwe* (Du. *bijgeloof, wangeloof, wantrouwen*), E. Fris. and Mid. Low Ger. *wangelove*; Dan. *vantro.*

wanreer 'foolish escapade.' W. Fris. has the adjective *wanredsom* 'clumsy.'

wederkater 'the quivering of the air in the summer heat; mirage,' cf. further W. Fris. *de waerkatten fleane*, lit. 'the weather cats are flying.'

wees 'oesophagus,' cf. W. Fris. *weaze.*

weetenskep 'science.' For the phrase *aik ding heer sin weetenskep* 'there is a knack in everything,' cf. W. Fris. *alle ding hat syn wittenskip*; E. Fris. '*elk ding hed sin wetenskep,' sä Grêtjemõ, do pustede se 't lücht met de nërs* (= *Arsch*) *ût* or *sä 'n old wîf, do nam se 'n regenwurm un bunn sik de schô' d'r mit to*; Jut. *de ær æn videnskab* and cf. Wander, IV, 1317, s.v. *Wissenschaft* 12—14.

weeterlöösing 'drain,' cf. Jut. *vandløsning.*

weeterpas 'water-level,' cf. W. Fris. *wetterpas*, E. Fris. *waterpasse*, Du. *waterpas.*

weetertap 'water-spout,' cf. Jut. *vandtap.* Feilberg gives several synonyms (III, 1007).

wialteri like Engl. *welter*, E. Fris. *weltern.*

wiljlaper 'a flighty person,' cf. Jut. *vildlapper* 1. 'horse left to run wild,' 2. 'tomboy.'

wining 'window,' cf. Jut. *vinəng.*

winjsk 'wry, warped,' cf. Föhr *winjsk*, W. Fris. *wynsk*, E. Fris. *windsk*; Ger. *windig, windisch.* Falk and Torp refer Dan. and Swed. *vind* to **windan* 'to wind' and adduce Gothic *in-winds*, M.H.G. *windeht.*

wink 'a wink.' For the phrase *ik fing di hiili nacht niin wink ōn oogen*, cf. E. Fris. *ik heb so slecht slapen, dat ik de hêle nacht gên wink in mîn ôgen had heb* and Engl. *I did not sleep a wink all night.*

witel 'white woollen blanket,' cf. Engl. dial. *whittle* 'a cape, blanket, flannel,' referred by E.D.D. to O.E. *hwītel* 'a cloak, blanket.' W. Fris. *wytling* denotes a linen sheet, but Föhr *witjel* is a woollen covering.

witelk 'a child's napkin.' Engl. *whittle* can mean a woollen napkin.

wrakling 'plank nail.' The M.L.G. word also occurs in Jut. *vrækling.*

wrēnsker 'breeding stallion,' cf. the same derivative in Dan. Jut. *vrinsker.*

wunterbaank 'yellowish red *stratus* clouds betokening frost,' cf. Jut. *vinterbakke.*

würem-iiten like Engl. *worm-eaten*, as against Föhr *wirrəməg*, W. Fris. *wjirmstekkich*, E. Fris. *wurmstêkerig.* Ger. has both *wurmstichig* and *Wurmfrass*; Dan. *ormædt* and *ormstukken.*

APPENDIX.

Though it was not my intention any more than Mr Möller's (cf. Professor Borchling's *Nachwort* to the Sylt dictionary, p. 307) to adduce many parallels from the neighbouring North Frisian dialects, it might save investigators trouble to append here the Föhr (and Amrum) equivalents of some of the words discussed above. In the following list the Sylt word is bracketed: *blēsəmi* [blösmi], *dingəli* [dingeli], *dōrstät krōm*

[döörsteek], *drei* + *trĕ* [drai² + tre], *dreier* [draiom, draier], *drech* [drech], *droonk* [droonk], *fät drăft bowen an wan't uk fan en ualen hünj as* [fat], *faask wēder* [fēsk weeter], *flippi* [fleepi], *fĕrfíar* [forfiir], *fĕrháli* [forhaali], *fĕrsloffi* [forslofi], *fĕrwelli*, Helg. *fərwīlkə* [forweli], *fråbuk*, *fragbuk* [fraagbok], *gershopper* [gērshuper], *glürrūg* [glüürioog], *gredd* [grer, gred], *grŭp* [grop], *grimmən*, pl. of *grim* [grüming.—The Föhr plural suggests that the Sylt form may contain the pl. suffix -ing, cf. *hüüsing* pl. of *hüs*, but there is an analogous use of the derivative suffix -ing in the other *hüüsing* 'a rope'], *hăm* vb, *hămən* subs. [hēm], *hīngslōt* [hingslot], Amrum *höfki* [höfki], *jachteri* [jachteri], *keuəri* [kaieri], *tjūrəl* [kjaarel], *klāmp* [klaamp], *kleiər* [klaier], *moolk an krāmən* [kramen], Amrum *mok* [mok], *skŏl* [skööl], *skothaag* [skothak], *slachsidj* [slachsir], *slāng* [slang], *springhingst* [springhingst], *stăkel(s)* [stakels], *štjip-* [stiip-], *swelli* [sweli], *tĕtj*, Helg. *titj* [tetj], *tŭbruad* [töbruar], *tonnərstīan* [tön'erstiin], *trēdlīs* [treerels], *trekpot* [trekpot], *wonnlūw* [wangloov], *wonnriad* [wanreer], *wēdərpaas* [weeterpas], *wēdərtåp* [weetertap].

From the North Frisian dialect of Moringen (cf. B. Bendsen, *Die nordfriesische Sprache nach der Moringer Mundart*, Leiden, 1860) I will only mention *drieg* [drech], *gräjdd* [grer], *graup* [grop], *klōmp* [klaamp], *klāier, en mäjl mōlke* [miil²], *dá wähserkätte flie* [weđerkater].

Next I should like to enumerate words given in the glossary to Siebs' *Sylter Lustspiele* (Greifswald, 1898) which Möller has apparently omitted: *depling* 'a fold in paper,' *dærtākĕlĕ* 'to thrash,' *filister* 'a strong man,' *flimĕlk* 'a butterfly,' *ik mōkĕ min frîlik* 'I propose marriage,' *gê* 'a sort of tobacco,' *hüs* 'a sheath,' *krysingslach* 'a flourish,' *kwêshaurwark* 'a sick headache,' *kwîn* 'two-year-old cattle,' *kwots* 'an expectorated quid,' *jü kü lāpt* cf. *laapen, muun en mēsk āpît* 'to eat one out of house and home,' *munja* 'grannie,' *nêerlĕ* 'to write badly,' *noetlĕ* 'to do work not learnt,' *ómstoekĕ* 'to manage something,' *ómtocht* 'a fuss,' *pótjüt* 'a Jutland potseller' (term of contempt), *rem* 'pole-plate (of a roof),' *roisplĕ* 'to clear the throat,' *santšjĕ* 'to mess about,' *skanplakĕ* vb. 'to backbite,' *skotsĕ möts* 'tamo'shanter,' *slēntrĕ* 'to walk with difficulty after an illness,' *sliipwüf* fem. of *sliipbaas*, *spreek* characterized as rare, syn. *snakĕ*, *stüfrĕ* 'to coagulate,' *têeskĕ* 'to beat wet clothes, to spoon out,' *tēngerĕ* 'to glisten,' *sik topĕ* 'to make off,' *ülkĕn* (obs.) pl. 'tiny tots,' *ütrumlĕ* 'to bundle out,' *wî ĕn wunhir* 'pain,' *ombí wôgĕ* 'to bustle round.'

Finally I would direct the attention of Anglists interested in Frisian to Holthausen's *Nordfriesische Studien* in Paul and Braune's *Beitr.*, vol. XLV, pp. 1–50, and to E. W. Selmer's *Sylterfriesische Studien*, Christiania, 1921.

W. E. COLLINSON.

LIVERPOOL.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Another Latin Manuscript of the 'Ancren Riwle.'

In the *Modern Language Review* for April, 1919, I pointed out that an unnoted Latin manuscript of the *Ancren Riwle* was to be found in Merton Coll. MS. 44, of the early fourteenth century. The following quotation from the new catalogue of the Royal MSS. of the British Museum will prove that a duplicate of this text is to be found in Royal MS. 7 C. x. (art. 4): 'Treatise in eight parts (the last is incomplete) without title, on the "regula interior" for anchorites. A copy is at Oxford, Merton Coll. MS. XLIV, ending at the same point. Beg. '*Recti diligunt te.* Canticorum primo: Verba sunt, etc.'

The manuscript in question is written in the early sixteenth century on paper. The fragment given of the eighth book is not indicated separately, though the others are, and though it is no more than a few sentences (breaking off very abruptly), the scribe seems not to recognise its incompleteness. He ends as follows: '...ideo non debetis eucharistiam sumere nisi quindecies in anno.' 'Telos' is written in the same hand at the bottom of the page.

B.M. Royal MS. 7 C. x. makes the fourth Latin text of the *Ancren Riwle* known. Its survival is the more fortunate because, of the other three copies extant, the Cotton MS. is badly burnt, and the Magdalen MS. entirely omits the eighth book.

Hope Emily Allen.

London.

Alliteration of the Versions of 'Piers Plowman' in its bearing on their Authorship.

In Middle English alliterative verse a striking peculiarity has been noticed, namely, that the alliteration often falls on unstressed syllables, either prefixes or prepositions or similar words which are naturally subordinated in stress to a following word. This was first pointed out by Professor Skeat in his Essay on Alliterative Poetry in Volume III of the *Percy Folio*, 1868, and in the Preface to *Alexander and Dindimus* (Early English Text Society, 1878). When investigating this phenomenon with a view to tracing its connexion with the pronunciation of the words in

question[1], I found that it cast an interesting light on the problem of the authorship of the three versions of *Piers Plowman*.

In general, the whole *corpus* of unrhymed alliterative poetry follows much the same practice in the choice of the alliterating syllable; e.g. the prefixes *con-*, *per-*, *pro-* always alliterate; words beginning in *def-*, with the exception of *defence*, *defend*, always alliterate on the root; words beginning in *rel-* alliterate on the prefix; though the prefixes *be-* and *for-* frequently alliterate, *to-* and *with-* only do so when forming adverbs or prepositions, and so on. But certain peculiarities can be noted, which divide certain works. For example, in *Richard the Redeless* there is no alliteration of the prefix *be-*, and none of prepositions, both of which characteristics are marked features of all parts of *Piers Plowman*. Again, *Morte Arthure* can be distinguished from *Troy Book* (*cp.* Dr Giles in *Cambridge History of Literature*, Vol. II, p. 118) by its use of second-half lines where the two stresses seem to fall on the prefix and root of the same word, e.g. 1377 'that thus hym *per*suede,' 3559 'I salle it *re*venge' (a feature also of the rhymed alliterative poems); by its frequent shifting of the alliteration from the third to the fourth stress of the line, e.g. 2202 'He broches euene thorowe the byerne, and the sadille bristes'; and by its alliteration of the adverb *so* in such lines as 136 'so Crist mott me helpe.'

Professor Manly divides *Piers Plowman* into five parts, which he attributes to as many different authors, namely, Passus i to viii of the A-text (A_1), Passus ix to xii. 55 of the A-text (A_2), xii. 56–117 of the A-text (John But), the B-text (B), and the C-text (C). Now the work done by the reviser of the A-text falls into two parts: first, the revision and expansion of A. i–xi (Passus xii being omitted from the revised version in B), and secondly the continuation of the poem. I propose to divide the B-text here, calling the first-part B_1, and the second, i.e. Passus xi–xx, B_2; for it is especially between these two parts that I have noticed striking differences of alliteration.

The alliteration of prepositions, etc. is a much more marked feature of B_2, and after it of A_1 and C, than of A_2 and B_1, as the Appendix to this note shows. Also, it may be seen that in the different sections different prepositions alliterate. In the case of the following words in particular, the uses of the sections can be distinguished:

and alliterates 7 times in B_2, and once only in A_1, B_1, and C respectively[2].

[1] In an unpublished thesis on 'Early Middle English Word-Stress Investigated on the Basis of the Unrhymed Alliterative Poems,' London, 1921.

[2] That is to say, except where the line in C is taken over from B_2. The same is to be understood of all references in this note; they denote the text in which the word *first* occurs.

before alliterates in A_1 (twice), B_2 (4 times), C (5 times); but not in A_2 or B_1; note especially C. iii. 100 'And fastingdayes to frete by-for noon, and drynke,' which is altered from B. ii. 95 'ar ful tyme were.'

but alliterates in B_1 (twice), B_2 (7 times), C (4 times), but not in either part of the A-text, except the doubtful Pr. 63. In the case of such a line as A. viii. 70 '*b*ote he habbe neode,' there is no word following *but* which has more right to the alliteration. C. iii. 141 'bote ȝe a-mende the sonnere,' is altered from A. ii. 95 = B. ii. 127 'by god that me made[1].'

for plays an important part in distinguishing between the sections. It alliterates in A_1 (10 times), B_2 (15 times), and C (11 or 12 times), but not in A_2, and once only in B_1. Note especially A. vii. 2 'That mihte folwen us vch a fote forte that we come there,' which becomes in B_1 'thus this folke hem mened,' and again in C 'for drede of mys-tornynge.' Again, A. viii. 32–3,

> Pore widewes that wolde beo none wyues aftur
> Fynde suche heore foode for godes loue of heuene,

is telescoped in B_1 into

> Pore peple and prisounes fynden hem here fode,

and again expanded in C into

> Poure puple bedredene and prisones in stockes,
> Fynde hem for godes loue.

fro(m) alliterates in A_1 (3 times), B_2 (twice), and C (5 times); not in A_2 or B_1.

save alliterates in B_2 only (4 times).

to alliterates in A_1 (twice), A_2 (4 times), B_2 (11 times), and C (5 times); but not in B_1, hence distinguishing sharply between B_1 and B_2.

while alliterates in A_1 (3 times) and A_2, but nowhere else; note A. vii. 51–2,

> 'Ich a-sente, be seint Iem!' seide the kniht thenne,
> 'For to worche bi thi word while my lyf dureth,'

ingeniously altered in C to

> and my wyf bothe.

with alliterates in A_1 (7 times), B_1 (12 times), B_2 (19 times), and C (8 times); but only once in A_2, just at the point where the lines attributed by Professor Manly to John But begin. Its increasing popularity as an alliterating word is shown by A. vii. 18,

> And ȝe, loueli ladies with oure longe fyngres,

[1] In such cases there is, of course, always the possibility that the line in C comes from an unprinted variant of A. In the lines quoted under *for* below, C seems to be based on a form combining A and B.

which becomes in C

> And ȝe worthly wommen with ȝoure longe fyngres ;

and also A. viii. 29,

> And wikkede wones wihtly to amende,

which similarly becomes

> And wikkede weyes with here good amende.

It may also be noted that B_1 alters A. viii. 59,

> To waxen or to wonien whether god lyketh,

into

> That neuere shal wax ne wanye with oute god hymselue.

Hence, from an examination of the Appendix, we may say that the principal alliterating words are: in A_1 *for, from, so, while, with*; in A_2 *to*; in B_1 *by, with*; in C *before, by, for, from, so, to,* and *with*. In B_2 practically all alliterate, the only important exception being *while*. Specially striking is the absence of alliterating *for* and *to* in B_1, compared with their frequency in B_2. The sharp distinctions drawn between the different sections seem to me to constitute a not unnegligible argument in favour of multiple authorship.

As regards the alliteration of words compounded with prefixes, the chief prefixes which concern us in *Piers Plowman* are the Romance prefixes *de-* and *re-*, and the Germanic prefix *be-*. Among words compounded with *de-*, there is great variety of use in B_1, B_2, and C; but B_2 is the only text where the alliteration differs in the same word, the cases being 'defende,' xv. 19, 'defende,' xvi. 246; 'departen,' xx. 138, 'departable,' xvii. 26. In A_1, with one exception (defoulen, xi. 60), these words alliterate on the prefix (defendyth, xii. 19; distruieth, x. 76; destroyede, xi. 280; disputyng, ix. 108); in A_2, with one exception (dilyteie, i. 29) on the root (14 cases in all). The only word common to A_1 and A_2 is defend (cp. xii. 19 with vii. 81).

Practically all words compounded with *re-* alliterate on the prefix. Again the only single word which alliterates on both prefix and root is found in B_2, namely reuere, on the prefix in xviii. 350, xix. 239, and on the root in xx. 156. Besides this we have root-alliteration in *reprove*, xv. 138, xviii. 149, and *resemble*, xvi. 214. The only root-alliterating word not in B_2 is repugnen, C. i. 136, where the B-text reads 'inpugnen'; this may well be a scribal variant.

Words compounded with what have been called the 'heavy' prefixes alliterate on the prefix with some five exceptions. Again, B_2 supplies the only example of the same word alliterating on both prefix and root, namely [illegible] on prefix in xi. 76, xv. 558, xvii. 295, and on the root

in xi. 53; *conform*, on the prefix in xi. 175, xiii. 208, xv. 337, and on the root in xiii. 213.

From the alliteration of the Germanic prefixes I do not find any conclusion to be drawn, except that A_2 is the only section of the poem which shows no variation in single words. Words compounded with *be-*, though on the whole alliterating on the root, show great variation; e.g. in A_1 *begin, behold, belief*; in B_2 *behind, before, beneath*; in C *before, belief, beseech*; in B_1 *believe* alliterates twice on the prefix and twice on the root. But all words in A_2, namely *become, befall, beginning, belief, beseech, betake*, alliterate on the root alone.

It is, of course, quite likely that a poet would, in the course of years, change his practice in these particulars. It is evident, as we can see from an examination of the latest poems, that the tendency of the alliterative school as time passed was to discard prefix-alliteration, and a similar tendency may be expected in the work of an individual. Something of the sort may in fact be traced in the *Troy Book*, and also in *Piers Plowman* itself, in the case of certain words beginning with *de-*. But in *Piers Plowman* the most striking fact about the use of romance prefixes is that only in one part, namely B_2, did the poet consider himself free to change the alliterating syllable in a single word; neither in A, B_1, or C is this done. In the case of the prepositions also, although a poet might very conceivably alter his practice in the matter of allowing them to alliterate, it is not likely that he would at different periods employ different selections of alliterating prepositions.

In both cases, it is between B_1 and B_2 that the distinction is clearest, most strikingly in the alliteration of the prepositions *for* and *to*. The variety of alliteration found in B_2 divides it from all the other texts, and this characteristic is not developed in C as one might expect if all the parts were due to the same author. A_1 and A_2 again differ in their use of prepositions, especially *for* and *with*, and in the alliteration of words in *de-*. A_2 and B_1 are distinguished by the alliteration of *to* in the former, and *by, but*, and especially *with*, in the latter. For so short a passage as the half canto attributed to John But, this method cannot give any result, although it is striking that *again* alliterates on *g* in xi. 150 and on the spirant in xii. 60. But as regards the rest of the poem, I think it can be definitely stated that the evidence of the alliteration of *Piers Plowman* points towards its being the work of five different hands, and that this evidence is most constraining where it differentiates that part of the B-text which is a revision of the A-text from the later cantos continuing the work.

APPENDIX.

Prepositions, Conjunctions, and Adverbs alliterating in *Piers Plowman*.

(With respect to the lengths of the different parts, A_1 is 1833 lines, A_2 (including Passus xii) 751, and B_2 4035. B_1 I estimate at about 1100–1200 lines; the length of C is extraordinarily hard to ascertain, owing to the manner in which it adopts the B-text with slight alterations, but roughly it may be said to consist of about 2000 or more lines.)

about B_1: Pr. 178
B_2: xiii. 347; (?alliterating on vowel) xv. 278; xx. 190

above B_2: xi. 134

afore B_2: xvi. 45

again(st) A_2: xi. 150; (?John But; alliterating on ȝ) xii. 60
B_2: xix. 356

amid B_1: x. 408

among B_1: v. 260
B_2: xi. 236; xiii. 229, 259; xiv. 26, 158
C: v. 26

and A_1: iii. 249
B_1: ii. 83
B_2: xiii. 336; xiv. 25; xv. 409; xvii. 319; xviii. 118; xix. 238, 392
C: viii. 173

as A_2: ix. 100
B_1: (?) x. 309
C: xix. 68

at B_2: xiv. 57; xviii. 342; xix. 77
C: (?) xi. 241 (or on *ye*)

before A_1: iii. 179; v. 230
B_2: xi. 303; xiii. 65, 73; xv. 297
C: iii. 100; x. 322; xvi. 140; xviii. 31; xix. 49

beside B_2: xvii. 72

between A_2: x. 196

but A_1: (?) Pr. 63
B_1: v. 395; vii. 84
B_2: xi. 64, 197; xii. 29; xv. 118; xviii. 252; xix. 402, 467
C: iii. 141; vi. 52; xviii. 8, 32

by A_1: ii. 95; vii. 152
B_1: Pr. 165; v. 149; x. 250
B_2: xi. 249, 319; xii. 201, 236; xiii. 317, 369; xx. 95, 240
C: vii. 169; x. 32, 222; xviii. 29, 57, 283; xxi. 111

ere B_2: xix. 146, 390

for A_1: ii. 175; iii. 66; iv. 25, 41; vi. 14, 48; vii. 2, 81; viii. 33, 78 (*For* obviously omitted)
B_1: v. 496
B_2: xi. 63, 68, 113, 256, 346; xv. 477; xvi. 162; xviii. 430; xix. 66, 141; xx. 57, 251, 330, 365, 381
C: [illegible] 107; xv. 88; vi. 27; vii. 46; viii. 308; x. 258; xi. 256; xii. 279; xviii. 35; xxii. 205; xxiii. 38

from A_1: v. 29; vi. 16; viii. 174
B_2: xv. 15; xvi. 174
C: v. 111; xi. 22; xvi. 237; xvii. 197; xx. 80

in A_1: v. 236

in	A_1: i. 120; v. 153
	A_2: x. 44
	B_2: xi. 327; xvi. 170, 207; xvii. 102; xx. 277
near	B_1: vi. 301
of	B_1: (?) v. 633 (perhaps originally *of the poukes ponfolde*)
	B_2: xiii. 296; xv. 565; xviii. 122
	C: xix. 219, 231; xx. 98
on	C: xiii. 207
save	B_2: xiii. 124; xix. 185, 434; xx. 265
sith	B_2: xiv. 142; xvii. 31; xx. 136
	C: x. 115; xx. 245
so	A_1: iii. 92; v. 22, 122; vi. 113; viii. 23
	A_2: ix. 102; xi. 295
	B_1: v. 376; x. 75
	B_2: xiii. 205; xv. 47, 153, 288, 489; xvii. 35, 158
	C: iv. 246; xi. 38; xii. 297, 301; xiv. 203; xix. 96; xx. 33, 106
to	A_1: vii. 197; viii. 1
	A_2: x. 141; xi. 62, 162; xii. 24
	B_2: xi. 291, 393; xiii. 96, 125, 431; xvi. 147, 148; xvii. 76; xviii. 238; xix. 232; xx. 7
	C: iii. 124; x. 262; xi. 181; xiii. 187; xix. 177
under	B_2: xvii. 102
when	A_1: iii. 102; v. 69
	B_2: xi. 226; xiv. 62; xviii. 412
	C: v. 52; vii. 160, 302
where	A_2: ix. 105; xii. 40
	B_2: xi. 338; xvii. 53; xx. 3
	C: xiv. 34
whether	A_1: viii. 59
while	A_1: ii. 74; iii. 29; vii. 52
	A_2: xi. 101
why	A_2: xi. 74, 81
with	A_1; ii. 30; iii. 148, 252; iv. 19; v. 25; vii. 89; viii. 84
	A_2: xii. 56 (? John But)
	B_1: Pr. 22; ii. 90; iii. 74, 234, 238, 348; iv. 33; v. 476; ix. 113; x. 355, 403, 429
	B_2: xi. 111, 163; xiv. 27, 292; xv. 125, 286, 446; xvi. 105, 120, 146, 203, 244, 272; xvii. 53, 69; xviii. 228; xix. 347, 368; xx. 167
	C: iii. 199; ix. 9; x. 31, 135, 196, 250; xix. 261; xx. 232
within	B_1: x. 149
without	A_1: iii. 220
	B_1: vii. 55
	B_2: xvi. 99; xvii. 231.

MABEL DAY.

LONDON.

SPENSER'S 'MUIOPOTMOS.'

In 1914 Mr Percy W. Long contributed an article on the above poem[1] to which I returned recently when restudying Spenser's minor poems. Mr Long suggested that the allegory obviously underlying this delight-

[1] *Mod. Lang. Review*, vol. ix, p. 457.

ful sport of fancy is a playful account of the enslavement of his heart by Lady Carey, 'that Spenser in *Muiopotmos* represents his captivity to the charms of Lady Carey.' I find it more and more difficult to accept such an interpretation, and I wish to suggest another which would connect the poem with other dark allegories in Spenser. For that the poem is allegorical is clear both from its own tenor and from the closing words of the dedication to Lady Carey: 'beseeching your La: to take [it] in worth, and of all things therein according to your wonted graciousnes to make a milde construction.'

Mr Long supports his interpretation by citing numerous instances of a love poet comparing his enslavement by his lady's beauty to the capture of a fly by a spider. But it is one thing merely to compare the captured lover to a fly ensnared. It is quite another to enlarge the simile and identify the lady with the spider in its unattractive features. Could Spenser really mean, in a poem dedicated to herself, to describe Lady Carey as:

> a wicked wight
> The foe of faire things, th' author of confusion,
> The shame of Nature, the bondslave of spight

and tell us that:

> His heart did earne against his hated foe,
> And bowels so with ranckling poyson swelde,
> That scarce the skin the strong contagion helde?

No 'metaphysical' poet could develop the details of a conceit more inappropriately, if Spenser is describing Lady Carey as the spider who has entrapped him. It is frankly incredible.

It seems to me possible to suggest a more likely interpretation. The printer's introductory note to the *Complaints* of 1591 suggests that all the poems which it contains were written some time before. Several, if not all of them, belong probably to the critical year 1579–80 when, as is becoming more clear, Spenser got himself into trouble by espousing too warmly and indiscreetly the cause of Leicester against Burleigh. *Mother Hubberds Tale* was written at this time—even if recast later—and evidently gave offence. The dedicatory sonnet to Leicester prefixed to *Virgil's Gnat* suggests that Leicester had been unable to protect his too ardent supporter:

> Wrong'd, yet not daring to expresse my paine,
> To you (great Lord) the causer of my care,
> In cloudie teares my case I thus complaine
> Unto your selfe, that only privie are.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> But what so by my selfe may not be showen,
> May by this Gnatts complaint be easily knowen.

Is it not probable that *Muiopotmos* is a light, fanciful allegory on the same theme written at first with no thought of dedication to Lady Carey, a poem like the *Witch of Atlas* in which the poet relieves his feelings by giving wings to his fancy? Burleigh then would be the spider, for note the history of the spider. An interpretation of the allegory must account for this. He is the child of a mother who challenged Pallas the goddess of Wisdom. Who is this mother? Is it not 'policy,' Machiavellian craft and policy setting itself up against divine wisdom? A sub-title to Spenser's *Muiopotmos* might thus be *The Poet and the Politician*—that word of evil-odour in Elizabethan English—an allegory of the fate awaiting that 'light and winged and holy thing' the poet and idealist if he comes bustling into the web of schemes and 'subtil gins' and 'lymie snares' which the politician is ever weaving.

H. J. C. GRIERSON.

EDINBURGH.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF 'THE COSTELIE WHORE.'

If Mr W. J. Lawrence (p. 167 *supra*) had personally inspected the tract from which he quotes a sentence at second hand, he would have seen that it threw no light on the authorship of his play. *Free-Parliament Quæres* is a Royalist pamphlet of 6 pages, issued in 1660, before the Restoration, and consisting of 38 numbered 'queries,' in each of which the writer gibes at the men of 'the late Rump.'

It will suffice to quote these three consecutive paragraphs:

23. Whether that Comedie, called *The Costly Whore*, was not intended for the life of the Lady *Sands*, and was written by *Henry Martin*?

24. Whether the *Bastard*, a Tragedie, was compiled by Mr *Goff*, or written by *J. Ireton*?

25. Whether *Orlando Furioso* that antient *Italian* Poem, was not meant for a Propheticall Relation of the life of Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*?

The sequence of names, Martin, Ireton, Haslerigg, leaves no doubt that the first of the three is Henry Martin (or Marten) the regicide. 'He was a great lover of pretty girles, to whom he was so liberall that he spent the greatest part of his estate' (Aubrey). Who 'Lady Sands' was, I have no notion: and for our present purpose we may be content to leave her and her misbehaviours in a decent obscurity.

WALTER WORRALL.

OXFORD.

Mackenzie's Translations from the German.

In the article on Henry Mackenzie in the *Dictionary of National Biography* some doubt is thrown on the statement, quoted from Allibone's *Dictionary* (and appearing also in Chambers' *Eminent Scotsmen*), that Mackenzie published, in 1791, 'Translations from the German of Lessing's Set of Horses and some other dramatic pieces.' The writer of the article found 'no trace of the work in the Catalogue of the British Museum Library or in that of the Edinburgh Advocates' Library.' The book is, however, in the Library of the British Museum, appearing in the catalogue under the title *Dramatic Pieces from the German*. The catalogue gives the date 1892; but this, as the title-page shows, is in error for 1792.

The *Set of Horses* is the last of the three pieces contained in Mackenzie's little volume. It is a translation of *Der Postzug* by C. H. von Ayrenhoff (Scherer, transl. Mrs Conybeare, II, p. 311), whose name Mackenzie here, as in his *Account of the German Theatre* (Roy. Soc. Edinb. Trans., II, 1790), converts to Emdorff. The other two pieces in the volume are versions of Goethe's *Geschwister* and Gessner's *Unterhaltungen eines Vaters mit seinen Kindern*.

How the mistake came to be made of ascribing this little comedy to Lessing is not clear. Several of Lessing's works, both comedies and tragedies, are mentioned in Mackenzie's *Account of the German Theatre*, where *Der Postzug* appears under the name of its French translation, *L'Attelage de Poste*; but there is in this fact no adequate reason for confusion.

Helen M. Richmond.

Englefield Green.

'Snape-Guest.'

The reviewer of Professor Mawer's *Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham* (*M.L.R.*, vol. XVII, p. 85) regards as 'somewhat fanciful and even picturesque' the author's explanation of the word < from the dialect *snape*, to be hard on, rebuke, or snub, and *guest*. Picturesque perhaps, but certainly not fanciful to anyone who is familiar with M.E. nomenclature. In my *Surnames* (ch. XII) I give about 130 existing English surnames of what I have called the Shake-spear type and about 350 more which are presumably extinct. My former pupil, Miss Dorothy Pilkington, who has done some valuable research in this type of name, enumerates many

examples which ante-date the *N.E.D.* records by from one to four centuries (see *Discovery*, January 1921, pp. 2–5) and about a thousand more which have never attained dictionary honours. Homesteads were occasionally named in the same way, and anyone familiar with the topography of a particular district would be able to quote one or two examples. A striking parallel to the northern *Snape-Guest* is the (chiefly) southern *Mock-Beggar*, occurring in more than one of Miss Sheila Kaye-Smith's novels of Kent and Sussex life. To the courtesy of Miss Kaye-Smith I owe the information that there are houses called *Mockbeggar* near Iden in Sussex, near Billinghurst in Sussex, and near Stelling in Kent. 'There are I believe others, and I expect you know the origin of the name, i.e., an empty house of prosperous appearance, to which the beggar goes in quest of alms, only to find it deserted.' Miss Kaye-Smith appositely quotes the parallel of the *Coldharbours* along the Pilgrim routes. There are also the *Caldecotes* of the old Roman roads. The *Gazetteer* gives a *Mockbeggar* near Ringwood in Hants, *Mockbeggar's Hall*, a group of rocks on Hartle Moor, Derbyshire, and *Mockbeggar Wharf*, a strip of sand on the Cheshire coast. It is precisely the repetition of the name that makes it clear as a popular coinage, just as the fourfold occurrence of *Snape-Guest* puts the correctness of Professor Mawer's ingenious interpretation beyond all reasonable doubt, though I should rather incline to give to *snape* its existing dialect (northern) sense of stinting or starving, or perhaps of disappointing (*ib.*), which brings the compound still nearer to *Mockbeggar*. Farms, like individuals, had reputations for hospitality or the reverse, and it is as natural to find a house called 'starve-guest' as to discover William Coldbord in the *Lanc. Assize Rolls* 1176–1285 or the contrasted Agnes Bonetable in the *Pipe Rolls*.

This type of place-name formation is better exemplified in France, where we find numerous compounds of verb + object, e.g. Crèvecœur (several), Heurte-(Hurte-)bise, Heurte-(Hurte-)vent, Écornebœuf, or verb + vocative, e.g. Chanteloup (several), Chantemerle (several), Chantepie. I pass every day a house called Happegarbes (grab-sheaves), which I imagine the owner has named from some French farm with which he has family or holiday associations.

Finally, though I have not yet found a medieval individual called Sneipgest, I can quote the name Kepegest (*Leicester Borough Records*, 1196, and *Hundred Rolls*, 1273), in which the opposite idea is expressed.

ERNEST WEEKLEY.

NOTTINGHAM.

Spanish 'e' for 'ue.'

In § 13 of his *Gramática española* (Madrid, 1918), Menéndez Pidal discusses the development of *e* from *ue*, found in *culebra*, *cureña* (<**coronea*), *fleco*, *frente*, and dialectal *prebo*. He considers the change dissimilative, caused by the labial sound preceding *l* or *r*. This theory is unsatisfactory. From such words as *hebilla* for *fiviella*, *hermoso* beside Portuguese *formoso* (pronounced *furmozu*), *Pamplona* for *Pomplona*, we should expect dissimilation to alter the first vowel of *culuebra* and *curueña*. The consonants *f* and *p* are too widely different from *u* to produce a dissimilative change. The development began with assimilation. A change of *e* to *o*, before a labial, is common in Italian, as *domandare*, *domani*, *dovere*, *indovinare*, *rovesciare*, *somigliare*; French has *œ* for older *e* in *veuve* < **vedve* and dialectal *feuve* = *fève*; *a* has become *o* in Portuguese *fome*, Rumanian *foame* < **fome* < *famem*. Likewise *l* and *r* were labialized between labials in early Spanish. After labialized *l* and *r* became established, they absorbed the following weak *u*, just as palatals absorbed weak *i* in *bullendo* for **bulliendo*, *ciñó* for **ciñió*, *dixera* for **dixiera*. Finally the labial quality of *l* and *r* was lost, as the influence of a single labial was not strong enough to maintain it.

A labialized *l* is implied for Sardic dialects by *w* instead of intervocalic *l*[1]; and for early Rumanian by *măduă* < *medulla*, *o* < **wa* < *illa*, *steà* < **steawa* < *stella*, the derivative *w* being regularly lost, aside from cases like *steaua* < *stella illa*, in accordance with *beà* < *bibebat*, *la* < *lauabat*, *scrie* < *scribit*. From Henry Sweet's account of Welsh, reprinted in his *Collected Papers* (Oxford, 1913), we learn that it distinguishes ordinary *l*, *n*, *r*, and labialized *l*, *n*, *r* (written *wl*, *wn*, *wr*). In my English the consonant *r* has nearly the same lip-contraction as *w*. Likewise in British English, according to Sweet's statement in § 919 of his *History of English Sounds* (Oxford, 1888), *r* is often rounded. This rounding is probably connected with the loss of initial *w* before *r*.

In *serba* < *sorba* the change of *ue* to *e* was analogic. The sorb or service-berry—properly *servess*-berry, from the M.E. plural *servēs*—is 'de figura de pera pequeña': *serba* might represent **suerba* influenced by *pera*. But it seems more likely that **suerba* became *serba* by assimilation to *serbal*. The latter was developed from **sorbal* under the influence of **suerba*, either directly, or through **suerbal* with a later reduction of weak *ue* as in *estantigua* < *uest antigua*. This development has a parallel in the French derivatives of *mora* and **morarium*: *meure*

[1] M. L. Wagner, *Lautlehre der südsardischen Mundarten*, Halle, 1907, § 110.

changed *mourier* to *meurier*, which became *murier* by a normal phonetic change (as in *buvant* for older *bevant*), and then produced *mure* for *meure*.

To explain *estera* and Portuguese *esteira*, Menéndez Pidal assumes a 'cambio de sufijo.' It would perhaps be better to say that the root was changed: the *o* of *storea* was apparently replaced by the *a* of *stare* or the *e* of *sternere*.

EDWIN H. TUTTLE.

NORTH HAVEN, CONN., U.S.A.

A RHYMED CHARM AGAINST 'MORT' IN HORSES.

My friend Mr R. Flower, Assistant keeper of MSS. in the British Museum, has kindly drawn my attention to the charm printed below. It is to be found, immediately following a version of the *Sompnia Danielis*, on fol. 33^{vi} of the Harley MS. 3902, an 8vo volume on parchment which, to judge from the tables of the sun and moon eclipses (fol. 11^{r}–12^{v}) and a Cisio Janus (fol. 44^{r}), was written in or about 1330, probably in the diocese of Liège[1].

The charm runs thus (I mark the end of each line in the MS. by |):

¶ Crift eñ moert. die | hadde eyn rof te famē | Crift he hiůf. eñ moert | he floegh. Stant op rof | giůt. die is des moertſ | gebůet.
ter c'cū eūdo eq^{m}. 7 | totidē dicendo v'm 3 (= versum ter).

It is not altogether unknown. A prose version, in Middle Low German, from the Wolfenbüttel MS. Aug. 60, 15 of the fifteenth century, where it is embedded in a treatise *Medicinalia pro equis conservandis*, was printed by Lübben, *Jahrbuch des Vereins für ndd. Sprachforschung* II (1876), pp. 19–23.

As the preamble to this version throws light on the practical use of the charm and the text apparently helps us to establish a more original form of our version, I reprint it here:

(Dat perdt) dat den wanbete[2] heft: Dat kumpt van eyneme worme den heft ydt yn deme weruel toppe (cincinnus). So spreck desse wordt: De hillyge cryst vnd de mort de reden eyn perdt to samende. De mord de sloch dat perdt: De hillige cryst hoff dat weder up: Standt vp perdt, dy ys des mortes bot. Alzo mote dessen perde alles des oem werende is. Amen. Dusse wort schaltu runen yn syne vorder ore vnd tred myt dynen vordere vote vppe synen vordern voth vnde ga dre vmme dat perdt hen vnd laet it drauen dat yt warm werde. so wert id sundt.

[1] A short Latin satirical poem on fol. 44^{r} on the order of the Beguines: *Ordo beghinarum nichil est nisi fraus animarum* | *Est fatuus talis quem decipit ars monialis* etc. would accord very well with this localisation.

[2] By *wanbete*, against which the charm was used as a sympathetic cure, is evidently meant staggers in animals (Germ. *Koller* of horses, *Drehkrankheit* of sheep). Cf., for the first part of the word, *wam-bizig* and *Wamapis*, quoted in Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkm.* II^{3}, p. 304, from an O.H.G. and a Latin charm. They compare it to O.S. *wam-scatho*, an appellative for the devil, and regard it as the name of the worm which causes the disease; *wanbete* would, accordingly, mean the 'evil bite.'

In both versions of the charm the cause of the disease *wanbete* is indicated by the word *moert* ('murder'), here personified and made a companion of Christ.

Mort(h) as the name of a horse-disease, apparently, goes pretty far back in German usage. Steinmeyer, *Ahd. Glossen*, IV, p. 649, 32, prints a recipe, *Si equus habet morth*, from a twelfth century Viennese MS., and Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Dkm.*[3], *l.c.*, another charm, *ad pestem equi quod dicitur môrth*, from another part of the same twelfth-century MS. in which the word *wambîzig*, referred to in the note below, occurs. It points in the same direction when a miserable old mare is called *ein vil alter mort* in the *Krone* of Heinrich von Türlin (circa 1220, l. 19823), or when *houbetmürdec* is applied to a horse suffering from glanders. An allusion in the Alemannic poem, *Teufels Netz*, l. 11614 (cf. Grimm, *D. W.* vi, col. 2534), proves that the word was also familiar in Upper Germany in the fourteenth century, that is, at the period when our charm was committed to writing in Flanders. Even as late as 1588 Seuter gives in his *Buch von der Rossartznei*, printed in that year at Augsburg, an explanation of *mord* in the above sense: p. 78, c. 32:

> Von dem mord: Dieses ist ain seltsame kranckheit, das nämlich ein ross gäh-lingen auff einmal nider fellt als wenn es gleich sterben wolt, darum si denn auch diesen nammen hat.

Nowhere, however, has the disease and its cure found such a vivid and dramatic literary expression as in Low Germany. Christ and 'Moert' are here seen astride the same horse, or, as in the second Low Germ. Prose-version (cf. below), riding through the forest just as in the opening of the first *Merseburger Zauberspruch*: 'Phol ende Uuodan uuorun zi holza.' These pictures are, in their serene intensity, characteristic of the mediæval mind, which breathed life into the abstract. First the indigenous gods, then Christ and His mother, were ever present, everyday figures, who took their full share in the pleasures and troubles of men's lives! It is this vivid poetic realism which makes so much of this otherwise insignificant form of literature worthy of the student's attention.

In all these cases taken from High and Low German records, *mort(h)* clearly refers to the disease in horses. It is true that the same charm was also used against sudden death in men. We learn this from an extract from a 'Rostocker Protokollbuch' printed in the *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für ndd. Sprachforschung*, XII (1887), p. 35, n. 5, where a witch, Tillecke Loweesteves, in the year 1511 confesses to using it. The formula here runs:

De mord unde de hilghe Karst de reden dorch den wolt; de mort de sloch, de hilghe Karst hoff ene weder up. In deme namen des vaders, des sones unde des hilghen gheystes.

We recognise at once our old acquaintance, but sadly mutilated and distorted; *ene* refers, of course, to the person attacked who, however, does not appear at all, and the curative formula proper, *Standt up perdt* etc. had, of necessity, to fall out altogether.

Many quotations, however, both in Schiller-Lübben, *Mnd. Wörterbuch*, iii, p. 121, and in the *Woordenboek der ndl. Taal*, ix, col. 1107 (sub *moord*, II), prove that in Low Germany as well as in the Low Countries the personified use of *mort* as the cause of (sudden) death in men as well as in animals, still flourished in the sixteenth century, especially in curses: *de mort sla di!* or it was used as a substitute for the name of the devil or some other Incubus.

To return once more to the Harley MS. The chief interest of this new version of the charm is that it is in rhyme. There is little doubt that such was the original form of the charm. Its dramatic introduction of the persons concerned, the healing formula given as a simple command by one of the actors, and, finally, the lack of any reference to a particular case in which the sympathetic cure is to be applied[1], conform to the style of the older formulae of this kind[2]. The original might well go back to the twelfth century or even further.

Although the origin and form of the charm, as we have it, are Dutch, there are traces that the scribe had a Low German source. Cf. *ros* (Low German together with *ors*): Dutch *ors*; the pronoun *he* for *hi, hij* and the curious spellings *hiůf* (Dutch *hief*), *giůt* where the source probably had *hůf, gůt* (cf. A. Lasch, *Mnd. Grammatik*, §§ 160–62).

From a comparison with the prose-text it would further appear that this source was already faulty in some minor details. The following is an attempt to reproduce the original Low German form:

Crist unde mort
de reden te samene eyn ors (ros).
Mort he sloch,
Crist he hof:
'Stant up, ors (ros) got,
Di is des mordes bot.'

R. PRIEBSCH.

LONDON.

[1] The more explicit later prose version has added this: *Alzo mote dessen perde* etc.
[2] Cf. M. Müller, *Über die Stilform der altdeutschen Zaubersprüche*, Gotha, 1901, espec. § 9.

REVIEWS.

Shakspere to Sheridan. By ALWIN THALER. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press; London, H. Milford. 1922. 8vo. xviii + 339 pp. + 40 illustrations. 21*s.*

It is dangerous for a scholar whose reputation is in the making to wear his learning lightly. The philosopher may disappear beneath the cap and bells and the world take him at his surface value. Modesty is becoming to a young author, but Mr Thaler has the virtue in excess. He makes no claim in his preface that his book is anything beyond a careful compilation, though it is that and very considerably more; and for this reason, together with the fact that he elects to address himself primarily to the general reader, the value of his work is apt to escape the attention of conscientious students of the drama. Yet *Shakspere to Sheridan*, for all its easy grace, is a sound contribution to the sum-total of existing knowledge. Scarcely a chapter but bears evidence of penetrative investigation and hard thought.

Alone among theatrical antiquaries since the days when Malone first lost himself in the labyrinth, Mr Thaler shows himself capable of threading the mazes of early playhouse finance. Here he is, and will remain, master. Impelled by his grasp of this particular subject he has written a book of 'diversified pleasings' dealing minutely with the theatrical administration and cognate matters of two centuries. Possibly because he has thrown out somewhat too wide a drag-net (his knowledge not being equally well-equipped at all points), defects are here and there to be found, but they are not such as seriously to impair the value of his work. Technical terms are not always used in their correct sense. 'Stars' were not in existence in Betterton's day (pp. 10 and 70), and it is idle to refer to any member of a regular stock company, no matter how prominent, as a star. Irrespective of the fact that the starring player was an eighteenth-century product, the term 'star' was really of operatic origin and applied only in the beginning to ballerinas and *prime donne.* This restriction held good in France until quite recently (see A. Bonchard, *La Langue Théâtrale*, under 'étoile'). To apply the latterday term 'business manager' to the combined Elizabethan office of property-man and wardrobe keeper (p. 72) is also highly confusing. Throughout Mr Thaler seeks too curiously for latterday analogies. He requires also to grasp that 'to paper' a house is not necessarily to fill it up with *claqueurs.* Any old actor can tell him that the man who gets into the theatre gratis is notoriously chary with his applause. Occasionally too, in maintaining his rôle of populariser, Mr Thaler's unflagging veracity runs away with him. He would find it somewhat difficult to make good his statement (p. 5) that 'marriages between players and the nobility were but one of many important bonds between the theatre and the

court from Shakspere's time through Sheridan's and later.' Apart from the Roxolana crime, what alliance of the sort took place before the eighteenth century?

In an absorbing chapter dealing with the rewards of early play-writing Mr Thaler somewhat too readily accepts the tradition recorded by Oldys that Shakespeare received for *Hamlet* a poor £5. Yet two or three pages later he tells us that 'in the year 1599 a certain modest "cobler of poetry called a play-patcher" and named Dekker (for so he describes himself) earned as much as £9 by putting *Old Fortunatus* into new livery.' Apart from the fact that *Old Fortunatus* was really a new play on an old theme and not merely, as here implied, a revisal, the discrepancy between the price paid by Henslowe to Dekker and the alleged sum given for *Hamlet*—seeing that the two plays were practically of the one period—is disturbing[1]. A few lines later, Mr Thaler again challenges contradiction by the statement (p. 25) that 'prologues and epilogues were less in demand' in Jonson and Dekker's time than in Nell Gwyn's. Surely no seventeenth-century play was devoid of either prologue or epilogue. Doubtless he means otherwise than he says, but why not say what he means?

As I have shown in some detail in an article on 'House Dramatists' published in *The Stage* for March 31, 1921, there sprang up fairly early in the seventeenth century a system of monopolising the services of certain dramatists for a short term of years by engaging them under contract at a weekly salary to deliver a specified number of new plays per year, generally three. Mr Thaler places the inception of this practice at *ca.* 1635, having no earlier evidence of its existence (p. 29): but there is good reason to believe that it had then been over a quarter of a century in vogue and that divers actor-dramatists who wrote long and solely for the one company, notably Shakespeare, Heywood and Rowley, were under contract in this way. There is contemporary evidence that when the Blackfriars boys were dissolved in July 1608, Evans 'delivered up their commission which he had under the Great Seal authorizing them to play, and dischardged, and set at libertie...divers of the parteners and poetts[2].' It is difficult to see what contract, under bond, a dramatist could have had with the controllers of the Blackfriars save one monopolising his services as a salaried servant of the house.

In the valuable chapter on 'The Players' one finds only two points calling for serious discussion. If it be true that 'the actor-sharer,' on engaging for a term of three years or thereabout, 'usually gave the company a heavy bond, to secure it against breach of contract,' the evidence Mr Thaler advances fails to prove the contention (p. 75). The Duke of York's sharers, who bound themselves 'jointly and severally in 1609 for the sum of £5000,' did so, not in their capacity as actors, but as housekeepers. This the 'jointly and severally' shows. But, if

[1] Moreover Day and Chettle received £9. 14*s.* 0*d.* for *The Conquest of Brute* (1598), Chapman £8 for *The Fount of New Fashion* (1598) and Dekker and Jonson £8 for *Page of Plimouth* (1599).

[2] Fleay, *Stage*, p. 245; Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, p. 222.

we can assume that Henslowe's custom was general custom, Mr Thaler's contention is sustained by the evidence of Henslowe's dispute with the Hope players in 1614 (Collier, *The Alleyn Papers*, pp. 75–80), which shows that Henslowe articled both sharers and hired men under forfeit.

Perilous as it is to differ with Mr Thaler on matters of playhouse economy, so much has he made the subject his own, a grave sense of duty urges me to dispute the accuracy of his statement (p. 75) that 'the companies, finally, sought to discourage secession by arranging for valuable allowances payable only upon the death of an actor-sharer in good standing, or on his retirement by general consent.' In proof of this he cites Charles Massey's letter to Alleyn of *ca.* 1613, referring to certain 'composicions betwene oure compenys that if any one give over wth consent of his fellowes, he is to receve three score and ten poundes.... If any on(e) dye his widow or frendes...reseve fyfte poundes.' But it is plain to be seen that the 'fellowes' spoken of were not the actors but the actor-housekeepers of the Fortune, since only the housekeepers had invested money in the theatre and could look for so serious a return. That Massey himself was both an actor-sharer and a housekeeper there is shown by the same letter[1], wherein he speaks of his gallery money and his house money. Details of an analogous arrangement will be found in the *New Shakespeare Society Transactions*, 1880–1886, p. 495, wherein it is demonstrated that in or about 1612 the 'housekeeping' or capitalistic interest in the Red Bull was divided into seven parts held in whole or half shares, and that the value of the whole shares had been originally fixed at £80.

Packed though it is with detail, there is little to find fault with in the section devoted to 'The Managers.' For purposes of a second edition, which the book will undoubtedly reach, it may be pointed out that Dennis's *Iphigenia* was produced in December 1699 and not in the succeeding year (p. 152), and that the tragedy called *Mascella* on p. 153 was the *Marcella* of Hayley. Regarding the mysterious 'Four Companies' of Jacobean times (to which we find reference only in Sir Henry Herbert's Office-Books), Mr Thaler rightly disputes Malone's theory of a union through shortage of actors (!) and is inclined to believe that for a time there was some pooling of receipts. A working agreement of this sort however would have lead to unending complications, and I take leave to propound an alternative theory. My idea is that some time before 1618 the King's, Queen's, Prince's and Lady Elizabeth's men agreed to pay Sir George Buc[2] a certain (say) monthly fee on the understanding that neither theatres nor plays were to be licensed for any new companies. This contract was doubtless taken over by Sir Henry Herbert[3] on his accession to office, since we find Herbert in 1623 recording the performance at the Red Bull of a new play called *Come See a Wonder* as by a 'company of strangers,' with the significant postscript 'licensed

[1] Greg, *The Henslowe Papers*, p. 64. See also Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, p. 282 for scheme of partnership afterwards altered.
[2] J. Q. Adams, *Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, p. 48.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 121.

without my hand to it, because they were none of the four companys[1].' About five years later Herbert apparently cancelled this contract and arranged with each of the four companies that he should be given annual benefits, an understanding that held good up to the period of the Civil War[2]. Possibly this is a suitable place to point out that on p. 198 Edmund Tilney is mistakenly spoken of as the first Master of the Revels and his 'Commission Touching the Powers of the Master' of 1581, under which licensing was first established, referred to as his patent[3].

Sundry moot points in subsequent chapters can only be cursorily dealt with. Wherever Mr Thaler gained the impression (p. 176) that the players' expenses on their visits to Oxford at the Acts were defrayed out of the royal purse, it is wrong. All such visits were purely speculative. So, too, acting in the royal cockpits ceased in 1665 with the construction of a permanent court theatre[4], though our author ignores the fact (p. 177). Mr Thaler might also ask himself the question (p. 182), whether we have any evidence of 'command nights,' otherwise performances referred to in the bill as commanded by royalty, before the eighteenth century. One doubts if there were any such in Old Rowley's time.

The ugliest blunder in the book occurs in the chapter on 'The Theatres and the Court,' at p. 193. Here we read, 'there is space for only the briefest glance at certain other manifestations of the intimate relations between the theatre and the gentry. One of them is the frequent appearance on the professional stage of this or that (unnamed) "Lady" or "Gentleman" in various important parts, the advent of such recruits being signalized always by big type in the play-bills and big crowds (?) at the box-office (?). Thus the Covent Garden playbills of March 2, 1779, announced for two days ahead "Othello, by a GENTLEMAN, being his first appearance on any stage."'

Mr Thaler here shows an extraordinary ignorance of eighteenth-century theatrical custom, and it would be amusing, were it not painful, to find him assuming that old-time managers applied the terms 'Lady' and 'Gentleman' on their bills to persons of quality only. The truth is that every theatrical novice in those days made his or her first appearance anonymously, so as to avoid disgrace in the event of failure. It was not until the debutant had made several successful appearances and acted a second or third character that his name was given in the bills. The formula was precisely as Mr Thaler has indicated, but it had no restricted application or significance.

One fails to see any particular analogy between the taphouse of the Elizabethan public theatre, which was invariably a separate building, and the refreshment bar of a latterday London theatre, though our author strives to draw one by inaccurately styling the bar a taphouse (p. 218). Nor did the profits of the Elizabethan taphouses always go to

[1] J. Q. Adams, *Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, p. 63.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 65 and 121. [3] *Ibid.* p. 5. [4] *Pepys's Diary*, April 20, 1665.

the housekeepers: frequently the taphouse was leased to an outside victualler. It is equally erroneous to assume (p. 221) that ale was vended or smoking practised in the Restoration theatres.

In dealing with early prices of admission—a difficult subject on which a useful appendix is given—Mr Thaler argues that prices on the first day of a new play were not invariably doubled, 'for,' says he, 'Dekker's Gull paid a shilling for a place in the lords' room at a new play.' Dekker's gull did nothing of the sort. The passage referred to reads 'but when at a new play you take up the twelvepenny roome next the stage; because the Lords and you may seeme to be haile fellow wel-met.'

Assuming for argument's sake that 'at a new play' means 'the first performance of a new play' (which it probably does), it does not follow that because the gull went to 'the twelvepenny roome' he paid only twelvepence. Dekker refers to the room by its common denomination just as Pepys speaks of going to the eighteenpenny gallery on days when the price was more than eighteenpence.

Mr Thaler discusses intelligently the trouble occasioned by 'advanced prices' in the eighteenth century but he fails to tell us how the principle of advanced prices (as contra-distinguished from the double prices charged at the first performance of new plays[1]) came to be established. From 1672 onwards, as the prologues and epilogues of 1672–1678 show, it became customary to charge double and sometimes treble prices at every performance of a new opera. The theatre patents permitted of this impost. The single-day doubled prices were designed to compensate the company for the writing cost of the new play, and the advanced prices were imposed to recoup the outlay on scenery, machinery, dresses and foreign dancers.

In the course of his inquiry into the cost of early theatre-building, Mr Thaler puts the expenditure on the second Theatre Royal, Drury Lane at £2400, the figure in the original estimate (p. 213). But in the players' petition to Charles II of *ca.* 1673, published by me in *The Athenæum* for April 18, 1903, it was advanced as a reason for their request for the payment of court arrears that their new house would 'cost them neere Two Thousand pounds more than when it was first built,' and the first house cost £1500. Moreover Genest[2] points out that in a petition to Queen Anne made in 1709 the cost of the second Drury Lane is said to have been near £4000.

It is painful to find Mr Thaler labouring under the delusion that there were boy-ushers in the old 'private' theatres (p. 233). What could have been their utility in the days when there were no numbered or reserved seats? Is it not plain that the boys for whom new gloves were provided 'at every new play and every revived play' (p. 250) were the boys who acted female parts? Again, it is difficult to know in what sense Mr Thaler uses the term 'run.' In theatrical parlance it signifies

[1] For a like French custom in Molière's time, see V. Fournel, *Curiosités théâtrales* (1878), p. 139.

[2] *Some Account of the English Stage*, I, p. 160.

a sequence of uninterrupted performances of the one play. We are told at p. 238 that 'in the season of 1699–1700 Farquhar established a record which stood for some time after, for in that season *The Constant Couple* ran at Drury Lane for fifty-three nights—twice as long as the next big hit, Addison's *Cato*.' A reference is given to Chetwood, but what Chetwood says is that the comedy was 'play'd 53 nights the first season,' which is not precisely the same thing. It was customary in Restoration and Post-Restoration days to keep a successful new play in the bills for a week or ten days and then give it at frequent intervals afterwards. That this was followed in the case of *The Constant Couple* is shown by the fact that Farquhar, in referring to the play in his preface to *The Inconstant*, writes: 'I remember that, about two years ago, I had a gentleman from France that brought the playhouse some fifty audiences in five months.'

In a valuable First Appendix Mr Thaler gives a number of extracts from the Lord Chamberlain's Books, 1661–1683, relative to players and playhouses. Most of these are new and all will prove serviceable to the student. Misled by the circumstance that all our routine histories of the Restoration stage are silent as to the existence of a Queen's Company, Mr Thaler thinks that the record of a warrant issued in February 1665[6] for provision of liveries for 'her Maties Comoedians' errs and that the warrant was really for the Duke's players. But apart from the fact that it was no business of the Crown to provide liveries for the Duke's players (we have no evidence that they wore liveries), the marginal indication 'Queene's players Liverys' shows that there could have been no mistake. No court scribe but would have known whether or not the Queen had lent her name to a company of comedians. As a matter of fact we have evidence of the existence of a Queen's Company a year or two before this period. In Dr Edward Browne's Note Book[1] an undated list of plays seen 'at the Cockpit in Drury Lane' is given. Opposite the last item, 'Dr Fostus...1.0' is inscribed 'Quenes Players.' It is noteworthy that Marlowe's play was reprinted in 1663, 'with new additions, as it is now acted.'

It is all to the good that Mr Thaler's book should make primary appeal to the eye not only by the excellence of its printing and the quality of its paper but by a profusion of curious and valuable illustrations selected from the Harvard Theatre collection. All the superficially attractive books should not be in the devil's service any more than all the good music. Regarding the illustrations, it should be noted, however, that the authentications of the two Hayns plates have somehow got confused (p. xviii). One is disposed to ask, too, on what authority the plate given at p. 79 is described as a portrait of Elizabeth Barry. The plate itself is merely inscribed 'Habit of Zara in the Tragedy of the Mourning Bride' and is undoubtedly of a much later period than Mrs Barry's.

[1] Sloane MSS., 1900. For theatrical extracts, see *The Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1906, pp. 69 ff., W. W. G.(reg) on 'Theatrical Repertories of 1662.'

More offensive still in its complete irrelevance—an irrelevance calculated to mislead—is the Hans Buling reproduction at p. 20: It does not follow that 'a mountebank who frequently exhibited in Covent Garden,' as the original inscription reads, exhibited in Covent Garden theatre. Another of the plates draws attention to a curious omission in the book. At p. 266 two bone tickets, each bearing a player's name, are reproduced, but we are nowhere told how 'bones' (as they were familiarly called) differed from other theatre checks. In the London playhouses of a century ago and more the prominent players of the company were allowed a certain number of passes nightly to the boxes and gallery for the service of their friends, the number being in ratio to the importance of their salaries. These were the 'bones.'

With the amending of these blemishes in a second edition (and a second edition is certain to be reached), Mr Thaler will have written a book of permanent value, a book truly educative in the best sense, because of its persuasive charm and the wideness of its appeal.

W. J. LAWRENCE.

DUBLIN.

The Buik of Alexander. Edited by R. L. GRÆME RITCHIE. Vol. II (Scottish Text Society). Edinburgh, 1921. 8vo. cxvii + 284 pp.

> Ne sont que trois matières à nul home attendant,
> De France et de Bretaigne et de Rome la grant,

sang Jean Bodel about medieval metrical romances. Matter of France and of Britain described not unfairly stories about Charlemagne and Arthur; but matter of Rome was no adequate title for the catalogue which comprised tales of Troy, of Thebes and of Alexander the Great. Stories of Alexander were current in every land from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic. From France the French versions crossed the Channel and originated English versions. To Scotland belongs *The Buik of the Most Noble and Valiant Conquerour Alexander the Grit*, which is not, strictly speaking, a life, but consists of three episodes—*The Forray of Gadderis*, *The Avowis of Alexander*, and *The Great Battell of Ephesoun*. No MS. is known to exist; and the present text is from a unique copy (belonging to the Earl of Dalhousie) of *The Buik* printed in Edinburgh by Alexander Arbuthnet about 1580.

Vol. II now issued contains Part II of *The Buik*, which tells how Alexander helped Cassamus against Clarus, the wicked King of Ind, who sought to dispossess the sons of Gadifer of Larris and wed his daughter. Here also is the French original—now printed for the first time—*Les* *du Paon*, the very popular romance of the fourteenth century, ulated in numerous transcripts. *The Buik* is a full and accurate but the editor has not been able to trace its precise original. MSS. he regards the one in closest agreement with that ottish translator to be No. 12565 of the Bibliothèque s this that is here printed, with certain alterations.

Variants are given from thirty other MSS., which are fully described and classified, while two substantial extracts from No. 12565 are, 'so far as typographically possible, reproduced diplomatically,' and also collated with all the MSS.

It is very important to have, as here, the French and the Scots facing each other, page by page; and we look forward with lively expectation to vol. I with the editor's discussion of 'the significance of the Scottish translation, its literary value, the personality of the translator and the much-disputed relationship in which he stands to John Barbour.' Meanwhile we heartily congratulate Dr Græme Ritchie on his patient industry, his scholarly thoroughness, and his brilliant erudition.

W. MURISON.

ABERDEEN.

Minor Poets of the Caroline Period. Vol. III, containing John Cleveland, Thomas Stanley, Henry King, Thomas Flatman, Nathaniel Whiting. Edited by GEORGE SAINTSBURY. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1921. 8vo. x + 552 pp. 16*s*.

After a long interval, due in large measure to the War, Professor Saintsbury has issued the third and last volume of his very valuable work. Some little-known poets whom he had intended to include have dropped out of the scheme to our great loss. But we have to thank him for a goodly volume which will hardly be read through in a week even by enthusiasts, and one in which the editor has had the invaluable assistance of Mr Percy Simpson and Mr G. Thorn Drury in his effort to give an impeccable text, so far as this is consistent with modernization of spelling. The poems of each author are prefaced by a biographical and critical Introduction, and minor difficulties are dealt with in footnotes which, while they illustrate the author in question, illustrate no less the learning, acuteness and the literary and political proclivities of Dr Saintsbury himself. To the student of seventeenth-century poetry the whole work is indispensable. Its utility would however have been increased if it had had an alphabetical index of first-lines.

To come to points of detail:

Cleveland.

p. 23, l. 43. Query, 'foul as those beasts as are'...

p. 26, l. 29. The editor's note seems to suggest that the phrase 'to break Priscian's head' originated with Butler. In English it is found as early as Skelton.

p. 27, l. 39. 'seamen' is apparently a misprint for 'seaman.'

p. 34, l. 17. As the lawyer appears at l. 40, I doubt if 'Calot Leather-cap' is a lawyer also. The word 'calot' may mean apparently a 'skull-cap' in general, not necessarily a 'coif.' The 'coif' seems to have been made not of leather, but of white lawn.

p. 40, l. 35. As most, or all, of the early editions have 'Monster,' is not 'Master' a likelier reading than 'under'?

Stanley.

p. 127, l. 13. 'And like those blesséd souls above,
Whose life is harmony and love.' (From the Poems of 1651.)
Did these suggest Waller's lines in his song 'While I listen to thy voice':

'For all we know
Of what the Blessed do above,
Is, that they Sing, and that they Love'?

Or were Waller's lines the source of Stanley's?

p. 148. 'L. D. S.' is, I suppose, Lady Dorothy Sidney. Cp. p. 147.

King.

p. 221, ll. 39–49 are one interrogative sentence, I think, in which ll. 41–46 form a parenthesis.

p. 224, l. 33. 'immured sense,' a misprint for 'immured fence.'

p. 264, l. 403. 'by th' Armies thundering.' Whatever the case of 'Armies,' the editor will not persuade us that it is here nominative.

p. 267, l. 8. 'Where now she rests, Blest Soul, in such a Father.' The comma after 'Soul' destroys the sense.

p. 272. '*Wishes etc.*' Lines 28, 29 so strongly support the attribution to King, as the editor points out, that one can hardly doubt the poem's authenticity although it postulates that King married a second wife unknown to his biographers. Lines 40, 41 seem to suggest that the wife referred to was not the boy's mother.

Flatman.

Without knowledge of Professor Saintsbury's work, Dr F. A. Child of the University of Pennsylvania has published a thesis, *The Life and Uncollected Poems of Thomas Flatman* (Philadelphia, 1921). The thesis has some variants of Flatman's text, which look like errors, but it contains a number of poems from *Heraclitus Ridens* attributed to Flatman which find no place or mention in the present work.

p. 381, l. 8. 'Thy dear Alexis wouldn't stay.' The editor makes the strange remark that 'would n't' must be 'would *not*' to scan. He also says that Alexis must be Robert Flatman. This must be a slip for Thomas Flatman, the poet's son, and the subject of the elegy *Coridon on the death of his dear Alexis*, p. 375.

p. 416. I agree with Dr Child that these lines were written on Sancroft's elevation to the Archbishopric in 1677 or 1678, and not with Dr Saintsbury that 'they have reference to the trial of the Seven Bishops.'

Whiting.

Whiting's poems *The pleasant historie of Albino and Bellana* and *Il insonio insonado* are so curious and so little known that we are especially grateful to Dr Saintsbury for reviving them. The first, though in parts disfigured by nastiness, is a very interesting example of the tale in verse, and is a step, as the editor remarks, towards *Tom Jones*. Whiting's audacities in language moreover present a series of interesting problems.

p. 430, l. 64. 'third-air.' John Prideaux in his *Hypomnemata* p. 125 says that the air has three regions: '1. *Summam*, quæ calet per motum velociorem & ignis vicinitatem. 2. *Mediam*, quæ friget, præcipuè ob *Antiperistasin*. 3. *Infimam*, quæ variatur ad tempestatum vicissitudines.' The 'lofty third-air braves' to which Whiting refers seem to be generated in the highest or hottest region of the air. Whiting refers to 'the middle air,' p. 440, l. 53.

p. 470, l. 1348. 'a jury of thoughts and plots.' Whiting has in mind Plautus, *Epidicus* I, 2. 56, *Most.* III, 1. 158.

p. 474, l. 1520. There should be no stop after 'sphere,' nor any 'quote' after 'harms' (l. 1679). The speech goes on to l. 1703.

p. 479, l. 1714. 'If satins difference and maids adorn.' If 'difference' is taken as a verb (cp. l. 2645), there is no necessity for the editor's conjecture: 'If satin's difference can maids adorn.'

p. 482, l. 1833. A comma is needed after 'beards.'

p. 486, l. 1995. 'branched lilies' seems to mean the maidens or novices, and it is not necessary to read 'blanched lilies' (='cheeks'), which could hardly be said to be 'reared.'

p. 488, l. 2077. 'oval chair'=triumphal chair, is lexicographically interesting.

p. 522, l. 3542. 'What actions gainful birth unto thy hope?' Query, 'What actions gave full birth,' etc.

p. 524, l. 3637. The line should end with a comma, though the original edition has a full stop.

p. 525, l. 3649. 'his ensigns veils.' Query, 'vails' here, and at l. 38 above 'vail'd,' as in the original edition.

l. 3682. Query, 'Titan's,' or correct to 'Titan.'

p. 532, l. 3976. 'Yesterday, about the after three.' This phrase is interesting in connexion with Professor Emerson's and Dr Henry Bradley's discussion on 'at after supper,' etc. in this *Review*, XI, p. 460; XII, pp. 74, 493.

p. 544, l. 181, etc. The passage has a resemblance to W. Hemming's *Elegy on Randolph's Finger* which Whiting may have known.

p. 545, l. 202. 'Virgil it was not, he had got a wrench:
Nor B. nor M. for they had got a wench.'
Dr Saintsbury comments: 'I suppose "M" is Martial: which of the B's (it is surely not Boethius?) the other letter libels, I know not.' May not the letters stand for Bavius and Mævius?

Much work is required for the elucidation of Whiting's manifold obscurities.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

SHEFFIELD.

The Formation of Tennyson's Style: A Study, primarily, of the Versification of the Early Poems. By J. F. A. PYRE. (University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, XII.) Madison. 1921. 8vo. 249 pp.

The fortunate University of Wisconsin has been able to provide for the issue of this useful and enlightening treatise. Most of the newer foundations in England—Manchester being a noted exception—have so far not seen their way to spend upon any species of learned works that cannot be sold at a profit. They will see some day, in the interest of their own good name, that this is false economy. Professor Pyre's book is just the kind of work that calls for such recognition. It has involved great labour, and much of it is very technical. The results, however, should interest poets as well as students; for Mr Pyre is no mere technician, or mechanical counter of pauses and stresses. His sense of artistic effect is keen, though he inclines to some diffuseness in expression. His feelings keep pace eagerly with his complicated calculations. There is a good deal of direct and judicious criticism scattered amongst them; and also, it must be added, a measure of somewhat needless epitome, which belongs more properly to the class-room. Mr Pyre's many tables (percentages of inversions, spondees, unstressed feet, etc.) are by no means needless;

indeed we could wish he had lightened his text, so often bristly with figures, by more tables still. But anyone used to metrical studies will readily seize his points. He carries his minuter inquiries down to the volume of 1842 inclusive; treats more shortly, but instructively, of *The Princess, In Memoriam,* and *Maud*; and has to go rather fast over the later works. Justly, he regards the book of 1842 as closing, in one sense, the 'formation' of the poet's style. But, in another sense, that process was lifelong; and I wish that Mr Pyre could have condensed his overture and left more room for the sequel.

His main conclusion, which he proves to the hilt by an array of figures, concerns the progress of Tennyson's versification. The fact seems to have been only vaguely perceived, or at least stated, before. It applies most clearly to the blank verse, but is true of the poet's metres generally. Mr Pyre formulates the principle thus:

> Experience taught him that his forte lay in the delicate modulation of established rhythms rather than in the invention of complicated melodic systems or the discovery of new and surprising movements (p. 101)...An intensive cultivation of a limited and yet sufficient range of minute variations is the secret of Tennyson's metrical charm so far as such a quality can be analyzed and measured (p. 114).

In other words, after many early excursions and experiments, and after many revisions and rejections, Tennyson came to 'normalise' his rhythms. He had tried to vary and embroider before he had found his pattern; when he had found it, he worked within it, 'intensively,' and only went outside it charily. That is roughly Mr Pyre's thesis, if I have it right; to judge the mass of evidence in its favour, the book must be read. Of course it is not suggested that the poet thought in terms of 'epic cæsuras,' 'feminine cæsuras,' pæons, and the like; but the metrist gives names to the poet's habits, and takes as it were a pulse-tracing while the poet chants.

I can only ask for space to note some details of particular interest in this essay. (1) An Appendix throws light on the history of the *Locksley Hall* measure, as it was adapted by Mrs Browning, and by her passed on to Poe; and we learn how it was *not* suggested to Tennyson by Sir W. Jones's poem from the Arabic; (2) the justification (pp. 24 sqq.) of Coleridge's remark so often derided, that Tennyson 'had begun to write verse without very well understanding what metre is'; (3) the excellent account (pp. 174 sqq.) of the blank verse lyrics; and (4) the judgment of Mr Pyre
194) on *Maud*, in which he 'misses the specific beauty of the Tenny-
n art,' and has an 'instinct that all is not well'—an issue which I
like to debate with him at length in a fierce though friendly
and so with the remark (p. 100) about Landor's *Hellenics*, that
nto the world of classic culture' makes them 'seem so utterly
vant to our needs and ways of thought' (italics mine; *ça*

lf makes one or two experiments in language: 'pro-
n' (noun, Whitmanese ?); we read of 'a derived poet';
nce of his talent.' But it is ungrateful to fasten on
book carries on, in a different field, the minute and

exact inquiries which his compatriot, the late Mr Lounsbury, devoted to the study of Tennyson's reputation. Both these scholars make us understand the poet better.

OLIVER ELTON.

LIVERPOOL.

American English. By GILBERT M. TUCKER. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1921. 8vo. 375 pp.

This book is a very natural protest against the *idolum fori* that American English is a 'degenerate' variation from our mother tongue. Its perusal may suggest thought to such supercilious persons of our countrymen as are ever ready to deliver judgment on the language and style of their neighbours. His anger at their impertinence has occasionally led our author to imitate their own contemptuous attitude.

The bulk of the book consists of two lists: 'Exotic Americanisms' (1100 words); 'Real Americanisms' (1900 words). These are interesting reading, and to many of the words shrewd comments are appended.

The second list, however, is in some respects as inaccurate as were the mid-nineteenth century self-constituted stylists against whom Mr Tucker is tilting. That a few such gentlemen still blether amongst us, in ignorance apparently of the existence of the *New English Dictionary*, does not excuse Mr Tucker's own neglect to utilize this work.

Here are a few wrongly-labelled 'Real Americanisms': the *N. E. D.* gives instances of *bosom* (shirt) from the year 1121 to 1834; *agaze* 1430–1876; *flats* 1296 to De Quincey; *huckster* 1200 to present day; *brave* (Indian) from Chapman to Byron; *swear in* from Evelyn to present day; *rising ground* 1617 to p.d.; *rack* (and ruin) 1599 to p.d.; *fetch* (a scream) 1552–1850; *flea-bitten* (horse) 1550–1863; *butter-fingered* 1615–1841.

Here are a few probably wrongly-labelled 'Real Americanisms': the *N. E. D.* records British examples anterior to Mr Tucker's American dates for: *line* (railway), *liner, king-bolt, fork up, come down, cut* (chapel), *soda* (water), *stiff* (drink), *hardtack*, etc. etc. Possibly some of these really are of American origin; but the question may remain open until the world possesses an American supplement to the *N. E. D.*

If, before his second edition, Mr Tucker will check his second list in full with the *N. E. D.*, as he has inspired us to do in part, the considerable debt of Standard Modern English to the United States of America, will be made more widely known.

The political separation of the two nations has put no hindrance in the way of free passage of useful words from one country to the other. To the United States the English language owes, as Mr Tucker's book enables everyone to see without trouble, *cable, cablegram, telegram, express*; *hurricane-deck, monitor*; *lumber* and *kerosene*; *poker* and *cocktail*; *outfit, anti-slavery, vegetarian*; *to bluff, dump, coast*, and *toboggan*, and many other words equally indispensable; not to mention vast numbers of colloquialisms in use among educated persons of both nations,

e.g. *to own up, rope in, peter out*, and *housekeep*; *ragtime, grocery, jumper, cavendish*, and *deadhead*; and not to mention a very large vocabulary of political, business, and technical words, e.g. *wirepulling, campaign, non-committal*; *call, corner, appreciation, shortage, bucket-shop*.

Mr Tucker's list of 'Exotic Americanisms' is free from the faults of his other list. Here he sets out to disprove the foolish conceit that 'everybody knows an Americanism when he sees it'; and he has—to the satisfaction and pleasure of, we trust, every philologist—well wiped the floor with his adversaries. We would earnestly desire to bring his Chapter III to the notice of all teachers of modern English.

It is unfortunate that Mr Tucker has not clearly distinguished between origin and vogue. He would surely no more think of labelling *Armada, materialize*, and *steam-engine* 'Briticisms' than of calling *faith, commerce*, and *placard* 'Gallicisms'; yet he applies the term 'Americanisms' to such words as *rattlesnake, guano, shanty, ranch*, and *clearing*. This way confusion lies.

If we are to discuss this important problem impartially, the terms 'Americanism' and 'Briticism' must be restricted to provincialisms, i.e. to words and expressions which are not in use among all educated English-speaking people. These may be good old words or usages lost on one side or the other of the Atlantic, e.g. *claggy, collards, sick, guess, nigh unto, buffer*, or spoilt on one side or the other, e.g. *claim, allow, expect*. Or they may be new words or usages confined to one side, e.g. *bummer, taps, hunk, spang, right here, all two, luggage*. Of some of these sins of omission and commission neither country has cause to be proud.

It is still more unfortunate that Mr Tucker has not clearly distinguished between: (1) Dialect, (2) Colloquial speech (and writing), (3) Received Standard speech (and writing), (4) The Standard, literary, written language.

With the first two categories we need not immediately concern ourselves: they are matter for the dialect and slang dictionaries. It is, however, extremely important for the future of the English (not the British!) language, that the third category shall be scientifically examined. Category 4, in its modern phases as much the product of American as of British thought, still remains the common heritage of cultured persons on both sides of the Atlantic; but, in this democratic age, it is on the prudent, or the indifferent treatment of Category 3 that depends either the continuance of our five hundred years tradition, or the cleavage of standard literary English (again, not British!) into two dialects.

If Mr Tucker's book, as it undoubtedly must, leads a larger public to ponder these things, it is, whatever its imperfections, a good book.

J. H. G. GRATTAN.

LONDON.

The Influence of Ovid on Chrestien de Troyes. By FOSTER E. GUYER. (Reprinted from *Romanic Review*, Vol. XII.) Chicago: University of Chicago Libraries. 1922.

The author of this dissertation has chosen an attractive theme, well circumscribed, as a dissertation subject should be, and of a preciseness which shows that he has not, as yet, fallen to the lure of that Celtic fairyland which American scholars find so compelling.

By a comparison of parallel passages the author seeks to prove that, from *Cligés* onwards, Chrétien's conception of love and its effects physical and moral is essentially Ovidian, and his originality lies in the attempt to establish a new chronology of the romances on this basis. That Chrétien was thoroughly saturated with Ovid's doctrine is beyond dispute, and Mr Guyer makes this abundantly clear. Unfortunately many of the verbal comparisons he makes are sometimes so strained, even at times so incorrect, as to weaken an argument which intrinsically should be unassailable. Thus, 'It is to be noted especially,' says Mr Guyer, 'that Chrestien has taken over Ovid's figure of the ox compared to a lover who has struggled against the yoke of Love at first but later has learned to like it.' Mr Guyer insists more than once upon this. Now, the distich in Ovid says, as an argument for not struggling against love:

> Verbera plura ferunt, quam quos juvat usus aratri,
> Detractant pressi dum iuga prima boves;

and in *Cligés* (v. 1032) Soredamor, deeply smitten, says, speaking of love: 'or an sai plus que bues d'arer'!

The following cases are similarly unconvincing and there are others: *Cligés* (vv. 488, 9):

> Que iauz ne voit, ne cuers ne diant;
> Se je nel voi, riens ne m'an iert.

Ovid (*Met.* III, 430):

> Quid videat, nescit: sed quod videt, uritur illo,
> Atque oculos idem, qui decipit, incitat error.

Cligés (v. 902): Sa biautez avuec lui s'an aut!
Ovid (*Met.* VII, 23):

> Vivat, an ille
> Occidat, in dis est. Vivat tamen.

The most convincing *verbal* comparisons are those which concern certain similes and maxims in *Yvain* and, curiously enough, the storm scene in *Guillaume d'Angleterre* which the untravelled Chrétien (?) was glad to take from the *Tristia*.

Mr Guyer's researches have led him to the conclusion that the much discussed opening lines of *Cligés* set out the poet's earlier works in chronological order.

Erec bears no trace of the Ovidian conception of love and is thus anterior to the translation of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*. After the *Art d'Amors* comes *Philomena* (which Mr Guyer accepts as Chrétien's), for

here 'the love treatment as well as certain specific borrowings show an unusual interest in the *Ars Amatoria*.' As to *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, its freedom in its love episodes from all the characteristic Ovidian features marks it as an early work, if indeed we are to accept it as being by Chrétien. In this case the *Cligés* list though chronologically accurate is incomplete.

We hope Mr Guyer will pursue at an early date his intention of unravelling the influence of Provençal literature on Chrétien. His familiarity with Ovid will here stand him in good stead, and will enable him to estimate with some authority how much of the common stock of Provençal love-lore is an inheritance from the Latin poet.

JOHN ORR.

MANCHESTER.

The Syntactical Causes of Case Reduction in Old French. By G. G. LAUBSCHER. Princeton: University Press. 1921. $1.50.

This is the seventh of the Elliott Monographs in Romance Languages and Literatures. The author died in October 1918 but his monograph of 120 pages was complete at his decease save for the final revision of the concluding pages. He had previously published a dissertation on the *Past Tenses in French* (1909) and was further engaged upon a treatment of case decay in the pronoun which was to complete the present monograph upon the substantive.

The author admits that 'we cannot directly reconstitute the popular origins of flectional decline, which only oral records would disclose,' but his endeavour is to detect in the syntax of Old French the seeds of a decay which by most has been attributed solely to phonological and morphological causes. The effort was worthy of all praise, as in syntax more than elsewhere we are likely to come to grips with the psychological processes of language change, and although in many of Professor Laubscher's 'causes' we are often tempted to see 'effects,' the effort has been conducted with exemplary thoroughness and with clear insight.

The great number of words of common gender in O.F. is the first syntactical cause of case breakdown mentioned by the author. It seems to us a little over-stressed. It is undeniable that words like *ost* (m. or f.), in which uncertain gender obscures the case value of forms like *l'ost* (m. obj. or f. nom. and obj.), are of importance, but pairs like *sestier* (m.) and *sestiere* (f.), which are also quoted, scarcely affect the issue as here no formal clash is possible.

The survival of neuter forms is undoubtedly a factor which strongly disturbs case symmetry, as is seen for example in such common phrases as *ce fu fait, il est dit* where forms identical with masculine objectives appear with nominative function. This question is admirably explored and illustrated.

Among other causes, great importance is rightly attached to the part played by proper names which have a tendency to invariability

(personifications like *Valors, Amors* might fittingly have been mentioned here), and to the influence of the vocative.

On the other hand, the influence of absolute constructions seems too strongly stressed. The absolute constructions, with the exception of the common numerical phrase of the type '*soi dixième* de chevaliers,' is largely confined to texts of strongly Latin flavour and can scarcely be considered as a living thing in O.F.

The author is on firmer ground in his chapter on the participles which tend to lose inflection as they come to be regarded as component elements of a synthesised verb form, and on the confusion between present participle and gerund. Further, the struggle between logic and grammar visible in common phrases of the type *tenir à*, and in the varying cases used after certain prepositions *estre, sans, mais,* is shown to have been a powerful contributory factor in case decay; the influence of the *entre...et* construction (e.g. si s'apareillièrent *entre lui et le roi* de movoir por aler outre mer) is singled out as of prime importance. It is this construction which, according to the author, accounts for the use of the oblique case in expressions such as 'ni vous ne *moy* ne povons.' One is not prepared to accept this without further evidence, and it is deeply to be regretted that Professor Laubscher's work on the pronoun was not completed. He states in more than one place that the pronouns are more conservative in the matter of case than the nouns. It may be that this statement would have been modified to some extent after ampler research; for although the personal pronouns have preserved to this day a comparatively rich accidence yet *celui* as compared with *cil*, *moi* as compared with *je, lui* as compared with *il* are strongly equipped rivals from the point of view of fulness of form and, perhaps for this reason, appear very early with nominative function.

This excellent monograph closes with a short summary (of little use if the text has not been read) and a very good bibliography.

JOHN ORR.

MANCHESTER.

História da Literatura Portuguesa. Por MENDES DOS REMEDIOS. Lisboa: Lumen. 1921. 8vo. 691 pp. 10,000 réis.

The usefulness of Dr Mendes dos Remedios' well-known manual of Portuguese literature is considerably impaired in this its fifth edition by the lack of an index. On the other hand it has been enriched with much new matter and the death of many authors since the edition of 1914 has brought them within its scope, for instance the novelists Teixeira de Queiroz and Abel Botelho, the critic Ramalho Ortigão, the philologists Gonçalvez Viana and Adolpho Coelho, the dramatist Marcelino Mesquita, the poets Joaquim de Araujo, Antonio Feijó and João Penha. Unhappily the names of Gomes Leal, Dona Maria Amalia Vaz de Carvalho and Braamcamp Freire may now be added. In many instances the author's own views have been more clearly defined than in former editions. It is

a far cry from 'essas preciosas cartas' (1914)—the letters of the Portuguese nun—to 'qué nos importam essas cartas?' (1921). Portuguese literature must always be concerned with these celebrated letters, whatever doubts may be entertained as to their authorship. On the equally vexed question of the authorship of the famous *Crisfal* eclogue Dr Mendes dos Remedios stands on the side of tradition and asks: 'If Ribeiro is unquestionably the author of *Saudades* why may not Christovam Falcão be the author of *Crisfal*?' This eclogue is identical in style with those of Bernardim Ribeiro, which stand apart from everything else in Portuguese poetry, and if Falcão was able to identify himself with the manner of Ribeiro, who was born a generation before his friend but died at about the same time, the fact is one of the most remarkable in literature and Falcão fully deserves the high place hitherto accorded him. Many other problems of equal interest occur in the course of this work, which, with many bibliographical notes and an ample and excellent anthology, now runs to 700 pages of close print. Since a new edition appears periodically it is worth while to point out that a good many of the dates require revision, the following among others: Lopo de Almeida went to Italy in 1451 but his letters were written in 1452; it is exceedingly improbable that Sá de Miranda wrote the *Vida de Santa Maria Egipciaca* 'in the last two years of his life': it must be dated much earlier; Damião de Goes was born in 1502, not 1501; the date of Gaspar Corrêa's death is correctly given as 1563? but also (incorrectly) as 1561, that of Anthero de Quental as 1891 (correctly) and 1892; the dates of the Portuguese philosopher Francisco Sanchez, here given as 1562–1632, should probably be at least ten years earlier; Clenardus did not live to be 97, he was under 50 at the time of his death in 1542; according to the dates here given Antonio Galvão was 111 and Eduardo de Barros Lobo 6 when they died. Galvão was probably under 70 when he died in 1557; the mistake, which is repeated from the fourth edition, arose from a confusion with the year of *Duarte* Galvão's birth (1446). All these small inaccuracies are confusing to learners, and since the book is intended for educational purposes some omissions must also be noted. Although Martin Codax, the charming singer of Vigo bay, is mentioned, the even more remarkable poets of the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana*, Pero Meogo (or Moogo) and Joan Zorro and, most talented of all, Airas Nunez, are passed over in silence. Even more serious are the omissions in the synoptic tables given for each period. In that of the nineteenth century under England we find Wordsworth, Moore, Byron, Shelley, Tennyson and Swinburne, but Keats is omitted, as are also, among others, Meredith, Pater, Rossetti, Stevenson and Mr Thomas Hardy. Under Italy Gabriele d'Annunzio is mentioned but Giovanni Pascoli is omitted.

AUBREY F. G. BELL.

S. JOÃO DO ESTORIL, PORTUGAL.

MINOR NOTICES.

In taking up his duties as Merton Professor of English Language and Literature, Professor Wyld has some wise and a good many witty things to say about *English Philology in English Universities* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921, 2*s.* 6*d.*). The first part of his inaugural lecture is devoted to a generous tribute to the great scholars of the past—Earle, Napier, Skeat, Sweet—followed by a gloomy picture of our almost complete dependence upon German and Scandinavian scholars for carrying on their good work. The *New English Dictionary* may serve in large measure, as Wyld himself notes, to remove this reproach, and, at the present moment, Professor Chambers' Introduction to *Beowulf* may help us to hold our heads a little higher. But none the less the reproach is in large measure true. Now that German is so little known and studied, it is coming home to us with deadly force. The path to these studies cannot be opened without a key which we have either lost or are allowing to fall into disuse.

The main part of the lecture is devoted to a consideration of the lines along which the study of English Philology can alone be made to live and therefore to attract. The chief stress is laid on research and an attractive picture is drawn of the many and great problems which lie in wait for solution by the skilled investigator, many of them problems discovered in the first instance by Professor Wyld himself. The lecture closes with some discussion of the thorny problem of the relationship of Literature and Language in our schools of English studies, but the difficulties are raised rather than removed. The solution cannot be complete divorce. No true student of Literature can refuse to give his earnest and close attention to the whole history and development both of the written and of the spoken language, in which alone the ideas of the writers find expression. On the other hand no student of language can afford to cut himself off from a study of all those historical and literary traditions which have done so much to mould our language as it is spoken, and still more as it is written. Neither can the solution be complete union whereby the man of literary instincts may be forced to spend half his time over the spade-work of philology for which he has no liking but rather a repulsion, and the man with the instincts of a scientific philologist be forced to read and express himself about books and authors which make no appeal to him. Rather, the student of literature must be made familiar with the results of all the work that has been done by the philological specialists in throwing light on the history and development of the medium through which his authors express themselves and gain such knowledge of his own language in its earlier stages as will enable him with a goodly measure of scholarly accuracy to understand and appreciate authors of pre-modern times. On the other hand, the student of philology must learn that philology is not a mere juggling with forms, whether pre-historic or phonetic, but the study of human speech modified, altered

and enriched at every stage by influences both literary and historical. Of this last point of view, whether he agrees with it or not, the best illustration is perhaps Professor Wyld's own work upon the *History of Colloquial English.*

A. M.

All students of English prosody, and indeed of our literature in general will welcome the reissue of Mr T. S. Omond's very useful account of the writers on metric. The new volume called *English Metrists, being a Sketch of English Prosodical Criticism from Elizabethan Times to the Present Day* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 10*s.* 6*d.*) consists of the *English Metrists* of 1903 and the *English Metrists in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,* 1907, revised and slightly enlarged, together with additions bringing the account up to date. It is hardly necessary to say more than this of work which is already recognised as filling in a very able and thorough manner what was a serious gap in our literary history. That everyone will agree with all Mr Omond's judgements in so difficult and controversial a subject as that of metre is not to be expected, but even the most convinced theorist will be benefited by such a knowledge of the theories of others as he may easily obtain from this book and would certainly not easily obtain without it, while to the general student the bibliographical appendices render it simply invaluable as a book of reference.

One notices in re-reading the work a few slips of minor importance which have been taken over from the earlier form, but which might be corrected should another edition be called for; thus in the note on p. 17 a line is ascribed to Nashe which really comes from Greene's 'Farewell to Folly'; the phrase referred to in note 2 on p. 24 will be found in the commentary on Spenser's *November* Eclogue (it is easy to understand Webbe's mistake in calling it 'ninth'); on page 278 two lines are quoted from Peele's *Old Wives Tale,* ed. Bullen, ending 'threat Mars, or blunder Olympus,' with the curious note 'Can *blunder* be a misprint for *thunder?*' The answer is Yes, but not in Bullen's edition, where the text reads correctly 'thunder.'

Mr Omond may care to note that there are 'hexameters' in *Greenes Funeralls,* 1594, by R. B. (who *may* be Richard Barnfield), also in John Dickenson's *Greene in Conceit,* 1598. There is a perfect and unshorn copy of *Mar-Martine,* 1589, in the Library of Lambeth Palace, from which it appears that there are no further lines of text to be added to those printed by Mr Bond in his *Lyly.*

R. B. McK.

Mr Morse S. Allen's dissertation for the Princeton doctorate, *The Satire of John Marston* (Columbus, Ohio, 1920), deals with Marston's quarrels, with his formal Satires, and with his dramatic Satire. The second and third of these topics are treated as one expects them to be treated in a dissertation: Marston's works are analysed in detail, and

their contents classified sectionally according as the range of their satire is General, of Morals, Humours, Fashions, Classes, Literature. But Mr Allen's first section is altogether different: it deals mainly with Marston's part in the celebrated Stage-quarrel, and it deals with it in a way one unfortunately seldom finds in a dissertation. It concerns, of course, one of the many Elizabethan subjects which have been hunting grounds for two or three generations of speculative allusion-trappers and identity-snarers. Such a field is a dangerous opportunity for the dissertator, who has to make a book and has to catch new matter: as a rule, he adds more specimens to the already overcrowded museum of stuffed figures who may possibly have been (but pretty certainly were not) the originals of this or that figure in this play or in that poem. Not so Mr Allen. He simply brings commonsense to bear on the many suggestions of other people, and shows how nine-tenths of them are altogether beside the mark. In doing that, he seems to us to render a real service to scholarship. But besides supplying a model to other dissertators, he presents the history of the stage-quarrel more succinctly, more proportionately and in truer perspective than has been done before.

H. B. C.

It cannot be said that Mr C. N. Thurber's edition of *Sir Robert Howard's Comedy 'The Committee'* (University of Illinois Studies, vol. VII, No. 1, Urbana, Ill., 1921, $1.50) is a very satisfactory performance. His Introduction on the life, poetry and plays of Sir Robert Howard and particularly on *The Committee* is useful to the reader, but appears not to contain much that is new. His Notes are slight and somewhat haphazard. We might still owe him a debt of gratitude for giving us a reprint of a play famous in literary history: but the debt is lessened when we find that he has given us not the original text of 1665, but a text found in *The New English Theatre*, 1776. His ground for this choice is that this text indicates (*a*) passages omitted in theatrical representations, (*b*) passages added. While therefore the edition is interesting in connexion with the drama of the eighteenth century, it does not give us the play as the author wrote it. It is true that differences are pointed out either by typographical devices or by Textual Notes: but the fact remains that we have not Howard's text before us. Where he wrote 'ambergreece' for example, we read 'amber grease': the word had passed out of ken in the eighteenth century. Even the 1776 text does not altogether satisfy the editor. From a sense of grammatical propriety he prints 'throws up the heels of one of them,' though all editions have the more idiomatic 'throws up one of their heels.' He has done the right thing, however, in printing prose as prose, where it had before been meaninglessly cut up into lines as though it were verse.

G. C. M. S.

Professor Saintsbury's latest gift to us is *A Letter Book selected with an Introduction on the History and Art of Letter-writing* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1922, 8°, xii + 306 pp., 6*s*.). The Introduction, if it lacks the repose and radiance which would entitle it to the quality of *charm*—a quality which can hardly be ascribed to Professor Saintsbury's writing anywhere—is an admirable piece of work, displaying a rare width of knowledge and a great power of judicious and illuminating criticism, which extends itself to authors not represented in the selection. We may only note the praise wisely bestowed on the letters of Horace Walpole, of Chesterfield, and of Swift to Stella, and the discriminating treatment of the letters of Keats. A page of introduction is further devoted to each author of whom letters are given. The selection is excellent. We might perhaps have spared the few non-English letters, but nothing else. As to the text, the word 'ioney' in Ascham's letter (p. 117 bot.) has been conjectured to be an error for 'ioncy' (='reedy'). In Dorothy Osborne's letters, the editor has in two places been led astray by Judge Parry's transcripts. On p. 148, l. 9 from bot. there should only be a comma at 'say,' on p. 152, l. 3 from bot. the phrase should be 'as well an humoured a young person.' The reason for the 'very unusual' name borne by Ambrosia Sidney (p. 122, note 2) was doubtless that she was named after her uncle Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick. These are trifles: the book is a delightful one in every way, and should send many readers to the great collections of which they have here had samples culled by a loving hand.

G. C. M. S.

Prévost in the pages of his *Pour et Contre* refers to Shakespeare, Addison, Dryden, Milton, Pope, Shaftesbury, Steele, Swift, Lillo and others. Mr G. R. Havens, in his *The Abbé Prévost and English Literature* (Elliott Monographs, No. 9. Princeton University Press, 1921, $1.50) has devoted a separate chapter to recording the opinions of Prévost on each of these writers and has been careful to determine in the first place how much of the *Pour et Contre* is definitely attributable to Prévost's pen. His conclusions on this latter point are helpful. It would appear that Prévost's opinions on Shakespeare (*Pour et Contre*, No. CXCIV) are derived largely from Rowe's edition of Shakespeare's works; and that his opinions on Milton are equally unoriginal. This is the more distressing as Prévost's other literary pronouncements are singularly colourless. Prévost's criticism is of the type which is of value only in bulk and there is really not enough of it to enable us to determine whether his 'liberality' is a positive quality or merely absence of conviction. Mr Havens does not shirk the inevitable conclusion that 'the Abbé was not one of those vigorous champions of new causes who leave a markedly individual impress on their time.' This conclusion will be disappointing to the admirers of Prévost, not least to Mr Havens himself who may have set out hoping for more than he found. We are indebted to him for his useful labour. Mr Havens does not touch the all-important question of the Richardson translations.

D. G. L.

The minute particulars of the last phase in Rousseau's life are carefully collected by Elizabeth A. Foster in *Le dernier Séjour de J. J. Rousseau à Paris* (Northampton, Mass.: Smith College; Paris: Champion, 1921, 75 cents), *e.g.* the furnishing and the domestic economy first of the little two-roomed 'appartement, au 5e,' in the rue Plâtrière; the removal, four years later, a few doors down the street, neither house being identifiable to-day; the modest budget, with the combined resources of Jean-Jacques and Thérèse working out at 2278 francs in a good year and 840 in a bad; the names of callers, whether old friends or unwelcome interviewers; the botanizing excursions to Romainville and the like, with or without the faithful Bernardin; the exact version of that strange street accident in which the old man was knocked over by a big dog careering before a carriage (Oct. 24, 1776), and was very nearly killed. We are unable to discover in Miss Foster's work the new facts which one expects to find in a monograph, but the details as now pieced together in one volume show Rousseau in a more favourable light than hitherto: working placidly at the self-appointed task of copying out music for sale that he might be beholden to no man for alms, smiling at the well-meant remonstrance of friends, and receiving visitors with rough words only when they turned out to be hero-worshippers, quidnuncs or would-be benefactors, masquerading as music-dealers. Such a life reveals little of the craving for adulation or the misanthropic solitude generally alleged; apart from occasional eccentricities, it is merely the way in which many another philosopher in France has interpreted the formula 'spending the evening of one's days.'

R. L. G. R.

Dr Toynbee has done well in offering students a continuation of his *Dante Studies and Researches*, in a new volume of *Dante Studies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. viii + 331 pp. 16*s.*), some of which appeared in the pages of this Review, while half have not been previously published in England. They contain much valuable matter in the bypaths of Dante scholarship. The first, continuing a line of research which the author has already proved so fruitful in the case of the *Epistole*, affords a new and striking argument in favour of the authenticity of the *Questio de Aqua et Terra* by the application of the test of the 'cursus.' A series of shorter notes touch upon points of textual criticism with respect to the minor works (showing us in fact the process by which certain now recognised readings have been established, the famous 'gratiosa' of the letter *Amico Florentino* among them), or discuss the precise meaning of words employed by the poet (for instance, 'trattato' in the *Convivio* and *Vita Nuova*). Longer articles deal with Dante's references to glass, Boccaccio's Commentary (written before the publication of the edition by Domenico Guerri in the *Scrittori d' Italia*), and the earliest English illustrators of Dante; while more than a quarter of the book is devoted to an exhaustive chronological list of English translations from Chaucer to the present day. It is curious to learn that English interest in Dante

was first stimulated by the painter, Jonathan Richardson, who was himself inspired by the bas-relief of the death of Count Ugolino then attributed to Michelangelo. In this connexion, it might have been noted that the picture of Dante by Blake (p. 153), now at Manchester, has the Ugolino episode in the background.

E. G. G.

El Inca Garcilasso de la Vega by Julia Fitzmaurice-Kelly is a new volume in the series of *Hispanic Notes and Monographs* (London. H. Milford. 1921, 5*s.*). There are few more romantic figures among historians than the author of *La Florida del Ynca* and *Los Comentarios Reales*. Garcilasso de la Vega, son of the Inca Princess, Chimpa Ocllo, and the Conquistador, Garcilasso de la Vega, was born at Cuzco in 1539. The first twenty years of his life were spent in his native land amidst the fierce internecine struggles that distracted the Spanish conquerors. On his parents' death he set sail for Spain and from 1560–1579 served in the Spanish army. His remaining years (1579–1616) he spent in writing the story of the Expedition to Florida, the facts of which had been related to him by an unnamed friend, and in the composition of the *Comentarios Reales*, the history of his native land, Peru. If he lacked the highest gifts of the historian, he was yet singularly well-qualified for his task. He had received as good a Spanish education as was possible in Peru, but he had also been brought up in the traditions of the old native race. As a result his work strikes a note of intimacy such as none other could have struck, while this effect is still further enhanced by the simplicity and lucidity of his style. His lack of scientific method does not detract from his charm nor has it prevented him from ranking as the most important of our authorities for the early history of Peru. Mrs Fitzmaurice-Kelly has succeeded in giving a vivid and attractive picture of his life and character, while the full and illuminating notes should make this little book as valuable to the specialist as it is attractive to the ordinary reader.

H. E. B.

Volumes III and IV of the *Collected Papers* of Sir Adolphus W. Ward (Cambridge: University Press, 1921, 63*s.*) contain his literary essays. They cover a very wide span of time, ranging from reviews contributed to the *Saturday Review* in 1867 to the Address to the British Academy on *Shakespeare and the Makers of Virginia* in 1919, that is to say, over fifty years. They include, besides book reviews, and brief contributions to composite works, the fine review articles on *Fynes Moryson*, on *The Parnassus Plays*, *Sir Henry Wotton* and *Evelyn's Diary*, Introductions to *The Spider and the Flie* Shakespeare's *Henry VI* and George Lillo's dramas, the address to the British Academy on Milton, and that already [illegible]. Considerably over a quarter of these two volumes is devoted to German literature; and here stand out conspicuous the contributions to the study of German Reformation and Renaissance thought, notably on *The Sieges of Faith*, *The Brethern of Deventer*, *The Epistolæ obscurorum*

virorum, Some Academical Experiences of the German Renascence, and the admirable lecture to the English Goethe Society on *Goethe and the French Revolution*. Thus it will be seen these volumes afford a rich feast of reading; there is not one item which does not bear the stamp of Sir Adolphus Ward's rich humanity; and even the least significant of his reviews remind the present-day reader of how much has been lost since our weeklies have relied rather on the practised journalist than on the scholar for their comments on current literature. It is to be regretted that post-war conditions have compelled the Cambridge Press to put a price on these two handsome volumes which many who would like to possess them will find prohibitive.

J. G. R.

M. A. Jolivet has given us an excellent study of the life and work of Wilhelm Heinse down to the publication of his *Ardinghello* (*Wilhelm Heinse: sa Vie et son Œuvre jusqu'en* 1787, Paris, F. Rieder, 1922, 25 fr.). Since Schüddekopf's critical edition of Heinse's works began to appear in 1903, several helpful German studies on this interesting writer have been published, the most important being A. Schurig's *Der junge Heinse*, Munich, 1910, and W. Brecht's suggestive *Heinse und der ästhetische Immoralismus*, Berlin, 1911. M. Jolivet has not let himself be deterred from covering ground thus already covered; he has added materially to the results of his predecessors, mainly by bringing his well-balanced judgment to bear on their occasionally ill-founded deductions. The temptation to see in Heinse an anticipator of the doctrines of Romanticism is great. M. Jolivet follows the more cautious course of presenting him within the framework of the 'Sturm und Drang'; his book is really a study of the genesis of *Ardinghello*, a novel in which he sees 'la réalisation la plus complète des idées du Sturm und Drang.' In Heinse's literary beginnings, his letters on the Düsseldorf Gallery, his biographical studies with their fervid conception of personality, his Italian experiences and Greek dreams, Jolivet sees a steady ascent to a culmination in the remarkable novel, which throws a bridge from Wieland and the Richardsonian family-novel to Goethe and the nineteenth century.

J. G. R.

Ibsen's *Early Plays* (New York: American-Scandinavian Foundation; London, H. Milford, 1921, 11*s*.), translated by Professor Anders Orbeck, is an important addition to what is contained in Ibsen's *Collected Works*, edited by Mr William Archer. The volume contains *Catiline, The Warrior's Barrow*, and *Olaf Liljekrans*. The *Preface to Second Edition* of *Catiline* (half a dozen pages of much historical value) contains the following passage, giving Ibsen's reason for including his first play among his authorized writings: 'Much, around which my later writings centre, the contradiction between ability and desire, between will and possibility, the intermingled tragedy and comedy in humanity and in the individual,—appeared already here in vague foreshadowings...' (Orbeck's

translation, p. 6.) *The Warrior's Barrow* is important as the first Ibsen play to be acted, and as his first extant attempt at dealing with material from the Sagas. He follows Oehlenschläger as his chief model. *Olaf Liljekrans* combines folk-tale and ballad material, and is written in ballad metre. Its use of satire points forward to the three great metrical dramas.

T. T. S.

Messrs Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., a firm which has done good service in rendering the lesser known languages accessible to the English student, have sent us three volumes of very unequal value. The first (*Language Student's Manual.* By W. R. Paterson. 1917. 3*s.* 6*d.*), written by a teacher whose enthusiasm is not coupled with any considerable knowledge of the principles of linguistic science, passes in rapid review the peculiarities of some seventeen different languages as regarded from the English point of view. Its tone is chatty, its matter consists mainly of antiquated 'wrinkles' for learning grammar and pronunciation, the portions concerned with the latter belonging to the pre-phonetic age. The author is obviously unfamiliar with the work of Sweet and Jespersen. The book is a rather tragic example of the futility of applying rule of thumb to the complex problems involved in acquiring a language. The author of the second volume (*Colloquial Japanese.* By W. M. McGovern. 1920. 2*s.* 6*d.*), who is already known as a writer on Japan, may be congratulated on having produced a clear and workmanlike manual. It is systematic without slavishly following the traditional categories and contains copious exercises, accompanied by translations—the latter a practice to be commended in handbooks of remote languages. An introduction clearly summarises the peculiarities of Japanese, characterises the various 'styles' in vogue, and provides a useful background for the commencement of the study. One suggestion might be made which would bring the book, in subsequent editions, more into line with modern principles. The exercises are, as a whole, too disjointed and Ollendorffian, and might well be diversified by a few connected narratives. We should further like to draw the author's attention to an instructive article by H. E. Palmer on 'Some Principles of Language Teaching' (*Modern Language Teaching*, May, 1916), as this writer has actually selected Japanese to illustrate his method of 'substitution.' Apart from these points, however, the book should prove a pleasant and reliable guide through the thickets of a singularly difficult language. The third work (*A Modern Greek Manual.* By J. H. Freese. 1920. 3*s.* 6*d.*) is of a less ambitious character. Its sixteen exercises, mostly in the popular dialect, do not cover a very wide field, and are marred by the introduction of a number of somewhat unusual expressions, which do not serve the needs of the elementary student. The formulation of the rules is clear and the book well printed. A few errors in the text call for revision.

W. E. C.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

June–August, 1922.

GENERAL.

BECK, E. H. F., Die Impersonalien in sprachpsychologischer, logischer und linguistischer Hinsicht. Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer. 32 M.

BRUNOT, F., La Pensée et la Langue. Paris, Masson. 50 fr.

Essays by Divers Hands. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature.) Edited by W. R. Inge. London, H. Milford. 7*s.*

FLETCHER, J. B., Herod in the Drama (*Nth Carolina Stud. Phil.*, xix, 3, July).

MURRY, J. M., Countries of the Mind. Essays in Literary Criticism. London, Collins. 10*s.* 6*d.*

PRESCOTT, F. C., The Poetic Mind. London, Macmillan. 9*s.*

LOTSPEICH, C. M., Poetry, Prose, and Rhythm (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxvii, 2, June).

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